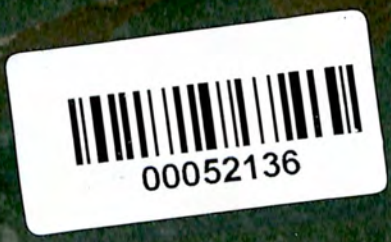

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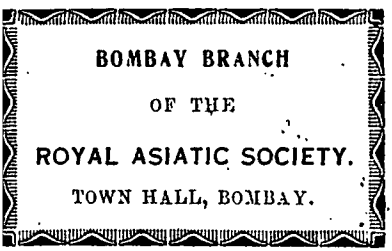

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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF THE LATE

THOMAS YOUNG, M.D., F.R.S., &c.,

AND ONE OF THE EIGHT FOREIGN ASSOCIATES OF THE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

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ac

VOLUME III.,

HIEROGLYPHICAL ESSAYS AND CORRESPONDENCE, &c.,

EDITED BY

JOHN LEITCH.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1855.

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Uniform with Dr. Young's Miscellaneous Works.

This Day, with Portrait, 8vo. 15/,

THE LIFE OF THOMAS YOUNG, M.D., F.R.S.

By GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., DEAN OF ELY.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

In arranging the materials of this volume our great object has been to present Dr. Young's Hieroglyphical Essays and Correspondence in chronological order, and to furnish on fitting occasions the precise dates of such of M. Champollion's publications as bear reference to the subjects handled by Dr. Young, together with extracts of the most important passages; by which means the reader will be enabled to ascertain what was really accomplished by each, and to form a correct judgment on a question whose true merits have been concealed amid a mass of inaccuracies and misrepresentations. The evidence establishing Dr. Young's discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet, several years before Champollion suspected its existence, is so clear and conclusive, that it must appear a matter of great surprise to the candid inquirer how any claim should have been set up in behalf of the latter. That Champollion himself, indeed, should have put forward pretentions to that great discovery could excite no astonishment in those who were acquainted with his character, and accordingly one of the most distinguished of his countrymen, as will be seen in

this volume (p. 51), even predicted his appropriation of Dr. Young's hieroglyphical discoveries, many years before he actually ventured to publish them as his own; but to find men like M. Arago and Chevalier Bunsen labouring to support the claims of the ingenious but unscrupulous Frenchman, in the face of such an array of evidence as this volume contains, would be difficult to account for, unless they had themselves furnished their readers with an explanation of their motives.* The mistakes in fact and errors in reasoning which these eminent authors, as well as various other writers, have fallen into, it has been an important part of our task to expose and refute, and we trust that we have performed this duty without any undue harshness or severity; although we might have been fairly taxed with pusillanimity if we had not ventured to convey some expression of censure at seeing the interests of truth and justice manifestly, but we trust unconsciously, sacrificed to the gratification of national vanity or private friendship, by men, too, whose high position and commanding influence should have rendered them doubly careful not to lay themselves open to such a charge. At all events, whether the reader coincide with our views and arguments or not, he will find in this volume materials amply sufficient for enabling him to arrive at a right conclusion if he choose to investigate the subject for himself.

Throughout the correspondence we have carefully

* See notes, p. 183 and p. 464 of this volume.

omitted every expression that might reasonably be supposed to hurt the feelings of any one; except in the case of Champollion, a clear knowledge of whose character is essential to a right understanding of the question at issue: and should Chevalier Bunsen, or any other of Champollion's friends, take offence at the publication of certain strong expressions regarding him in the letters of De Sacy, Letronne, and others, we shall be contented, from the above consideration, to abide their displeasure.

In the various discussions upon which our editorial duties have compelled us to enter, we have, unlike M. Arago and many of his countrymen, carefully avoided treating the discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet as a national question; and we presume that in England generally it has not been regarded as such; for although Chevalier Bunsen has unjustly endeavoured to deprive an Englishman of the honour of having made what he, as well as his illustrious countryman, Niebuhr, pronounces the greatest discovery of our times, he has found Englishmen* sufficiently free from national bias, as well as sufficiently ill informed, to back him in his attempt, and he enjoys, from whatever cause, perhaps even a higher reputation in this country than anywhere else.

Our best acknowledgments are due to Mr. Adam Black, of Edinburgh, proprietor of the Encyclopædia

* See p. 255, note.

Britannica, for his kindness in furnishing us with several hundred impressions of the hieroglyphical plates which accompanied the article *Egypt*, contributed by Dr. Young to that work, and reprinted in this volume—a favour which he was also obliging enough to repeat after the first supply was destroyed by fire at the printer's, along with the greater portion of the present work.

Ely, 10th Sept., 1853.

P.S.—The whole of this volume has been printed for about a year and a half, but the publication was delayed in order that Dr. Young's Works might appear simultaneously with Dr. Peacock's Memoir of his Life. Shortly after the above prefatory remarks were written, science sustained a heavy loss in the death of M. Arago—an event which deepened our regret at having been obliged to place ourselves at antagonism with one who was the first to recognize the importance of Dr. Young's optical discoveries, after they had been received in this country with persevering hostility, embittered by personal feeling, in one quarter, and with a neglect on the part of scientific men generally, which contrasted very unfavourably with their ready acceptance and appreciation by some of the most distinguished philosophers of France.

Rothesay, 26th Feb., 1855.

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ERRATA.

In Art. III. Pl. III. the numbers should run from 108 to 165 instead of from 1 to 58.

Page 51, line 13 from top, *for* "prétendât" *read* "prétendît."

„ 266, „ 2 from bottom, *for* "du poudre" *read* "de la poudre."

„ 468, „ 18 from top, *for* "ΔΑΚΣΑΝΓΡΣ" *read* "ΑΛΚΣΑΝΤΡΣ."

No. I.

REMARKS ON THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPTS.*

SPECIMENS of Egyptian manuscripts have been exhibited by Rigorde, Montfaucon, and Caylus, from linen bandages of mummies: Denon has published two others from papyrus. There are two rolls of papyrus in tolerable preservation in the gallery of the British Museum, and one in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries; and it is said that many others have lately been brought to Paris. It may be observed that these manuscripts exhibit a greater diversity of characters than could be expected from the use of any one alphabet; but Mr. Akerblad does not hesitate to consider those which he has seen as written in the same character which is exhibited in the stone of Rosetta: and if we allow the truth of his conclusions respecting this inscription, it must be confessed that the letters employed in it have been combined and diversified in such a manner as to present appearances of a much greater number. The specimens of the Zendish, the Sassanidian, and the Phenician alphabets, which have been subjoined, on the authorities of Anquetil, Silvestre de Sacy, and Henley, will serve to show not only how

* These observations by Dr. Young were first communicated to the Royal Society of Antiquaries in a letter from Sir W. E. Rouse Boughton, Bart., and were accompanied with specimens of the Zendish, the Sassanidian, and the Phenician alphabets. The letter was read 19th May, 1814, and was published the following year in Vol. XVIII. of the *Archæologia*, together with the subjoined translation, which furnishes an interpretation of the principal parts of both the Egyptian inscriptions on the Pillar found at Rosetta, and *consequently a key to the lost literature of ancient Egypt.* For professional reasons, however, the discovery was made public with as little parade as possible. The prefatory remarks, as well as the translation, were republished anonymously in the *Museum Criticum* of Cambridge, Part VI., 1815, together with the correspondence which follows, between Dr. Young and MM. Silvestre de Sacy and Akerblad, pp. 16–56.—*Note by the Editor.*

nearly some of the forms, assigned to the different letters by Akerblad, agree with those which are found in the oldest alphabets of the neighbouring countries, but also how great a diversity was allowed in these alphabets to the characters appropriated to each letter, and to the values assigned to each character. It is useless to inquire whether the common alphabet of the manuscripts and the inscription is more properly denominated the epistolographic, as most authors would probably term it, or the hieratic, as Akerblad is inclined to call it; and the simple title Egyptian is sufficiently justified by the expression in the Greek inscription, in which it is mentioned as the character of the country. The opinion of Kircher, that the epistolographic alphabet resembled the more modern Coptic, appears, like many other opinions of this learned man, to be founded merely on conjecture. Mr. Büttner has assigned values to some of the characters, deduced from a comparison with the Phenician and other similar alphabets, but none of the results of this comparison are confirmed by Mr. Akerblad's interpretation of the inscription of Rosetta. It has been remarked that characters resembling the figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, occur in most of the specimens: the two latter are less observable in the inscription, but the 3* may possibly be a combination implying NTE, *of*, the 2 and 4 the article P or PH, and the 1 an E or an R.

It may be alleged in favour of Mr. Akerblad's alphabet that it is applicable not only to a variety of proper names occurring repeatedly in the inscription, but also to some, in particular, which are so placed in connexion with a character supposed to imply son or daughter, that there is scarcely a possibility of their being erroneously interpreted. It affords us also a variety of words closely resembling some which are found in the later Coptic; and there is another strong argument in its favour, which has not been noticed: the word Aetos, Mr. Akerblad observes, is repeated in the Egyptian, but not in the Greek; and he is disposed to attribute this circumstance to some accident; in fact, however, the word is repeated in the original inscription, though not in the incorrect copies of it which were first circu-

* In the hieroglyphics accompanying the article 'Egypt,' Infra, No. III., Pl. IV. No. 172, Dr. Young correctly assigns this character as the enchorial equivalent for the owl, which he gives as a homophone of the hieroglyphic letter M. See p. 179.—*Ed.*

lated. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to account for the non occurrence of some Coptic words, which must unquestionably be in the inscription: for instance, the name of the month Mechir, which is mentioned in the Greek as a synonym of Xandicus or Xanthicus, and which, according to Kircher, anwsers in the Coptic to January, although the place which it ought to occupy in the inscription is easily ascertained by the context. Nor can we readily discover the Coptic months Thout and Mesore, which must also occur in the subsequent part, nor the term Pschent, implying a crown of a particular form; at the same time that the exact coincidence of the names of the Egyptian months, with the later Coptic, strengthens very materially the evidence of the near approach of the two languages to identity. The frequency of occurrence of the different characters in the inscription by no means coincides with that of the Coptic letters, which Mr. Akerblad supposes to correspond with them in other cases; and the difference appears to be too great to be wholly accidental.

It is not, however, impossible that future investigations may remove all the difficulties which still embarrass this subject; and, at any rate, the stone of Rosetta affords a far better prospect of furnishing us with some knowledge of the ancient characters of Egypt than any other monument of antiquity, or than any elaborate speculations of a later date.

Added 9 *November*, 1814. 'The whole of these observations may be considered as preliminary to an attempt, which has since been made, to compare the three inscriptions of the stone of Rosetta minutely with each other: the general results of this comparison, as the first foundations of the knowledge of ancient Egyptian literature, may not be unworthy of some attention, even in an imperfect state.

Conjectural Translation of the Egyptian Inscription.	[*Mr. Gough's*] *Translation of the Greek Inscription, "copied and" corrected by Porson. From* DR. CLARKE'S GREEK MARBLES. *Cambr.* 1809. P. 58.
(1) [In the ninth year, on the fourth day of Xanthicus],	(1) In the reign of the young prince, who received

EGYPTIAN.

the eighteenth of the Egyptian month Mechir, of the young king, who received the government of the country from his father, lord of the asp bearing diadems, illustrious in glory, who has established Egypt, the just, the beneficent, the pious towards the gods, victorious over his enemies, who has improved the life of mankind, lord of the feasts of thirty years, like Vulcan the mighty king, like the Sun,

(2) [the mighty king of the upper and] lower countries, the offspring of the parent loving gods, approved by Vulcan, to whom the Sun has given the victory, the living image of Jove, the offspring of the Sun, Ptolemy, the ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, (the son of) Ptolemy and Arsinoe the parent loving gods: the priest of Alexander and the saviour gods and the

(3) [brother gods, and the gods] beneficent, and the parent loving gods, and the king Ptolemy, the god illustrious, munificent, being Aëtus (the son of) Aëtus: Pyrrha the daughter of Philinus, being the prize bearer of Berenice the beneficent; Areia, the

GREEK.

the kingdom from his father, Lord of "kings," highly glorious, who settled the affairs of Egypt, and re- (2) spectful of the gods, pious, successful over his enemies, restorer of the life of man, lord of the triacontaeterides, like the great Vulcan king, even as the Sun,

(3) the great king of the upper and lower districts, descended from the gods Philopatores, whom Vulcan approved, to whom the Sun gave victory, the living image of Jupiter, son of the Sun, Ptolemy (4) ever living, beloved of Phtha, in the ninth year "of the priesthood of" Aëtos the son of Aëtos, of Alexander, and of the gods saviours, and the

gods brothers, and of the gods Euergetae, and the gods Philopatores, and (5) of the god Epiphanes, gracious "and victorious," of Berenice Euergetis Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, ca-

EGYPTIAN.

daughter of Diogenes, being the bearer

(4) [of baskets of Arsi] noe the brother loving; Irene, the daughter of Ptolemy, being priestess of Arsinoe the parent loving: it was this day decreed by the High priests, the Prophets, those who enter the sacred recesses to attire the gods, the wing bearers, and the sacred scribes, and the rest of the priests who came from the temples of Egypt,

(5) [to meet the king, at] the assembly of the assumption of the lawful power of king Ptolemy the ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, succeeding his father; and who entered the temple of Memphis, and said: Whereas king Ptolemy, the ever living, the god illustrious, munificent, (son of) king Ptolemy

(6) [and queen] Arsinoe, the parent loving gods, has given largely to the temples of Egypt, and to all within his kingdom, being a god, the offspring of a god and a god-

GREEK.

nephorus; of Arsinoe Philadelphus, Areia, daughter of Diogenes, being priestess; and of Arsinoe, wife of Philopator, Eirene, (6) daughter of Ptolemy, "being priestess;" on the 4th day of the month Xanthicus, and of the Egyptian Mechir the 18th. Decree. The High priests and Prophets, and those who go into the sanctuary to clothe the (7) gods, and the Pterophorae, and the sacred scribes, and other priests, all collected from the temples along the country

to Memphis, to the king, to celebrate the receiving of the (8) kingdom of Ptolemy, ever living, beloved of Phtha, the god Epiphanes, gracious, which he received from his father, they being assembled in the temple in Memphis, on this day, have decreed that (9) as king Ptolemy, ever living, beloved of Phtha, the god Epiphanes, gracious, descended from king Ptolemy,

and queen Arsinoe, gods Philopatores, has been in many things kind both to the temples and (10) all in them, and to all placed under his government, a god descended from a

EGYPTIAN.

dess, like Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, who fought in the cause of his father Osiris; and being pious and beneficent towards the gods, has bestowed much silver and corn, and much treasure, on the temples of Egypt,

(7) [and has spent much] in order to render the land of Egypt tranquil, and to establish the temples properly: and in all things within his lawful power has been benignly disposed: of the military imposts and tributes of Egypt, some he has lowered, others he has remitted altogether, in order that private individuals and all other men may prosper in the days of his

(8) [reign]: and what was owing to the crown from the Egyptians, and from all under his dominion," amounting to a large sum," he remitted altogether; those who were imprisoned, and who were strongly accused of crimes for many years, he pardoned: he ordered also that the properties of the gods, and the collections of corn and silver made "annually,"..

(9) [likewise] also the portions belonging to the gods

GREEK.

god and goddess, as Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, assisting his father Osiris, well disposed towards (11) [the worship of] the gods, has brought to the temples supplies of money and corn,

supported many expenses in order to "render the climate of Egypt wholesome," and established the sacred rites, (12) and to his utmost power has done good, and of the existing reversions and tributes collected in Egypt has totally remitted some and lightened others, so that both the people, and all other persons might be in (13) plenty under his

government, and the debts due to the king from the inhabitants of Egypt, and other parts of his kingdom, which were numerous, he has forgiven to the people and those who were confined (14) in prison, and long engaged in law-suits, he had delivered from their perplexities, confirmed the claims "on the revenues" of the temples, and the annual stated contributions to them of co (15) rn and money,

and likewise the proportions allotted to the gods from the

EGYPTIAN.

from the vineyards and the gardens, and all the other things which had been due to them, as appointed in the time of his father, should remain unaltered: he ordered also the priests not to pay more for their sacerdotal fees than what was required until the first year of his late father: he excused those

(10) [subject] to the power of the temples from the parade of the required voyage to Alexandria every year: he ordered also the press for the naval warfare to be omitted: two parts of the "cotton" garments required to be made for the use of the king in the temples he excused: what had been done improperly for many years he restored to proper

(11) [order]: being careful that due respect should be paid to the gods according to propriety; and likewise that justice should be done to all, like the great great Hermes: he ordered also those who had come down, military persons and others disposed to hostility, in the tumultuous times of Egypt, to return

GREEK.

vineyards and gardens, and other articles appropriated to the gods of his father's time, and ordered them (16) to remain in statu quo; and that out of what belonged to the priests they should contribute no more to the revenue than they were directed to do until the first year of his father; and also freed those

of the (17) sacred orders from the yearly voyage to Alexandria, and ordained exemption to them from contribution to the voyage, and of the money due to the government for furnishing the (18) cotton cloths in the temples, he forgave two parts; and all other things that were neglected in former times he resettled in their proper

order, providing that the accustomed offerings should be decently contributed (19) to the gods. He has also distributed justice to all, as Hermes the Great and Great. He has ordained also that those who went out from among the soldiers, and from others, whose minds "were set upon the property (20) of their neighbours" in times of tumult, and returned,

EGYPTIAN.

(12) [to] their own properties, and remain there: he took care to send foot, horse, and ships against those who had come by sea and land against Egypt, spending much treasure of silver and corn, in order that the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt might be tranquil: proceeding against the city of Lycopolis

(13) [in] Busiritis, which had been hostilely occupied and fortified, with ample stores of arms, and all other things necessary for sustaining a siege, the hostility of the guilty persons collected into it having been long declared, they having done much mischief to the country, to the Egyptians, and to the sacred things; the king with exten-

(14) sive ramparts and ditches and walls approaching the city, surrounded it: the king collecting much silver and treasures for the purpose, set foot soldiers to guard them, and horse: the river Nile having overflowed in the eighth year, and the fields being usually injured greatly by it at that time,

(15) he restrained the rivers,

GREEK.

should remain on their own settlements; and has also provided that forces of cavalry and infantry, and ships, should be sent against the invaders (21) of Egypt by sea and land; having sustained great expenses both of money and corn, that both the temples, and all the inhabitants of the country, might be safe. And com (22) ing to the city of Lycopolis

in the Busiritic [nome], which was circumvallated and fortified against a siege with a plentiful supply of arms, and all other appointments, as might be expected by the long (23) preceding disaffection of the wicked, who were gathered together in it, and had done much mischief to the temples and inhabitants of Egypt, and, by count (24) er-circling it (the city) with

banks and ditches and notable walls, and checking the great rise of the Nile in his eighth year, which overflowed the (25) plains, by strengthening the mouths of the rivers, expending on them no small sums, and stationing horse and foot to guard (26) them, in a short time took the city by assault, and in it slew all the wicked, as [Herm]es, and

EGYPTIAN.

securing their mouths in many places: the king took the city in no long time by force of arms; the guilty persons collected into it he utterly destroyed; as, in the times of his ancestors, those who were collected in the same place were destroyed by Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, and by Hermes:

(16) the leaders of the revolted and embodied troops, who had laid waste the country, and had done injury to the temples, fighting for his kingdom, for his father, and for the gods, when he came to Memphis, to the solemnity of the assumption of the lawful power, received from his father, he punished all severely: he remitted what to the

(17) crown was due from the temples, as far as the eighth year, amounting to much corn and treasure; and likewise the prices of the "cotton" garments, tributary from the temples, which ought to have been contributed for the use of the king, and those which were contributed for exhibition, from the same time: he ordered also the annual artaba which had re-

GREEK.

Orus, son of Isis and Osiris, overcame those who in the same (27) places had formerly revolted,

so all those who led others to revolt from his own father, and made desert the country and violated the temples, when he came up to Memphis, to assist (28) his father, and his own kingdom, he punished properly, at which time he came to observe the proper ordinances suitable to his assuming the kingdom; but forgave what

was due to the royal treasury from (29) the temples up to the eighth year for corn and money, no little sum; and in like manner the penalties for cotton (30) cloths not furnished to the royal treasury, and for taxes up to the same time: he remitted also to the temples the deficient bushel for every acre of sacred land,

EGYPTIAN.

mained due from each arura of sacred land,

(18) likewise the annual ceramium from each arura of the vineyards, to be remitted to the gods: he gave largely to Apis, to Mneuis, and to the other sacred animals of Egypt; taking care more and more beneficently than his ancestors for their honours at all times, and furnishing what was requisite for their funerals splendidly and gloriously; the payments

(19) to his own temples, with assemblies, and sacrifices, and other honours, he appointed: the public ceremonies of the temples, and all the other rites of Egypt, he established in order according to the laws: he bestowed many treasures of gold, and silver, and precious stones, on the temple of Apis: and he founded temples of the first order, temples

(20) for the public, and altars, and founded chapels in addition to the primary temples of the gods: what was deficient he restored as was requisite, having the feelings of a beneficent god in things relating to the deities: and, having made inquiries,

GREEK.

and also (31) the liquid measure for that of the vineyards, and many things, to Apis and Mnevis he gave, and to the other sacred animals in Egypt he gave many more than any kings before him, always considering what was becoming; (32) and to their sepulchres giving what was suitable, largely, and gloriously, and contributions

to the several temples, with sacrifices and festivals, and other ordinances; (33) and all the valuables in the temples and in Egypt he preserved in statu quo, agreeably to the laws; and the temple of Apis he adorned with costly works, contributing to it gold and [sil (34) ver], and precious stones, to no small amount, and placing temples and

shrines, and altars, and restoring what wanted repair, having the disposition of a beneficent deity in things appertaining to (35) divine worship, and informing himself which were the most honourable temples, renewed them in his "own palace," as was be-

EGYPTIAN.

he renewed the most sacred temples in his kingdom, according to their usages: wherefore the gods all powerful have given him health, victory over all,

(21) strength, and all other good gifts, the power of his kingdom remaining to him and to his descendants for ever: and they shall remain with good fortune. It is approved by the priests of all the temples of Egypt, that the honours at present paid to king Ptolemy, the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent, in the temples,

(22) those of his parents, the father loving gods, those of the predecessors of his parents, the beneficent gods, those of the predecessors of the predecessors of his parents, the brother gods, those of the predecessors of the ancestors of his parents, the saviour gods, be augmented greatly: there shall be erected an image of king Ptolemy the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent,

(23) which shall be called sacred to Ptolemy studious of the prosperity of the country, to Ptolemy who has fought for Egypt; and to the image

GREEK.

coming. In return, the gods have given to him health, victory,

power and all other blessings (36) of "a" lasting reign, to himself and his children for ever. With good fortune. The priests of all the temples throughout the kingdom decreed to pay the honours already due (37) to the everliving king Ptolemy, beloved of Phtha, the god Epiphanes, gracious,

and likewise greatly to increase the honours of his parents gods Philopatores, and his predecessors gods beneficent, (38) gods brothers, and gods saviours, "to augment the greatness," and that the image of the everliving king Ptolemy, "god, illustrious," gracious,

shall be set up in every temple, in the most conspicuous place, (39) which shall be called the image of Ptolemy the defender of Egypt, and by

EGYPTIAN.

the greatest god of the temple shall offer the trophies of victory, in each and every temple, in the most conspicuous place in the temple: all which things shall be arranged according to the custom of Egypt: the priests shall worship the images in each and every temple three times a day,

(24) and shall attach to them sacred ornaments, addressing them by name, with other legitimate rites, as is done to the other gods in assemblies and feasts from day to day: there shall be made a statue of king Ptolemy, the god illustrious and munificent, (son of) Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoè, the parent loving gods, and a shrine of gold in each temple

(25) and every temple, and placed in the sacred recesses, with the other golden shrines; and in the great assemblies, at the solemnity of the procession of the gods, the shrine of the god illustrious and munificent shall be placed: and, in order that the shrine may be distinguished both at this day and at future times, there shall be placed on it the golden ornaments of the king, the ten asp bearing diadems, as is

GREEK.

the side of it shall be set that of the peculiar god of the temple, who shall be represented giving him a victorious shield, which shall be prepared [according to the usual] (40) manner, and priests to minister thrice a day to the images,

and to place by them sacred ornaments, and perform other rites appointed, according as it is done to other gods [in feasts and festivi] (41) ties, and that there be erected to king Ptolemy "god, illustrious," gracious, sprung from king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, gods Philopatores, an image and a shrine of gold in every one of the

(42) temples, and to be placed in the sanctuaries, among the other shrines, and in the great festivals on which processions are made of the shrines, [the shrine] of this god, "illustrious, benevolent," (43) shall be brought out, [with them] that it may be conspicuous now and in future, and that there shall be placed upon the shrine ten golden basileiae, on which shall be placed an asp: just as

EGYPTIAN.

(26) usual; the golden ornaments on the shrine shall be asp bearing diadems, as on the other shrines: there shall be placed in the midst of them the ornament which the king wore upon his entry into the temple at Memphis, when he celebrated the rites of the assumption of the lawful power from his father, the crown Pschent, which ornament he then wore:. and there shall be upon

(27) the golden ornaments the quadrangle of the ever living, and on it shall be placed with the asp bearing diadems, ample golden phylacteries, projecting over the golden shrine; there shall be placed on the asp bearing diadems ample phylacteries, declaring that they belong to the king who has rendered the upper and the lower country illustrious: and since the 30th of Mesore, on which

(28) the birth-day of the king is appointed to be celebrated with an assembly and feast in the temples, likewise the eighteenth of Mechir, on which the robed festival of the assumption of his legitimate power is held, have been auspicious days for all men,

GREEK.

on each (44) of the asp-shaped basileiae upon other shrines, and there shall be in the midst of them the basileia called ΨΟΧΕΝΤ, wearing which he entered into the [basileion] in Memphis.. (45) when were performed the appointed ceremonies on his accession to the kingdom, and that there be put upon

the square space round the basileiae before described, in the fore-named basileion, amulets of gold on which shall be written th (46) at they belong to the king, who made the upper and the lower region illustrious, "upon" the thirtieth day of [the month] Mesoreh, on which

the birth day of the king is celebrated, and in like manner on the .. day of .. (47) in which he received the kingdom from his father; both which they have decreed to be named after him in the sacred calendar, which days are the origin of many blessings to all, to

EGYPTIAN.

being dedicated to the king ever living, and to the assumption of his lawful power: on these days, the 30th and the 18th, there shall be held an assembly every month in all the temples of Egypt, with sacri-

(29) fices, libations, and other lawful honours, as in the other assemblies, the monthly assemblies, and the usual offerings shall be made, with homages, and solemn worship in the temples: there shall be held an assembly and feast in the temples, and in all Egypt, to king Ptolemy the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent, every year, from the first of Thoyth for five days, on which crowns shall be worn,

(30) with sacrifices, libations, and other honours: the priests living in the temples of Egypt, in every temple, shall be called priests of the god illustrious and munificent, besides the other sacerdotal names which they bear, in all edicts, and all acts belonging to the priesthood of the god illustrious and munificent: and it shall be lawful that the festival be celebrated

(31) with proper honours

GREEK.

observe on those days a festival [and celebrities throughout E] (48) gypt, in the temples, monthly, and to perform in them sacri-

fices, and libations, and other rites, according to those in other festivals (49) in the temples, and to hold a festival and celebrity in honour of the ever-living and beloved of Phtha king Ptolemy, "god, illustrious," gracious, annually [throughout both the upper and lower (50) c]ountry, from the new moon of Thouth for five days, on which chaplets shall be worn,

and sacrifices and libations offered, and other appropriate rites. And the priests shall be called the priests of the ever-living (51) god, "illustrious," gracious, besides the other names of the gods to whom they minister, and all oracles, and for the . . (52) and it shall be lawful to other individuals

to celebrate the feast, and

EGYPTIAN.

by all other individuals, and that they may consecrate in like manner a golden shrine to the god illustrious and munificent, with due respect, keeping it in their houses, observing the assemblies and feasts, as appointed, every year: which shall be done in order that it may be made manifest that the inhabitants of Egypt honoured the god illustrious and munificent,

(32) as it is just to do: and this decree shall be engraved on a hard stone, in sacred characters, in common characters, and in Greek, and placed in the first temples, and the second temples, and the third temples, wherever may be the sacred image of the king whose life is for ever.

GREEK.

place the aforesaid shrine, and have it by them, performing the proper ceremonies in the annual (53) festivals . . "in a year." So that it may be known "why" the people in Egypt magnify and honour the god, "illustrious," gracious king,

according to law. [And what here is decreed shall be inscribed] (54) on "black" hard stone, in sacred, and in native, and in Greek characters, and placed in each temple, both of the first and second gods.*

* Kosegarten, in the preface to his work *De Prisca Ægyptorum Litteratura*, says in reference to Dr. Young's translation of the Rosetta Inscription: "Tituli vero enchorii, quo reperto veterum scripturarum Ægyptiacarum explicandarum fundamentum jactum est, repræsentationem cum adscripta interpretatione Youngiana non eam quidem ob causam Commentationi adjeci, quod omnia recte exposuisse Youngium putarem, quam sententiam, nisi fallor, neque ipse vir doctissimus tueri vult; sed quoniam permulta in illa interpretatione bene explicata esse censerem, atque de iis quæ vir optime meritus in hoc studiorum genere præstiterit, aliquid detrahere nefas ducerem."—*Ed.*

No. II.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO

THE ROSETTA INSCRIPTION.*

1.—*Extract of a Letter from* Dr. YOUNG *to the* Baron SILVESTRE DE SACY. *Dated August* 1814. *Translation.*

I TAKE the liberty, Sir, of troubling you with a question which I believe you are better qualified to answer than any other person at Paris. I am much interested in the study of the Egyptian inscription of Rosetta, and I am very anxious to know if Mr. Akerblad has continued his attempts to decipher it, since the publication of the letter which he addressed to you on the subject. I believe he is now at Rome, but he must probably have sent you from time to time some account of the progress which he may have made, and you will much oblige me by informing me what he has been doing. If you are still interested in the subject, I shall have great pleasure in communicating to you the results of some attempts of my own, which have enabled me to obtain a literal translation of the greater part of the words, but without concerning myself with the value of the characters of which they consist; this mode of entering upon the investigation appearing to be by far the least liable to error. I doubt whether the alphabet which Mr. Akerblad has given us can be of much further utility than in enabling us to decipher the proper names; and sometimes I have even suspected that the letters which he has identified resembled the syllabic sort of characters, by which the Chinese express the sounds of foreign languages, and that in their usual acceptation they had different significations: but of this conjecture I cannot at present speak with any great confidence.***

* The following letters, as far as p. 56, are reprinted from the *Museum Criticum*, No. VI., 1815, with the exception of No. 2, which was omitted by Dr. Young in order that he might not compromise his distinguished correspondent; and No. 8, several passages of which were withheld for the same reason. In both these instances it has been thought best to insert the originals.—*Ed.*

2.—*From* M. SILVESTRE DE SACY *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, 23 Septembre, 1814.

JE me fais un plaisir de répondre à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date du 20 du mois dernier, relativement à l'inscription de Rosette. M. Akerblad est depuis plusieurs années à Rome, et quoique j'aie toujours été en correspondance avec lui, et que je l'aie souvent engagé à donner au public le produit de son travail, il n'a jamais voulu déférer à mes désirs. Lorsqu'il était à Paris il n'a pas voulu non plus me donner communication de son travail, mais il m'a assuré qu'il avait lu un grand nombre des mots de l'inscription qu'il avait reconnus pour être des mots Coptes, et il m'en a cité quelques-uns. Je ne vous dissimule pas, Monsieur, que malgré l'espèce d'approbation que j'ai donnée au système de M. Akerblad, dans la réponse que je lui ai adressée,* il m'est toujours resté des doutes très forts sur la validité de l'alphabet qu'il s'est fait. D'un autre côté, je suis cependant fortement persuadé que ce n'est qu'à l'aide de la langue Copte qu'on peut parvenir à déchiffrer d'une manière satisfaisante l'ancienne écriture alphabétique des Egyptiens, et que ce déchiffrement, s'il a lieu, peut seul mener à la découverte de la valeur des caractères hiéroglyphiques. Je dois vous ajouter que M. Akerblad n'est pas le seul qui se flatte d'avoir lu le texte Egyptien de l'inscription de Rosette. M. Champollion, qui vient de publier deux volumes sur l'ancienne géographie de l'Egypte, et qui s'est beaucoup occupé de la langue Copte, prétend avoir aussi lu cette inscription. Je mets assurément plus de confiance dans les lumières et la critique de M. Akerblad que dans celles de M. Champollion, mais tant qu'ils n'auront publié quelque résultat de leur travail, il est juste de suspendre son jugement.

Je recevrai, Monsieur, avec beaucoup d'intérêt et de reconnaissance ce que vous aurez la bonté de me communiquer de vos aperçus sur ce précieux monument, quoique je ne me flatte point que cette communication puisse vous procurer

* The answer here referred to was published by Akerblad along with his *Lettre sur l'Inscription Egyptienne de Rosette—Ed.*

quelques lumières. J'y trouverai, quant à moi, l'avantage d'entretenir une correspondance avec vous, Monsieur, ce qui ne pourra que m'être très-agréable.

3.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Mr. SILVESTRE DE SACY. *Dated* [3] *October* 1814. *Translation.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you, Sir, a copy of my conjectural translation of the Egyptian Inscription of Rosetta: the desire which you have expressed to know what progress I had made, as well as the respect which your own labours in different parts of literature have so well deserved, would have been sufficient motives to induce me to trouble you with this communication, even if I were not in hopes of profiting by your remarks in answer to my letter.

I had read Mr. Akerblad's essay but hastily in the course of the last winter, and I was not disposed to place much confidence in the little that I recollected of it;* so that I was able to enter anew upon the investigation, without being materially influenced by what he had published; and though I do not profess to lay claim to perfect originality, or to deny the importance of Mr. Akerblad's labours, I think myself authorised to consider my own translation as completely independent of his ingenious researches: a circumstance which adds much to the probability of our conjectures, where they happen to agree.

It is only since I received your obliging letter, that I have again read Mr. Akerblad's work; and I have found that it agrees almost in every instance with the results of my own investigation, respecting the sense attributed to the words which the author has examined. This conformity must be allowed to be more satisfactory than if I had followed, with perfect confidence, the path which Mr. Akerblad has traced: I must, however, confess that it relates only to a few of the first steps of the investigation; and that the greatest and the most difficult part of the translation still remains unsupported by the authority of any external evidence of this kind.

* *Lettre sur l'Inscription Egyptienne de Rosette, adressée au Citoyen Silvestre de Sacy.* Paris, an X=1802, v. st.—Schwarze says (*Das Alte Ægypten*, Th. I., Abth. II., p. 160-162) that neither Young nor Champollion gave sufficient credit to Akerblad for what he accomplished.—*Ed.*

I shall confine myself, for the present, to the literal translation of the several groups of characters: the value of the individual letters still requiring much laborious investigation. I agree, then, with Mr. Akerblad, excepting only a few strokes, with respect to the sense of all the proper names of persons, three of which you, Sir, first pointed out; with respect to that of the words Daughter, Priest, And, In, Athlophorus, Imposts, Jupiter, Egypt, Temples, Much, Philopator, Philadelphus, Others, King, Greek, Phtha or Vulcan, Beloved, Third, and Statue; and I have no doubt that he has read some of the words which stand near these, in the same manner as I have done. On the other hand, I must dissent from him with regard to the words Lord, Orus, and God. The characters in the first line, which he translates Lord, are part of a word very easily recognized in the 25th, 26th, and 27th, where it signifies diadem: hence, it is evident that we must translate κυρίου βασιλειῶν, not Lord of kingdoms, but Lord of crowns; and, in fact, we find, as I have very lately observed, in the inscription which Hermapion called a translation of the hieroglyphics of the Flaminian obelisc, κυρίου διαδημάτων, as one of the titles of the "kings of Egypt." The two letters, which Mr. Akerblad considers as representing the name of Orus, are found in only one of the places in which they ought to stand; and the word God always consists of three letters, while in the last line two of the three only are found: nor does the title θεοῦ βασιλέως, here introduced by Mr. Akerblad, occur before, among those which are so liberally appropriated to the king; and the two letters seem rather to belong to the word Image, as to ξόανον in the 24th line.

Mr. Akerblad is confident that the Egyptian text is only the translation of the Greek: it appears to me, on the contrary, almost certain that the Egyptian is the original; and for these reasons:—in the 31st line of the Egyptian inscription we find, "the shrine of the God illustrious and munificent," where the Greek has "the shrine aforesaid;" in the same manner, in the 27th line, if I am not mistaken, there is a full description of that which is called in the Greek, εἰρημενον βασίλειον, and in the 28th, the numbers of the days of the month are repeated, where the Greek has "these days" only; now it appears improbable

that a translator should amplify in this manner the terms of his original, although it is very natural to abridge them by the omission of superfluous repetitions.

With respect to the Greek words, αἰωνόβιος, ἐπιφανὴς, εὐχάριστος, and εὐεργέτης, which he imagines (p. 31) that he has discovered in the Egyptian inscription, the suspicion seems to prove that he had carried his researches respecting this inscription but very little beyond the extent of his publication; for each of the words, which he has thus attempted to denationalise, is composed of parts which are found in other passages, where they are employed in senses nearly similar; εὐχάριστος, in particular, is expressed by a word which is nearly Coptic, "and the reading of which is confirmed by that of the old name of the city of Memphis," a coincidence which furnishes us with two forms of characters not comprehended in the alphabet of Mr. Akerblad. Indeed, the inscription contains at least a hundred different characters, which it is impossible to explain by means of this alphabet, ingenious as it is, at least without long and laborious study. It would not have been believed, if such an example had not occurred, that an alphabetical character, of which at least sixteen letters are perfectly well known, should present so many difficulties in the interpretation of the rest, as well as of their connexions and contractions.* I have at present made but little progress in this part of the inquiry, although I have found at least a dozen words which may be recognised; and I shall have the pleasure of pointing them out to you as soon as I hear that you are not fatigued with this long letter; perhaps, indeed, I should not have granted you this respite, if I did not hope to make considerable additions to the list: hitherto I have avoided this part of the subject, wishing first to be assured of the sense of almost all the words by comparison with the Greek only, in order to avoid the danger of altering the sense from apparent, but sometimes deceitful, analogies with a more modern language.

The friend, who was so good as to take charge of my former

* The explanation of this was afterwards found partly in the existence of symbolical characters in the enchorial inscription, which no one had ever suspected before Dr. Young made that important discovery, and partly in the homophone signs, or diversity of characters representing the same sound.—*Ed.*

letter, had heard of Mr. Champollion's work on Egypt,* and has had the kindness to procure it, in order to bring it me, supposing that the author had published in it his interpretation of the Inscription; but I am sorry to learn, from your account,† that I shall be disappointed in the expectation of finding, in this work, the details which would have given me so much pleasure.* * *

4.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Mr. SILVESTRE DE SACY. *Dated 21st October*, 1814. *Translation.*

I HAD proposed, Sir, to reserve for this letter all that I might have to observe with respect to the resemblance between the Egyptian Inscription of Rosetta and the more modern Coptic: but unfortunately, the difficulties, which I have encountered in the investigation, allow me to say but little respecting this resemblance, and I doubt if I shall ever be able completely to subdue them. The comparison of the Greek text with the Egyptian required far more labour than I could possibly have imagined: at last, however, I succeeded in ascertaining the sense of the greater part of the words, with scarcely any remaining doubt; here, on the contrary, even with the advantage of a sufficiently accurate translation, there are only a very few cases, in which I have been able to find similar words in Coptic, at all capable of representing the sense of the Inscription; and the number of the words, which can be thus identified, scarcely amounts to one tenth of the whole.‡ In the four or five hundred years which elapsed, between the date of the inscription, and that of the oldest Coptic books extant, the language appears to have changed much more, than those of Greece and Italy have changed in two thousand: an alteration which was so much the less to be expected, as the Egyptian names of the months, mentioned in the Greek inscription, have remained altogether unchanged.

The remark of Varro, upon the Egyptian language, is even

* For an account of this work see M. Champollion's Letter to the President of the Royal Society, Infra, p. 62.—*Ed.* † Supra, p. 17.

‡ See Schwarze's commentary on these remarks (*Das Alte Ægypten*, Th. I., Abth. I. p. 171-173). Dr. Young seems to have here exaggerated the difference between the Egyptian and the Coptic, while some Egyptian scholars have gone to the opposite extreme, and represented them as identical. Besides the infusion of Greek which chiefly took place after the conversion of the Copts to Christianity, the Coptic is distinguished from the Egyptian by various other peculiarities. For instance, it contains more compound words; it has some particles which are wanting in the Egyptian; and where the latter appended personal pronouns and articles, they are employed in the Coptic as prefixes.—*Ed.*

more correctly applicable to this inscription, than to the Coptic; that is, that the nouns are the same in all the cases. Aetos Aetos, for example, is Aetos the son of Aetos; Mptolomeos Mptolomeos, Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy: and indeed we sometimes find the same relation similarly expressed in the Coptic; thus ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ, NIUDAS SIMON, Jo. xiii. 26, Judas the son of Simon. Verbs are scarcely distinguished from participles, or from nouns, in the Coptic, and still less in this inscription. The Copts had their articles, which they used nearly as the French, or rather as the Italians; in the inscription there is no definite article in the singular, and the prefix, which assists in the formation of the plural, may represent either the definite or the indefinite article, but seems to resemble the latter rather than the former. The prefix ⲙ of the Copts, which cannot be translated, is frequently found in the inscription, with the same indifference as to the sense. In short, we may venture to assert, that this language is formed entirely on the model of the hieroglyphics, and that the rules of grammar, which are almost superfluous in Coptic, would here be totally inapplicable.

A more perfect acquaintance with the Coptic language and its dialects may, perhaps, hereafter furnish me with some new lights respecting the alphabet of this inscription; and independent investigations, conducted by different persons, may possibly, when they come to be compared, afford each other mutual assistance. But all that I have at present in my power to advance, with any degree of confidence, is contained in the subjoined list of words* compared with the Coptic, together with the fragments of an alphabet, partly copied from Mr. Akerblad, and partly derived from my own researches.

* According to some of Dr. Young's successors in Egyptian research, a number of words in the following list have been erroneously interpreted, and in reference to these, as well as on other occasions, his method, which was not strictly philological, is severely condemned by Chevalier Bunsen (See *Egypt's Place*, Book I., Section V. *passim*); but when we consider the important results which it produced, it may be questioned whether his system was not, as he was himself fully persuaded, the best he could have adopted at this stage of the investigation. At all events Akerblad's "strictly critical" mode of conducting his researches did not enable him to advance far. Champollion, too, whose method is so highly approved of by Chevalier Bunsen, found it of little value during the ten or fifteen years of incessant application which preceded the publication of his memorable *Lettre à M. Dacier*, in 1822, and there is little doubt that it would have remained equally barren of results if he had not in the mean time obtained in Dr. Young's discoveries a basis for his further investigations.—*Ed.*

COPTIC, AK.	EGYPTIAN.
ⲁ	
ⲃ	
ⲅ, ⲕ	
ⲇ, ⲧ	
ⲉ	
ⲓ	
ⲗ	
ⲙ	
ⲛ	
ⲟ	
ⲡ, ⲫ	
ⲣ	
ⲥ, ⲯ	
ⲭ	
ⲱ	
ϥ, ει	
ⲋ	
ⲻ	
ⲽ	

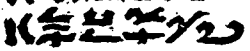
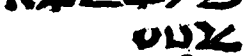
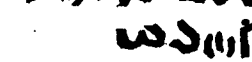
To this selection I add,

COPTIC.	EGYPTIAN.
ⲁ, short.	
ⲏ	
ⲓ, short	
ⲡ	
ⲡ	
ⲩ, ⲉⲩ	
ⲍ	
ⲝ	
ⲉ̄	
ⲏ̄	
ⲓ̄	
ⲗ̄	
*	

The last character * is merely the mark of the termination of a proper name. The third character ⲕ is also employed for ⲥ.

Of the following words, you, Sir, observed the three first: Mr. Akerblad the next sixteen; the rest are from my own conjecture.

N.	GREEK INSCRIPTION.	COPTIC.
1.	Πτολεμαίου	ⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲉⲟⲥ
2.		
3.	Ἀρσινόης	ⲁⲣⲥⲓⲛⲟⲏ
4.	Ἀλεξάνδρου	ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ
5.	Αἴγυπτον	ⲭⲏⲙⲓ, Aegyptus
6.	Βασιλεύς	ⲙⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ, Rex
7.	Ἀετοῦ	ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ
8.	Πύῤῥας	ⲡⲩⲣⲣⲁ
9.	Τῆς	ϣⲉⲣⲓ, Filia
10.	Φιλίνου	ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲛⲟⲥ
11.	. . . φόρου	ⲫⲁⲓ, Ferens
12.	Βερενίκης	ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ
13.	Ἀρείας	ⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁ
14.	Διογένους	ⲇⲓⲟⲩⲉⲛⲏⲥ
15.	Εἰρήνης	ⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
16.	Ἱερῶν	ⲉⲁⲛⲉⲣⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ, Templa
17.	Πολλάς	ⲡⲁϣⲉ, Multus
18.	Συντάξεις	ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲁⲝⲓⲥ
19.	Ἑλληνικοῖς	ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ, Graecus
20.	Μεχείρ	ⲙⲉⲭⲓⲣ
21.	Δεκάτῃ	ⲙⲉⲧ, ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ Sa. Decem
22.	Νέου	ⲙⲁⲗⲟⲩ, Puer
23.	Πατρός	ϫⲱ, Caput, ϫⲱⲟⲩ, Generatio
24.	Μεγαλο . . .	ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟ, Plurimum
25.	. . . αμένου . . ας	ⲉⲧⲟⲣⲉ, Qui fecit
26.	Καὶ	ⲛⲉⲙⲙ, ⲙⲙⲛ̄ Sa. Et
27.	In εὐσεβοῦς, εὐεργετικῶς	ⲉⲑⲙⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ, Qui dilexit
28.	Θεούς	ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, Deos
29.	Θεοῦ	ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ. Dei

READING.	EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTION.	L.	N.
πτλοϣϣιc*		2	1
πτλοϣϣιgc*		4	2
ⲁpcinⲍ*		2	3
ⲁλκcⲁnⲁpc		2	4
Χϣⲉⲉⲍ		1	5
ϣϣϕωpⲍ		1	6
ⲁιⲍτωc*		3	7
nρⲍ*		3	8
ψpι		3	9
ϕιλιnc*		3	10
qι		3	11
ⲧρnικⲍ*		3	12
ⲁριⲍ		3	13
ⲁιⲍτnι		3	14
ιρⲍnⲍ*		4	15
ⲍⲉϕιnⲉ, ⲍρϕιnⲉ		4	16
nⲉψι		6	17
cnτκcιc?		8	18
ωιnnn		32	19
ϣⲉⲍнр		1	20
ϣⲉ, ϣⲉn		1	21
ϣⲉλⲍ		1	22
ⲉxω		1	23
nⲍo		1	24
ⲉⲉθp		1	25
ⲉϣϣn		1	26
ⲉτⲁϣϣnρⲉ?		1, 6, 18	27
ⲍnωωⲍ		1	28
nωω		2	29

N.	GREEK INSCRIPTION.	COPTIC.
30.	Βίον	ⲃⲓ; ⲉⲣⲃⲓ, Habitatio
31.	Ἀνθρώπων	ⲉⲩ, Eos, ⲟⲩⲓ, Homines?
32.	Κυρίου	ⲡⲭⲱ, Caput, ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, S. Dominus
33.	. . . ετηρίδων	ⲡⲉⲡⲉϩ, Saeculum
34.	Ἐκγόνου	ⲙⲙⲓⲥⲓ, Natus
35.	Ἐδοκίμασε	ⲫⲓ, Osculum
36.	Ἥλιος	ⲱⲛ, Sol
37.	Ἔδωκε	ⲧ, ⲧⲓ, Dare
38.	Νίκην	ⲭⲟⲙⲙ, Robur
39.	Διός	ϩⲱ, Jupiter, Ak.
40.	In ἐπιφανοῦς	ⲡⲓⲱⲧ, Magnus, ⲫⲉⲣⲓ, Splendidus
41.	In εὐχάριστος	ⲟⲣⲉ, Facere, ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ, Bonum
42.	Φιλ . . .	ⲙⲙⲉⲓ, Amare
43.	Ἀθλο . . .	ⲃⲁⲓ, Palma, Βραβεῖον.
44.	Ἡμέρᾳ	ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓ, Dies
45.	Στολισμὸν, ὀθόνια	ⲱⲉⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲁⲧ, Linteamina
46.	Οἱ ἄλλοι	ϩⲁⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓ, Reliqui
47.	Δυνάμεσιν	ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ, ⲭⲟⲙⲙ, Robur
48.	Μέμφει	ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ, Memphis? ⲏϥ
49.	Ἅπαντας	ⲧⲏⲣ, Omnis.
50.	Καθάπερ	ⲉⲡⲱ. Ad imaginem
51.	Ἀφῆκε	ⲟⲩⲏⲱϫⲓ, Latitudo
52.	Αἰτίαις	ⲗⲱⲓⲭⲓ, Causa
53.	Γῆς	ⲓⲁϩ, ⲓⲟϩⲓ, Ager
54.	Ἀμπελίτιδος	ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ, Vitis
55.	Παραδείσων	ϩⲁⲡⲓⲁϩⲟⲟ, Agri plantarum
56.	Δίκαιον, νόμιμον	ⲙⲙⲟⲣ, Ligare, ⲫⲉϩ, Constituere
57.	Μέγας	ⲱⲓⲁⲓ, Extensio
58.	Πεζιναί	ⲫⲁⲧ, Pes

READING.	EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTION.	L.	N.
ⲃ		1	30
ⲍⲉⲧⲉ		1	31
ⲛⲭⲱ, ⲛⲥⲱ		1	32
ⲡⲛⲉⲍ?		1	33
ⲙⲙⲩ		2	34
ⲫ			35
ⲛⲛⲱ		1, 2	36
ⲧⲓ, ⲩⲧⲓ		2	37
ⲭⲙⲙ		2	38
ⲍⲱ		2	39
ⲛⲍⲩⲧⲙⲙⲫⲣ		2	40
ⲑⲣⲛⲁⲛⲥ		2	41
ⲙⲙⲉⲓ Ak. ⲙⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ?		1, 2	42
ⲃⲉ		3	43
ⲙⲙⲣⲉ, ⲙⲙⲣⲍ		4	44
ⲩⲛⲧⲱⲛⲍ		4, 17	45
ⲍⲥⲡⲉ		4	46
ⲧⲭⲉⲣⲍ ⲑⲣⲭⲉⲙⲙ		5, 7	47
ⲡⲁⲛⲱⲉ		5, 20	48
ⲧⲱⲣⲍ, ⲧⲉⲣⲍ, ⲧⲣ		6	49
ⲉⲡⲱ		6	50
ⲱⲓⲭⲉⲓ?		7	51
ⲗⲱⲭⲓ		8	52
ⲍⲉ, pl. ⲍⲍⲉⲉ		9	53
ⲍⲗⲗⲓⲉ		9	54
ⲍⲍⲉⲉⲥⲟⲓ		9	55
ⲙⲙⲣⲫⲉⲍ		11	56
ⲩⲓ, ⲩⲓⲍⲉ		11, 26	57
ⲫⲧⲉ, ⲫⲧⲣ		12	58

N.	GREEK INSCRIPTION.	COPTIC.
59.	Ἱππικαί	ϩⲟⲟ, Equus
60.	Νῆες	ϧⲁⲣⲓ, Navicula, ϧⲓⲣ, Sporta
61.	Ἤπειρον, χώραν	ⲕⲁϩⲓ, Terra
62.	Τάφροις, νείλου, ποταμῶν	ⲓⲟⲣ, Fossa, ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, Fluvius
63.	Τιμάς	ⲱ, ⲉⲧⲱ, Pignus
64.	Χρόνων	ⲁϩⲓ, Vita, Aetas?
65.	Ἄπει	ⲁⲡⲓⲥ?
66.	Μνεύει	ⲙⲙⲛⲱⲓⲥ?
67.	Ἀνηκόντων, κόσμον	ⲉⲙⲙⲡⲱϣ, Dignus
68.	Ταφάς	ϧⲏ, Monumenta
69.	Μετὰ, συντελοῦντες	ⲉⲧⲟⲣⲉ, Facientes
70.	Τὰ πρός	ⲉⲧ, Ad
71.	Θυσιῶν, ἑορτήν	ϣⲱⲧ, Sacrificium, ϩⲁⲡϣⲱⲧ
72.	Πανηγυρέων, θυσίας	ⲥⲗⲓⲗ, Holocaustum
73.	In τίμια	ϩⲁⲡⲥⲉⲙⲙⲉ, Constituta
74.	Χρυσίου	ⲡⲟⲩϧ, ⲛⲱⲡ, Aurum
75.	Ἀργυρίου	ϩⲁⲧ, Argentum
76.	Πλῆθος, δαπάνας	ⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲟ, Dives.
77.	Αὐτῷ	ⲙⲙⲟⲩ, ⲙⲙⲁⲧ, Ipsi
78.	Ὑπάρχοντα	ⲟⲓ, Esse
79.	Ἔσται	ⲧⲉⲣⲁ, Erunt
80.	Ἱεροῦ	ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ, Templum
81.	Ναόν	ⲭⲉⲡⲉⲫⲱⲣ, Tectum
82.	Ἐξοδεύειν	ⲉⲡ, Ducere
83.	Θεραπεύειν	ⲫⲟϣⲉⲡ, ⲫⲁϣⲡⲓ Ministrare
84.	Τῷ	ⲉ̀, ⲉⲓ, Ad
85.	Προσαγορεύεσθαι	ⲣⲉⲡ, Nominare
86.	Ἐξεῖναι	ⲭⲁⲗ, Commendari

READING.	EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTION.	L.	N.
ⲉⲧⲁⲩ		12	59
ϧⲓⲣⲓⲍ		12	60
ⲕⲁⲍⲓ		12, 13	61
ⲓⲟⲣ		14	62
ⲱⲍ		17	63
ⲁⲍⲉⲓ		17	64
ⲉⲡⲱⲥ		18	65
ⲡⲍⲱⲥ, ⲗⲗⲡⲱⲥ?		18	66
ⲉⲗⲗⲡⲩ?		18, 24	67
ϧ		18	68
ⲉⲧⲑⲣ?		19, 30	69
ⲉⲧ		6	70
ⲩⲱⲧ, ⲍⲩⲱⲧⲉ		19, 31	71
ϭⲗⲗ		19, 29	72
ⲍⲥⲗⲗⲡⲉ?		19	73
ⲛⲡ		19	74
ⲍⲧ?		19	75
ⲏⲣⲗⲗ		19	76
ⲗⲗⲛϥ, ⲗⲗⲗⲉⲍ?		21	77
ⲗⲟⲓ, ⲛⲟⲓ?		21	78
ⲧⲣ		23	79
ⲣⲫⲓⲏ, ⲉⲫⲓⲏ		23	80
ⲕⲍⲫⲣ?		24	81
ⲉⲡ		25	82
ⲫϣ		23	83
ⲉ, ⲉⲓ, ⲉⲍ		29	84
ⲣⲛ		30	85
ϭⲗ, ⲭⲁⲗ		30	86

5.—*Extract of a Letter from* Mr. AKERBLAD *to* Dr. YOUNG. *Dated Rome*, 15 *December*, 1814. *Translation.*

I TAKE the first opportunity of sending you a Dissertation, [on the Lamina Dodwelliana,] mentioned in the letter which I have been writing to you. I am not much attached to the conjectures expressed in it, respecting the Egyptian origin of the letters added in later times to the Greek alphabet; and you may treat them as severely as you please, if, as I am inclined to suppose, they should not meet your approbation. You will observe that, in the 48th page, I have cited an Egyptian word [N. 60], which may be written ⲃⲁⲣⲏϩ in Coptic; it is without doubt the same to which you attribute the sense of BAPIΣ in Greek. * *

6.—*Extract of a second Letter from* Mr. AKERBLAD *to* Dr. YOUNG. *Dated Rome*, 31 *January*, [1815.] *Translation.*

I RECEIVED, about two months ago, the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 21st of August. You must excuse my delay in answering it, for it has required some time to resume my application to pursuits, of which I had long lost sight. At last I am ready to perform the task which you have imposed on me, and to give you an account of what I have long ago observed, respecting the Egyptian part of the Inscription of Rosetta: and I am assured, by the obliging manner in which you address me, that you will receive with indulgence all my opinions and all my doubts.

During the ten years which have elapsed since my departure from Paris, I have devoted but a few moments, and those at long intervals, to the monument of Rosetta: a monument, which, at its first discovery, appeared to attract the attention of

all the learned throughout Europe, and which has since been neglected in an inconceivable degree. My letter on the Egyptian part of this monument, though written in haste, and before the publication of the Greek inscription which accompanies it, was indeed tolerably well received; but as I had not the good fortune to satisfy the mind of the learned orientalist, to whom the letter was addressed, who formally declared, that "[perhaps] some remaining attachment to the ideas which he had himself advanced, embarrassed his opinion, and prevented his full conviction" of the truth of my interpretation, I felt no further inclination to continue an investigation, in which nobody would have been interested, after such a declaration from one of the most learned men in France. I was besides at that time intrusted with a diplomatic commission, at first in Holland, and then in France, which made me abandon almost entirely all further inquiry respecting the Inscription of Rosetta.

In Italy, where I have been for several years, I have indeed the advantage of all possible leisure, but I have not been much tempted to employ it on this inscription, since I have been engaged in much more agreeable and less unproductive studies. For, in fact, I have always felt that the results of my researches on this monument, are deficient in that sort of evidence which carries with it full conviction; and you, Sir, as well as Mr. de Sacy, appear to be of my opinion in this respect. Besides having been informed, that many literary persons in France, England, and Germany had undertaken the illustration of the decree of the priests of Egypt, I wished to wait for the publication of their labours, in order to be the better able to judge of my own. But the questions, which you have been pleased to address to me, have at last induced me to renew my attention to these matters, which for a long time I had almost forgotten. I must however give you notice beforehand, that in most cases you will only receive a statement of my doubts and uncertainties, together with a few more plausible conjectures; and I shall be fully satisfied if these last shall appear to deserve your attention and approbation.

The person who informed you, that I have been applying to the study of the Indian languages, with a view of facilitating that of the Inscription of Rosetta, was most completely mistaken. It is only, in my opinion, as I have already stated in my letter to Mr. de Sacy, from the Coptic language, that we can expect any assistance in explaining it. The more Coptic works we discover, the more chance we shall have of finding words and expressions, hitherto unknown, which constitute one of the difficulties of deciphering the Egyptian decree. It is not impossible, that at some future time we may obtain some Coptic books on history or science: in this case, I imagine, many of the obstacles, which are now insurmountable, will in great measure disappear.

The difficulties, which depend on the subject of the inscription, are not the only ones that embarrass those who attempt to explain it. The Egyptian language must have varied considerably in the time which elapsed between the publication of the decree and the date of the earliest Coptic works which we possess. We might perhaps be able to appreciate this variation, if the Egyptian decree were written in Greek characters like the Coptic books; but here there are other difficulties: the Egyptians, when they adopted the Greek alphabet for writing their language, were frequently embarrassed in expressing sounds which were not easily reduced to the Greek characters. In order the better to adapt their new alphabet to the idiom of the country, they did indeed add to it some of their old letters, but still their orthography remained vague and undetermined, as their books demonstrate: and a similar difficulty is doubly felt when we seek for the Coptic words, among these groups of letters, of which we scarcely know the alphabet. I was not a little puzzled the first time that I attempted to read a Turkish book written in Greek letters, though both the languages were tolerably familiar to me. How much greater must the difficulty be, when we undertake to decipher an unknown mode of writing a language with which we are but very imperfectly acquainted! If again the inscription were engraved in a clear and distinct character, like the Greek and

Latin inscriptions of a certain antiquity, it would be easy, by the assistance of the proper names of several Greek words which occur in it, some of which I have discovered since the publication of my letter to Mr. de Sacy, and of many Egyptian words, the sense of which is determined; it would be easy, I say, to form a perfectly correct alphabet of these letters; but here another difficulty occurs: the alphabetical characters, which without doubt are of very high antiquity in Egypt, must have been in common use for many centuries before the date of the decree; in the course of this time, these letters, as has happened in all other countries, have acquired a very irregular and fanciful form, so as to constitute a kind of running hand. This would render it difficult to read the writing of a language perfectly well known, and must of course continually arrest our progress in this, of which we scarcely know the rudiments. I have been informed that in Upper Egypt, near Syene, there are some long inscriptions in alphabetical characters: it is astonishing, that none of the learned men, who have visited these countries, should hitherto have thought proper to copy these inscriptions; but it may be hoped, that some future traveller will hereafter make us acquainted with them. The Egyptians appear indeed to have had at all times a singular faculty of corrupting their writing, whatever characters they employed: at least, I know of no Greek writing more illegible, than that of the Egyptian papyrus of the Borgian Museum, published by Mr. Schow. Add to all these difficulties those which arise from the different letters being frequently united in a capricious manner, and from the vowels being blended with the consonants, and altering their primitive form, in short from a variety of strokes and points, of which we are unacquainted with the value; and I am sure you will anticipate my apologies, if I frequently fail of satisfying you in what I have to remark respecting this inscription.

You know, Sir, from my printed letter, that I made my first attempt on a very bad impression, taken immediately from the stone of Rosetta. Some time afterwards, the Society of Antiquaries of London was so obliging, as to send me, in Holland,

a copy or fac simile on Chinese paper. It was folded in the form of a letter, and is now worn into pieces, from having been very often folded and unfolded; but it will still serve my purpose in answering your questions. I propose, in this letter, to go through the first lines of the Inscription with you, pointing out the words, which I believe that I recognise in the Coptic; and if this specimen obtains your approbation, you shall have the continuation in a future letter: in the mean time you will be pleased, Sir, to summon up all your patience; and I shall endeavour on my part to be as brief as possible.

In the first place, I ought perhaps to offer you a more perfect Egyptian alphabet, than that which accompanies my letter to Mr. de Sacy: but since I cannot render it so complete as I could wish, I prefer pointing out to you the alterations which I have made, when I have occasion to speak of the words in which they occur. The different combinations of Egyptian letters are so diversified, and at the same time so difficult to determine with precision, that we should be in continual danger of error, if we attempted to make an enumeration of them; perhaps, however, I shall endeavour, at a future time, to perform this difficult undertaking; and in that case, I shall lose no time in communicating to you the result of my labours.

The Egyptian inscription, though tolerably conformable to the Greek text which accompanies it, still preserves the turn which the genius of the language requires; hence have arisen transpositions of words and phrases, and sometimes of complete passages. I have given some examples of this in my printed letter, with regard to the names of the priestesses and their titles. In the same manner, I believe, that the beginning of our inscription differed from that of the Greek, in which the date appears in the 6th line, while in the Egyptian the date seems to have been placed at the beginning, as would be the case in all oriental writings of this nature. Hence it happens, that the name of the Macedonian month Xanthicus is not found in the Egyptian inscription, the stone having been mutilated in

the part where it must have occurred. I suppose then, that the inscription began thus: The fourth day of the Grecian month Xanthicus: [and in short, that the whole of the introductory part may be nearly thus translated.]

L. 1. [On the fourth day of the Grecian month Xanthicus,] and the eighteenth of the Egyptian month Mechir, of the young king, who received the kingdom from his father, lord of the diadems, great in glory, who has established Egypt, triumphant over all the impious who fight against him, greatly loving the gods, who has corrected the life of men, lord of the festival of thirty years, like Vulcan the mighty, king like the sun,

L. 2. [the mighty king of the upper] and lower countries, the son of the parent loving gods, approved by Vulcan, to whom the Sun has given the victory, the living image of Jove, the son of the Sun, Ptolemy the eternal, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, (the son of) Ptolemy and Arsinoe the parent loving gods: the priest of Alexander, and the saviour gods, and the

L. 3. [brother gods, and the gods] beneficent, and the parent loving gods, and the king Ptolemy, the god illustrious, munificent, being Aetus (the son of) Aetus: Pyrrha the daughter of Philinus bearing the emblems of victory of Berenice the beneficent; Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being the bearer

L. 4. [of baskets of Arsi]noe the brother loving; Irene, the daughter of Ptolemy, being priestess of Arsinoe the parent loving; in the ninth year; a decree. The high priests and the prophets, and the priests of the recesses for attiring the gods, the wing-bearers, the scribes, and the other priests from the temples of Egypt,

L. 5. [meeting the king at] the solemn feast of the assumption of the power of king Ptolemy the eternal, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, from his father; being united in the temple of Memphis, said at that hour. . . .

[The reading proposed for these lines will stand nearly thus in the Coptic character.]

L. 1... ⲙⲉⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲏⲙⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲉϫⲓⲣ· ⲙⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲇⲉⲗⲧⲁⲓⲣⲓ· ⲙⲉⲧⲱⲟⲓ ⲙⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲧ· ⲫⲁⲛⲇⲉⲣⲙⲏϩⲉ· ⲡⲟⲩϥⲛⲱⲟⲩ· ⲙⲉⲧ ⲁϥⲛⲱⲱϥ ⲛϫⲏⲙⲓ· ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲓⲙⲙ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲙⲧ ⲛⲱⲁϥⲧ ⲉⲧⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁϥ· ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲟϭ· ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲥⲉⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲙⲙ· ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ Λ ⲑⲁⲱϥ ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ϥⲧⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲟϭ· ⲙⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ

L. 2... ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲟⲩ· ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲓⲱϥ· ⲛϥⲧⲉⲃϥ ϥⲧⲁ· ⲛⲉⲧϯⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲭⲣⲟ· ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲓ ⲛⲱ· ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛ· ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲡⲉϩ· ϥⲧⲁⲙⲙⲁⲓ· ⲙⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲙⲟⲩ· ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲣⲥⲓⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲓⲱϥ· ⲟⲩⲛϧ ⲙⲙⲁⲗⲉϧⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ· ⲁⲩⲱ

L. 3. [ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ] ⲧⲉⲣⲧⲉⲧⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲓⲱϥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ· ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ· ⲡⲧⲣⲁ ⲧϣⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲗⲓⲛⲥ ϥⲁⲓϫⲉⲣⲉ-ϧⲛⲧⲥⲡⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲙⲃⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲧⲉⲧⲟⲥ· ⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲧϣⲉⲣⲓ ⲇⲓⲟⲣⲛⲏ ϥⲁⲓ

L. 4... ⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲥⲙⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ· ϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧϣⲉⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛϧ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲥⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲱϥ· ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ ⲥⲡⲛⲧ· ϩⲁⲧⲣ· ⲛϩⲟⲛ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲛϧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩⲛϧ ⲟⲩϧⲉ ⲉⲣϩⲱⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϥⲓⲙⲙⲉϩⲏ· ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲥϧⲉⲉⲧⲥϧⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲛϧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲏⲙⲓ·

L. 5... ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ· ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧϫⲓⲡⲁⲙⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲡⲉϩ· ϥⲧⲁ-ⲙⲙⲁⲓ· ⲙⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲙⲟⲩ· ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ· ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣϥⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉ· ⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

Remarks on the proposed Reading.

L. 1. In the present state of the stone, the Inscription begins with a word composed of three letters or strokes; the second group incontestably signifies Month; the three following Egypt, Eighteen, and Mechir. Of the name of Egypt I hope you have no doubt; as to the number, if its value were not ascertained by the Greek, I should have read it Eight, both here and in the 28th line, where the word is better written. The name of the month is indicated by a character or abbreviation, of which we shall find more examples towards the end of the inscription; this is a custom which still exists in the Eastern languages. You ask, Sir, if I have remarked, "that the date, which is wanting in the Greek, is the same with that of the assembly which passed the decree;" but I should rather suspect that the date of the 28th line is an abbreviation for the 8th of Pashons. The number 8 is elsewhere denoted by a ⲧ or ⲙ, 5 by an ⲉ, a vertical stroke, and 10 may possibly be here expressed by the character [ϩ] which seems sometimes to answer to the Hebrew י.

ⲉ̀ⲡⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲓϩⲱⲧ) For ⲉ̀ⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲧ. The manuscripts, published by Zoega, are sufficient to show how much the Egyptians confounded the aspirates.

ⲫⲁⲛ̀ϧⲉⲣⲙⲏϫⲉ) or ϥⲁⲓⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏϣⲉ, or ϥⲁⲓⲛ̀ϧⲙⲥⲏϫⲉ. I retract here what I said of the word Lord, in this group: but I find nothing in Coptic that agrees very well with the word crown, which occurs often in the latter part of the inscription: ϩⲣⲏϣⲓ, in a manuscript, signifies a royal ornament: and ⲧϧⲣⲙⲏϫ, or ⲑⲣⲙⲏϫ, may have some relation to the θέρμουθις of Ælian.

ⲛⲟϭϥⲛⲱⲟⲩ) ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̀ⲟⲟⲩ, Thebaic. The ⲟⲩ seems to want an oblique stroke to make a character [like n. 79], which represents this sound in the word Image and elsewhere.

ⲁϥⲡⲱϣϥ) ⲃⲱϭϥ has a similar sense, and ⲡⲱϭⲉ is rendered βάσις. We are much in want of Mr. Quatremère's promised dictionary.

ⲁⲩⲱ) N. 26. The following passage does not appear to be quite literally translated from the Greek.

ⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ) or rather ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲩ, n. 28; the singular, n. 29, seems to be ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

ⲉⲣⲥⲉⲗⲗⲏⲉ) Doubtful, and written differently elsewhere.

ⲁⲓ) For ⲁϩⲓ. The βαὶ of Horapollo was probably ⲡⲁⲓ.

ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲗⲗ) ⲣⲉⲉⲗⲗ. This form of ⲣ or ⲣⲉ, (n. 31. "ⲉⲩ") must be added to the alphabet.

ⲗⲗⲟⲩ) Or ⲡⲃ, or ⲡⲏⲃ.

ⲛⲛⲣⲟⲗⲗⲏⲉ) In lines 4, 9, 15, 17, and 29, the form of this word is considerably different: and you may judge, from the diversity, of the absolute impossibility of explaining satisfactorily all these incomprehensible enigmas.

ⲑⲁϣϥ) From ⲑⲁϣ, to arrange.

ϥⲧⲁ) In a sermon of Sinathi, we have ⲏⲫⲁⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲧⲁϩ, ⲡⲉ, Vulcan, who is Ptah. You see this orthography destroys the etymology of Jablonsky and others.

ⲗⲗⲡⲟ) This name of the sun is obscure: it seems to stand for Hermes in line 27, while in line 11 we clearly read Thoth for Hermes.

L. 2. ⲗⲗⲉⲣⲓⲟⲩ) Perhaps connected with the name of the lake Mareotis.

ⲗⲗϣⲏⲣⲉ) Or rather ⲗⲗϣⲉ, as in ϣⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛⲗⲗⲉⲓⲱⲧ or ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩϩ, cousin.

ⲛϥⲧⲉⲃϥ) ⲧⲉⲃ, sealed; or ⲧⲉⲃⲥ, marked out.

ⲗⲗⲭⲣⲟ) Sahidic for ϭⲣⲟ; perhaps here ⲭⲣⲟⲭ.

ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ) Or ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲓ, or ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓ; ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ in Thebaic seems to signify statue or image.

ⲛⲱ) Perhaps ⲓⲟⲩ, Ἰαώ. Manetho mentions a king Χοῦς, who may have been called ϩⲟⲩ by the Egyptians.

ⲗⲗϣⲏⲣⲉ) Or ⲗⲗϣⲉ.

ⲗⲗⲣⲏ) Rather than ⲗⲗⲡⲟ as above. The titles, which follow the name of Ptolemy, are not, as I had advanced in my letter to Mr. de Sacy, derived from the Greek; on the contrary they are perfectly Egyptian.

ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲡⲉϩ) Or ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲉⲡⲉϩ, or ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲁⲉⲡⲉϩ.

ϥⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓ) Or ϥⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓϥ, or ϥⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁϥ.

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) The ⲱ as in ⲓⲱⲧ, (n. 23. "ⲉⲭⲱ:") the final character of the group somewhat resembles the more modern ϩ.

ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲱⲧ) Or ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧ.

ⲟⲩⲏϧ) Or ⲟⲩⲉϧ; rather than ϩⲟⲛⲧ, which you suggest as more probable: the first character being formed from ⲟ or ⲟⲩ, the upper half of a circle, [called above ⲡ,] and the vertical line ⲁ or ⲉ; the next letter, like the vau of the Hebrew, sometimes answering to ⲓ, sometimes to ⲁ or ⲟ, and here, as I suppose, to ⲩ, which is often confounded with ϧ in Coptic as well as in Greek: the word ϩⲟⲛⲧ occurs in another form in the 4th line; and besides, the Copts always called the pagan priests ⲟⲩⲏϧ.

ⲙⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ) c is often indicated by a horizontal line placed above the next letter; the ⲧ is here reversed. We may observe of the second line in general, that it exhibits some mixture of the different dialects, and that the articles are frequently wanting, though indispensable in Coptic: but the oldest Greek has fewer articles than the more modern: and all the modern languages of the south of Europe abound in articles, though immediately derived from an ancient language which had none at all.

L. 3. ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲩⲉⲧⲟⲥ) The Greek υ after a vowel is pronounced like φ, which is here substituted for it: the γ is expressed by ϰ or ϫ: for these letters are often confounded in the inscription; and the ρ is joined to the character which represents them.

ⲙⲙⲁⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲥ) You know that the reading ΑΕΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΕΤΟΥ was discovered by me from the Egyptian text: and this circumstance obtained me some credit at the time, notwithstanding the doubts of my friend Mr. de Sacy.

ϥⲁⲓϫⲉⲣⲉϧⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲣⲁϫⲉ) You are acquainted with the letter which was addressed to me by the late Mr. Villoison on the term ἀθλοφόρου which he supposed to be an epithet of Berenice, and not of Pyrrha; an opinion which you must have judged wholly unfounded, even from the consideration of the Greek text only: but the Egyptian inscription puts the point beyond all question: ϥⲁⲓ, bearer; ϫⲉⲣⲉϧ, ⲇⲉⲣⲉϧ, in Thebaic ϩⲣϧ, is form or image; the remainder may be either ⲡⲁϫⲓ or ⲣⲁϫⲓ, the lower horizontal line being a ⲡ when

single, and a ⲣ when double, that is, when the letters are placed one above another; for a single horizontal line may be a ⲣ, as we have seen in ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ: ⲛⲁϣ is protection; ⲣⲁϣⲓ joy, and perhaps formerly victory. At any rate the word means bearer of the emblems of victory. The word victory occurs again in lines 20 and 23. The succeeding character may perhaps be ⲛⲧⲉ, belonging to Berenice. It is remarkable, that in a work published some years ago, respecting the hieroglyphical part of the inscription, the author, Mr. Palin, finds a repetition of the character denoting victory in the passage corresponding to this line; a circumstance which he confesses himself unable to explain: but it may be very easily understood, when we recollect that Berenice itself means bearer of victory, and this group, bearer of the emblems of victory.

L. 4. ⲉⲥⲙⲁⲥⲟⲛ) ⲥⲟ is here only a stroke, ⲛ a little line with a point.

ϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) The first character seems to be ϩⲓ or ϩⲉ, for the ϩ was often used in Greek words not aspirated.

ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ) ⲣ is here a detached horizontal line.

ⲥⲡⲛⲧ) Or ⲥⲡⲛⲥ; the ⲯⲓⲧ or ⲯⲓⲥ of the Coptic, as we have ⲙⲙⲛⲧ in Thebaic for ⲙⲙⲏⲧ or ⲙⲙⲉⲧ. The first letter should be a ϫ, according to my alphabet; but it is so often employed for ⲥ, that this may possibly be its true value.

ϩⲁⲧⲣ) Or ϭⲁⲧⲣ; for ϩⲱⲛ: ϩⲧⲱⲣ, in a Thebaic dictionary, seems to signify necessary, ϩⲱⲧⲣ and ϩⲟⲧⲣ to unite, in the Borgian Thebaic fragments. The word is found again in lines 27 and 32.

ⲛϩⲟⲛ) For ⲛϩⲟⲛⲧ, as I think I have also found it in Coptic: it means high priest, as in Genesis xli. 45, 50.

ⲛⲁⲭⲉ) ⲁⲭⲱ, a magician, is near enough to prophet.

ⲛⲟⲧⲏϧⲉ) It is probable that the Egyptians must have had a single word for expressing those who entered the sanctuary to clothe the gods; and the appearance of this circumlocution in the Egyptian text is a new proof of the originality of the Greek. The Greeks called these priests ἱεροστολοι: ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲧⲏϧ expresses ἄδυτον very well: thus ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲥⲁϩⲧ is a kitchen,

ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲭⲱⲭⲓ a quarry; and ⲡ is sometimes absent, as in ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ: ⲙⲙⲟⲓ, for ⲡⲏⲉⲧⲟⲓ, means "those of the;" and if I read the passage rightly, there is no word answering to *εἰσπορευόμενοι*.

ⲟⲩϧⲉ) This word I collect from the form of ⲛⲟⲩϧ, gold, which occurs several times: as for ϩϧⲱⲥ, I leave it at your mercy: the character, which, in my alphabet, I have compared to the ϭ, is probably a c joined to some other letter, and the word, n. 46, which I had read ⲥⲟϭⲡ, must probably be ⲥⲉⲡⲓ.

ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϥⲓⲙⲙⲉϩⲏⲓ) ⲙⲙⲉϩⲓ is a lancet in Kircher's vocabulary; ⲙⲙⲉϩⲓ, or ⲙⲙⲉϩⲉ, a plume, in a Thebaic lexicon. When I began this note, I did not expect to have found so satisfactory a reading, and I have at last almost convinced myself of its accuracy.

ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲥϯⲉⲉⲧⲥϯⲉ) Perhaps a letter or two of the termination is effaced, and it may have been originally ⲉⲧⲥϯⲏⲟⲩⲧ; and the whole may be a sort of reduplication of ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲥϯⲁⲓ, in the oriental taste.

ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲉ) Or ⲥⲉⲡⲓ, the rest; this word would be pretty well determined, if the same letter, which is often an ⲩ, or a ϧ, might here represent a ⲡ.

ⲉⲧⲉ) The pronoun relative still puzzles me, and I cannot determine its pronunciation.

ⲡⲁⲟⲩ) ⲉϧⲟⲗ would be more appropriate than ⲉϥⲁϩⲟⲩ, but it is found elsewhere written differently: the participle *ἀπαντήσαντες* is not translated.

ⲛⲛⲉⲣϥⲏⲟⲩⲉ) The second letter in the word temples is not p, as I formerly read it, but ⲓ or ⲉ, like the last; the p is placed over the following letter, and is often connected with it. The diphthong ⲟⲩ is sufficiently determined by the words ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲟⲩ, and many others.

L. 5. ⲙⲙⲱⲱⲩⲧ) A sacrifice, or perhaps a public meeting: a feast is more literally ⲱⲁ or ⲱⲁⲓ.

ⲙⲙⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉ) Commencement, from ⲟⲩⲱ, ⲟⲩⲟⲓ, ⲟⲩⲓⲉ, undertaking: ⲁⲙⲙⲁϩⲉ is force or power; but we have here a superfluous letter or two in the Egyptian.

ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ) There is an error in my alphabet

respecting the final letter of this name, which I have enumerated among the forms of the ⲥ: but in fact the ⲥ consists simply of three strokes, from which the Copts borrowed their ϣ, the ancient form of this letter approaching still nearer than the modern to the character found in the inscription. The letter in question seems to be the same as at the end of Arsinoe, that is, an ⲉ: but whether or no the Egyptians pronounced the words ⲡⲧⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓⲥⲉ, ⲁⲗⲕⲥⲁⲛⲧⲣⲥⲉ I will not undertake to determine.

ⲭⲓⲡ) Or ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲡ.

ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ) Perhaps simply ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲧ.

ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲟⲩ) United, from ⲟⲩⲁⲓ; the initial ⲟⲩ for ⲁⲩ is often found in the Baschmuric dialect. The radical letters are the same as in the word image, and there is the same doubt respecting them: to collect, in Coptic, is ⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ, ⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧ, ⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ; in Thebaic ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ, ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ.

ⲉϧⲟⲩⲡ) Or ⲉϩⲟⲩⲡ.

ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ) The first stroke is ⲉⲣ, the third must be ⲉⲓ or ⲉ: the word occurs again in lines 16 and 26.

ⲙⲟⲩⲉ) Or ⲙⲟⲉ, Memphis. If the last letter were a ϥ, you would have exactly the "מף" of the Bible; but I dare not attribute that value to the final letter. In Coptic we find ⲙⲉϥⲓ, ⲙⲉⲙϥⲉ. and ⲙⲡϧⲉ: the Arabians write it Menf, which some travellers call Manouf. We may understand by ⲙⲉⲙϥⲉ, heavenly place, and by ⲙⲁⲡⲟⲩϥⲓ, place of pleasure: ⲙⲟⲩⲉ or ⲙⲟⲩⲓ might mean an island, which would not be altogether out of the question. Many Coptic names of towns begin by ϯⲙⲟⲩⲓ, as ϯⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϯ, which was probably the Prosopitis: and this may have retained the name of Isle only, by way of pre-eminence.

ⲟⲩⲭⲉ) Or ⲁⲩⲭⲉ, said: ⲙⲡⲁⲩ, at that hour; or perhaps ⲡⲁϥ, to him; but the pronoun ⲡⲁϥ is always written, in this inscription, like ϥ with a horizontal line over it: here the character seems to consist of an ⲁ and a ⲩ united, though not distinctly expressed.

But enough of these conjectures: it is time to end this letter, which you must have found extremely tedious; but knowing the numerous difficulties with which I have had to contend, you

will be more disposed to receive it with indulgence, than any other person. If you think the subject deserving your attention, I shall continue to give you an account of the Coptic words, which I imagine that I have discovered in this monument, and which are more numerous than you seem to believe. If you wish me to pursue the discussion, you will have the goodness to send me a new copy of the inscription, my own being in so bad a condition, that it is unfit for an investigation which requires great accuracy. Should you be disposed to make public any part of this letter, I must request you to correct the inaccuracies of the style, or rather to translate into English the passages which you wish to employ; and if you prefer writing to me in your own language, I am sufficiently acquainted with it to read your letters without difficulty. * *

7.—*Answer to* Mr. AKERBLAD'S *Second Letter. Dated August*, 1815.

I AM extremely obliged by your long and very interesting letter, which I have only lately been able to read with attention; but I have already profited by the permission that you have given me, to make some extracts from it for publication. I must however confess, that all the learning and ingenuity, which you have displayed in it, only serve still more to convince me of the extreme hopelessness of the attempt to read the Inscription of Rosetta, by means of any imaginable alphabet, into tolerable Coptic, and of the necessity of adhering strictly, in the first instance, to the plan, which I have adopted, of comparing the inscription with itself and with the Greek only. You will observe that the translation, which I have obtained by these means, corresponds, in almost all essential points, with your reading of the first five lines; and it is evident, from your mode of treating the subject, that you have been very little, if at all, indebted to the Coptic for the sense which you attribute to any of the words. With respect to the few passages, which we translate a little differently, I shall take the liberty of stating my reasons for my opinion: and this statement will afford you a sufficient specimen of the mode of analysis which I have employed, and will serve as an illustration of the degree

of certainty which may be obtained by such an investigation: although to enter into the whole chain of evidence, from the beginning of the Inscription to the end, would be insufferably tedious.

1. At the commencement of the first line, you read, "Month of Egypt 18 Mechir." This order is in itself improbable, the number separating the name of the month from its epithet: it is also contrary to the analogy of the 27th line, in which the character denoting 30, both there and in the 1st and 28th lines, stands after the name of the month Mesore: and I am sure you will allow these reasons to be stronger than any connexion you can discover between the characters and the sounds; which, however, appears to me to be entirely in favour of my reading. The repetition of the date, in the 28th line, differs less from this group than many other repetitions of words manifestly identical differ from each other: and you must be aware, on reflection, that the two dates could scarcely be different, the assemblyhaving been actually held on the day of the assumption of the regal power. The month "Xanthicus" is mentioned in the Maccabees, ii. 11.

2. In the word which you translate "young," you seem to include a part of the prefix of the following participle, a prefix which occurs continually throughout the inscription, and which you have elsewhere very properly called the relative pronoun; but I must confess that I do not completely understand your mode of explaining these characters.

3. The group which you read "from," I consider as nearly identical with the word at the beginning of the second line, answering to χωρῶν: "from" is found in many other parts, in a very different form.

4. You invert the Greek expressions "superior to his enemies," and "pious towards the gods." Besides the objections to all unnecessary inversions, it must be observed that the characters, occurring before the word "gods," are all found in other parts of the inscription, expressive of goodness and justice; the first group, with a slight variation, in the word Euergetes, and in the 18th line; the second and third, inverted, in the 6th: and the word which I translate "enemies" is

found, nearly in the same form, in the 13th and 15th lines: it seems to be related to ⲟⲩⲓ and ⲭⲁⲓ.

5. I cannot agree with you respecting the insertion of the date of the year in the fourth line of the inscription; and of the seven forms in which you suppose the word to appear, in different lines, I can only admit the first and the last as correct. The characters in the fourth line occur, with very little variation, in lines 25, 28, and 29 [as above, n. 44], in the sense of "day:" and since they are not found in the next line, where the Greek has τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, I think myself fully authorised to consider them as corresponding to that expression, which may be introduced in this place with perfect propriety; the second part of the group occurs in the last line, apparently in the sense of "this," but the Greek inscription is here defective.

6. With respect to your illustrations of the inscription from the more modern Coptic, I shall only observe in general, that as you have seldom expressed any great degree of confidence in your own conjectures, you cannot be surprised if I have still less disposition to be satisfied with them. The nature of my objections, in many particular instances, will occur to you from the inspection of the readings which I have attempted in my letter to Mr. de Sacy: among these, however, you will observe several words which have also occurred to yourself; and such a coincidence, as far as it extends, cannot but be satisfactory to us both: but I apprehend that if you had simply made a complete alphabetical enumeration of all the forms, which you have been obliged to attribute to the respective letters, even in the first five lines, you would yourself have been alarmed at the inextricable confusion of heterogeneous elements which you have, perhaps unavoidably, introduced.

7. There is a word [n. 31] signifying "men" or "persons" in the 1st and 9th lines: it is formed of a single character, which you read ⲣⲉ, not without some probability, although in other passages I have thought the character better expressed by ⲩ or ⲉⲩ: it is preceded by a letter which is one of the many forms that you attribute to ⲡ, or ⲩ, or ⲃ, or ⲓ, while I have thought it safer to make it an aspirate only; and it is followed by a single vertical stroke, or an ⲉ. This is the common, and

I think the only way of forming a plural in the inscription: the shape of the prefix varies a little; but it has always a corresponding dash at the end of the word or words which it renders plural, except in the word gods, where the prefix is repeated instead of the dash. I cannot therefore agree with you in making this group a part of the word ⲣⲉⲉ or ⲣⲉ, although your opinion of the admissibility of such a word in a separate form, for ⲣⲱ, is strengthened by the authority of Woide's Appendix, Apoc. iii. 7, where we have, in the Thebaic dialect, ⲉ ⲣ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄.

8. You will observe that I have not inserted the word ϩⲟⲛⲧ among my readings, and I have no inclination to defend it; but you must also allow me to consider your reading ⲟⲧⲏϩ as absolutely arbitrary. Petephre, who was a "pagan priest," is called ϩⲟⲛⲧ in Gen. xli. 45.

9. I agree with you that the word victory is included in the term prize-bearer; but I am sorry to deprive you altogether of Mr. Palin's authority, for he most assuredly never saw the part of the hieroglyphic inscription corresponding to this passage.

10. I do not know that it is possible to be quite certain whether the Greek or the Egyptian was the original of the decree, and I allow that there is much truth in your remark, that it seems improbable that the Egyptians should have wanted a single term to express the *tiremen* of the gods. But it is quite certain that the Greeks had such a term, and you have yourself mentioned it. Why, therefore, was it not employed, if the Greek was the original? I cannot agree with you in thinking that either εἰσπορευόμενοι here, or ἀπαντήσαντες in the subsequent part of the line, is omitted in the Egyptian; on the contrary, the same characters occur in both these passages, and for κατελθόντας in line 11, as well as in many other places, with very little variation.

11. The ⲟⲧ of your ⲟⲧϩⲉ, ⲛⲟⲧϩ, ⲛⲉⲣϕⲏⲟⲧⲉ, ⲟⲧⲱⲛϩ, and ⲁⲉⲣⲓⲟⲧ, I apprehend, is supported by no authority whatever: the character occurs in the word temple, but in the singular as well as in the plural [n. 80], and there can be no ⲟⲧ in the singular. The same character is certainly found at the end of the name of the month ⲁⲉⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ: and I have

therefore set it down as in all probability answering simply to the letter ⲏ.

12. You appear to me to have deprived the word "Memphis" of its initial letter, which you will find attached to it in the 16th line, where it is not preceded by the word "temple," to which you have considered the ϕ or π as belonging. I do not insist on the reading ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩϥ, which, as I find from Mr. Champollion's "Egypte sous les Pharaons," was a name not of the old Memphis, but of two other cities called Memphis by the Arabians; at the same time it is barely possible that this denomination may also formerly have belonged to Memphis.

I flatter myself, Sir, that you will not consider the freedom of these remarks as a discouragement to your intention of pursuing the investigation at a future period, since, however we may occasionally differ in opinion, our agreement in the greater number of instances cannot but be considered as affording a confirmation of the truth of the interpretation. I hope you will soon receive the copy of the inscription which you have requested me to procure; it only waits for a proper conveyance; and I trust that your elaborate researches will soon be again employed on so interesting a subject. Should my remarks afford you any assistance in the pursuit, I shall think my labour not lost; though, I fear, but few of my countrymen will have the patience to bestow much of their attention on them. Hitherto, indeed, the literature of Egypt has presented no very strong attractions to the general scholar: but this Inscription, by affording a new pursuit, attended with difficulties almost unsurmountable, yet promising in the end to furnish us with a key to all the treasures of hieroglyphic learning, has opened a wide field for the most arduous exertions of human invention and sagacity, and must naturally excite, in a high degree, the curiosity of the literary world.

Among the extracts and remarks which I have been preparing for publication, you will observe a reimpression of my conjectural translation, compared with a translation of the Greek inscription, said to have been copied and corrected by the late Professor Porson. I have chosen to reprint this translation, rather than to make a new one, partly on account of the high and

well deserved reputation of the eminent scholar who has sanctioned it with his authority, and partly to avoid all danger of being influenced, in construing the Greek, by the result of my analysis of the Egyptian inscription: but I am not a little surprised, as you will probably be, at the number of inaccuracies which appear in it, either left uncorrected, or even introduced by the corrector. I should have been unwilling to believe it possible, without the most positive evidence, where Professor Porson and Professor Heyne differed respecting the sense of a Greek passage, that Porson could have been wrong and Heyne right: yet you will observe that this has here happened in more than one instance, particularly in the translation of the word ἀθλοφόρου, and in the reference of the date to the priesthood of Aetus, as well as in several other less important passages, in which I believe we should both have agreed with Heyne from considering the Greek alone, while the comparison with the Egyptian leaves no further shadow of doubt. * * * *

8.—*From* M. Silvestre de Sacy *to* Dr. Young.*

Monsieur, Paris, 20 Juillet, 1815.

Outre la traduction Latine de l'inscription Egyptienne que vous m'avez communiquée, j'ai reçu postérieurement une autre traduction Anglaise imprimée, que je n'ai pas en ce moment sous les yeux, l'ayant prêté à M. Champollion sur la demande que son frère m'en a faite d'après une lettre qu'il m'a dit avoir reçu de vous.

Je conçois assez facilement, Monsieur, qu'en comparant le nombre des lignes de l'inscription Egyptienne avec celui des

* This letter, a portion of which only was translated and published by Dr. Young in the *Museum Criticum*, is here given entire in the original, as it is an important document in the history of hieroglyphical discovery, and as there is now no motive for suppression. The passages omitted in Dr. Young's translation are printed in Italics. Besides the prediction, so remarkably verified some years afterwards, that M. Champollion would lay claim to Dr. Young's discoveries, this letter furnishes, together with their own correspondence (*infra*, pp. 62-66), ample evidence that the former was, even at this early period, acquainted with Dr. Young's investigations in Egyptian literature, although he states in his *Précis* (published in 1824) p. 18, (2nd ed.) that he had arrived at results similar to those obtained by Dr. Young, without having any knowledge of his opinions.—*Ed.*

lignes de l'inscription Grecque, vous ayez d'abord établi au compas, pour ainsi dire, des points de rapport approximatifs entre les deux inscriptions ; qu'ensuite, ayant égard au retour assez fréquent de certaines formules, vous ayez saisi d'autres rapports plus nombreux, moins équivoques, ou presque certains ; que vous ayez même déterminé la valeur de diverses séries de caractères, et reconnu leur correspondance avec tel mot ou telle série de mots de l'inscription Grecque ; que delà, à l'aide des noms propres, vous ayez fixé la valeur d'un nombre plus ou moins grand de lettres ; qu'enfin, ces lettres connues vous aient procuré le moyen de retrouver d'autres mots appartenant à la langue Copte, comme ⲟⲩⲣⲟ *roi*, ϣⲏⲣⲓ *fils*, ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ temple, ⲭⲟⲛⲧ prêtre, &c. Mais ce que je ne puis concevoir, c'est qu'arrivé à ce point vous ayez pu, par simple voie de conjecture, sans lire le texte Egyptien, et sans l'expliquer à l'aide de la langue Coptè, reconnaître dans l'inscription Egyptienne des choses que ne présente pas l'inscription Grecque ; comment aussi vous ayez pu reconnaître certaines inversions ? Par exemple, je me demande sur quoi vous vous fondez pour commencer l'inscription Egyptienne par les mots *Anno nono, Xanthici die quarto ?* Ce ne peut être, ce me semble, que vous croyez avoir trouvé, dans la même ligne, les mots *mensis Ægyptiorum Mechir die octavo.* Si vous avez lu effectivement les mots ⲙⲉϩⲓⲣ, ⲁⲃⲟⲧ, ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛϩⲏⲩⲓ, je vois le motif de votre détermination, mais alors vous étiez en possession de l'alphabet, vous n'aviez plus qu'à lire et à traduire. Si au contraire vous avez supposé *à priori* que ces mots-là se trouvaient dans la première ligne, quoique l'inscription Grecque n'autorisât pas cette supposition, voilà ce qui me paraît tout-à-fait étrange. Je crois voir cependant, par ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me mander, qu'au moment où vous m'écriviez vous aviez fait peu de progrès dans le déchiffrement de l'écriture Egyptienne.

Au surplus, Monsieur, je dois convenir que votre traduction, toute conjecturale qu'elle est, porte avec elle beaucoup de caractères de vraisemblance. Outre ceux que vous faites valoir vous-même dans votre lettre, il en est beaucoup d'autres qui m'ont beaucoup frappé ; tels sont les répétitions des choses elles-mêmes, au lieu d'une simple désignation par des expressions

abrégées, comme τὸ προειρημένον βασίλειον, ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας; les répétitions destinées à exprimer l'idée des mots *singuli* ou *unusquisque*, comme in *templo templo omni*; les expressions d'une simplicité originale, *antecessorum parentium, antecessorum antecessorum parentium, antecessorum avorum parentium.* Vous avez bien raison, Monsieur, si tout cela est ainsi, de regarder le Grec, non comme le texte original, mais, bien au contraire, comme la traduction de l'Egyptien.

Je pense, Monsieur, que vous êtes plus avancé aujourd'hui, et que vous lisez une grande partie, du moins, du texte Egyptien. Si j'ai un conseil à vous donner, c'est de ne pas trop communiquer vos découvertes à M. Champollion. Il se pourrait faire qu'il prétendât ensuite à la priorité. Il cherche en plusieurs endroits de son ouvrage à faire croire qu'il a découvert beaucoup des mots de l'inscription Egyptienne de Rosette. J'ai bien peur que ce ne soit là que du charlatanisme; j'ajoute même que j'ai de fortes raisons de le penser. Vous n'ignorez sans doute pas que quelqu'un en Hollande a annoncé aussi avoir découvert l'alphabet de cette inscription, et qu'à Paris M. Etienne Quatremère se flatte pareillement d'en lire une grande partie. Soit que je considère ces découvertes réelles ou prétendues en théorie, rien ne me paraît moins invraisemblable; car je tiens pour certain que le Copte est à peu de chose près l'ancien Egyptien, et la traduction Grecque semble devoir offrir un moyen sûr de déchiffrement: mais aussitôt que je reporte les yeux sur le monument je pense différemment, et je désespère qu'on vienne à bout de le lire. Les noms de Ptolémée et d'Arsinoé paraissent bien assurément connus, et cependant l'analyse des caractères dont ces noms se composent est encore fort incertain. *Au surplus, je ne saurais me persuader que si M. Akerblad, Et. Quatremère ou Champollion avaient fait des progrès réels dans la lecture du texte Egyptien, ils ne se fussent pas plus empressés de faire part au public de leur découverte. Ce serait une modestie bien rare, et dont aucun d'eux ne me paraît capable.** Je vois que vous

* This passage was given as follows in the translation: "Nor can I imagine any of the persons who have professed themselves able to read it, to be possessed of so singular a degree of modesty as to have hitherto withheld their discoveries from the public, if they had been tolerably well established."—*Ed.*

comptez peu sur l'alphabet de M. Akerblad, et je n'en suis pas étonné; mais il paraît que vous vous en êtes fait un autre qui vous a procuré la lecture d'un assez grand nombre de mots, puisque vous dites que la langue ressemble beaucoup à la langue Copte ou Thébaïque. Je ne vous demande point, Monsieur, votre secret, quoique j'eusse du plaisir à avoir un avant-goût de votre découverte; mais je désire que vous ne tardiez point à en instruire les hommes qui au milieu des convulsions politiques de l'Europe mettent encore quelque intérêt à ces conquêtes faites sur le temps et l'ignorance, et qui ne coûtent ni larmes ni sang à l'humanité. Je ne sais si vous avez essayé d'appliquer votre méthode de déchiffrement à l'inscription hiéroglyphique; elle me semble devoir s'y appliquer aussi bien, et peut-être mieux, qu'à l'inscription alphabétique; sauf cependant la difficulté qui naît de la cassure de la pierre. Je dis cela parce que je suppose que l'inscription hiéroglyphique a des rapports plus exacts avec l'inscription Egyptienne alphabétique, que celle-ci n'en a avec l'inscription Grecque.

Si vous avez espéré, Monsieur, que je vous offrirais quelques nouvelles lumières sur cet objet de vos études, vous voilà bien trompé dans votre espoir. Je ne puis vous offrir que des vœux bien sincères pour le succès d'une entreprise aussi difficile; succès qui attacherait votre nom à celui des monumens de l'ancienne Egypte.

M. Champollion vient de me renvoyer la lettre de M. R. Boughton. J'y vois que vous paraissez avoir fait de grands progrès dans le déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes.

9.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Mr. SILVESTRE DE SACY. *Dated* 3 *August*, 1815. *Translation.*

THE letter [IV] which I have now the pleasure of sending you was written more than nine months ago, and I have hitherto kept it by me, partly waiting till I heard from you, and partly, as I told Mr. Kopitar, to whom I showed it in the winter, because I had not time to take a copy of it, having been very fully engaged in pursuits of a very different nature. At present

I have been arranging a little paper on the inscription, and your last letter arrived just as I was beginning to renew my attention to the subject. I hope soon to have the pleasure of sending you this paper; but in the mean time I must briefly reply to some of your remarks and inquiries.

You are at a loss to imagine how it was possible for me to recognise the words ⲙⲉⲭⲓⲣ and ⲁⲃⲟⲧ at the beginning of the inscription, without being in possession of an Egyptian alphabet. I answer, that the word "Month" is found several times very distinctly marked, in the 28th and 29th lines, and that having observed the same characters in the first line, with the epithet Egyptian, before the characters which answer to the word "Reigning," at the beginning of the Greek inscription, while the date is wanting in the part of the Egyptian inscription corresponding to the passage of the Greek which contains it, I thought myself fully authorised to conclude, that the Egyptian inscription began with the date; and this opinion was afterwards confirmed by the discovery of a similar group in the latter part of the inscription, where the date is repeated. * * *

I am not surprised that, when you consider the general appearance of the inscription, you are inclined to despair of the possibility of discovering an alphabet capable of enabling us to decipher it; and if you wish to know my "secret," it is simply this, that no such alphabet ever existed; notwithstanding the coincidence of some of the characters with the rudiments of about fifty Coptic words, which I think I have ascertained with tolerable certainty, including the proper names, and the other words which Mr. Akerblad has pointed out in his publication on the subject. Two days after the date of my last letter, I was fortunate enough to satisfy myself respecting the sense of some of the hieroglyphic characters, and by degrees I ascertained enough of them to obtain a translation of the latter part of the inscription, which I have printed in Roman characters; the beginning, as you may easily imagine, is too much mutilated to allow of any satisfactory comparison: but I am in great hopes that I shall shortly be able to obtain either the remaining fragments, or one of the repetitions of the stone, which will

probably enable me to determine the value of two or three hundred hieroglyphic characters; that is, at least one third as many as appear to have been commonly employed: and after this there will be little difficulty in deciphering a multitude of other hieroglyphic inscriptions, in the same manner as I have already succeeded in reading the inscription on the base of the little golden statue engraved in the Archaeologia, which implies "KING * * * LIVING FOR EVER;" the name of course cannot be at once discovered, but the image gives us the portrait of the king in question. The difficulty of the analysis, you will easily believe, was not trifling; and I should not have been able to overcome it, but for the advantage of the intimate connexion between the hieroglyphic and Egyptian inscription, which, as you observe, might naturally be expected; but which, in this instance, was merely accidental, the name of Ptolemy being found three times in a passage of the Egyptian inscription, essential to the comparison, where it happened that the Greek translation had inserted it twice only.

But to return to the alphabet; after having completed this analysis of the hieroglyphic inscription, I observed that the epistolographic characters of the Egyptian inscription, which expressed the words God, Immortal, Vulcan, Priests, Diadem, Thirty, and some others, had a striking resemblance to the corresponding hieroglyphics; and since none of these characters could be reconciled, without inconceivable violence, to the forms of any imaginable alphabet, I could scarcely doubt, that they were imitations of the hieroglyphics,* adopted as monograms or verbal characters, and mixed with the letters of the alphabet; and the terminal mark, which I have expressed by an asterisc in my last letter, appeared evidently to be of the same kind, being a portion of the ring which surrounds the hieroglyphic representations of most of the proper names. All this is extremely unexpected, and in some respects very discou-

* The discovery that the Enchorial characters were partly symbolic and not entirely alphabetical, as had been universally thought, was an important step in the investigation. Chevalier Bunsen, who never loses an opportunity of advancing M. Champollion's claims, says that the latter almost made this discovery. (*Egypt's Place*, p. 324.) It seems, however, that he was destined to be anticipated by Dr. Young in this as in nearly everything else relating to the basis of his system, although he commenced his Egyptian studies much earlier.—*Ed.*

raging, but not the less true, notwithstanding the accounts which the Greek authors have left us of the Egyptian modes of writing: and you see that instead of being led to a knowledge of the hieroglyphic inscriptions by the assistance of the Coptic language, and of alphabetical characters, the only remaining hope appears to be, that we may be able to interpret the old Egyptian manuscripts in general by means of the hieroglyphics. It is admitted that a great number of these manuscripts are purely hieroglyphical; and it is remarkable that not a single group has been observed in any of them, that affords a word distinguishable upon the stone of Rosetta. Mr. Champollion, indeed, imagines that he has found the word Egypt in a manuscript published by Mr. Denon, but I have examined the part to which he refers, without being able to discover it: and I fear that he has been somewhat hasty in several others of his remarks upon this Inscription.

[You may perhaps think me too sanguine in my expectations of obtaining a knowledge of the hieroglyphical language in general from the inscription of Rosetta only; and I will confess to you that the difficulties are greater than a superficial view of the subject would induce us to suppose. The number of the radical characters is indeed limited, like that of the keys of the Chinese; but it appears that these characters are by no means universally independent of each other, a combination of two or three of them being often employed to form a single word, and perhaps even to represent a simple idea: and indeed this must necessarily happen where we have only about a thousand characters for the expression of a whole language. For the same reason it is impossible that all the characters can be pictures of the things which they represent: some, however, of the symbols on the stone of Rosetta have a manifest relation to the objects denoted by them, for instance, a Priest, a Shrine, a Statue, an Asp, a Month, and the Numerals, and a King is denoted by a sort of plant with an insect, which is said to have been a bee; while a much greater number of the characters have no perceptible connexion with the ideas attached to them; although it is probable that a resemblance, either real or metaphorical, may have existed or have been imagined when they were first em-

ployed: thus a Libation was originally denoted by a hand holding a jar, with two streams of a liquid issuing from it, but in this inscription the representation has degenerated into the form of a bird's foot. With respect to the epistolographic or enchorial character, it does not seem quite certain that it could be explained even if the hieroglyphics were perfectly understood: for many of the characters neither resemble the corresponding hieroglyphics, nor are capable of being satisfactorily resolved into an alphabet of any kind: in short the two characters might be supposed to belong to different languages; for they do not seem to agree even in their manner of forming compound from simple terms.]*

I am extremely obliged by your kindness in sending me copies of several little pamphlets relating to oriental literature, which afford a very favourable prospect of the future progress of your countrymen in these studies. I trust that I shall hereafter be able to give you more ample details of my investigations respecting the antiquities of Egypt; but I am not likely for the present, and perhaps not for some years, to have sufficient leisure for the pursuit; and it would even be a waste of time to attempt much more than I have done, without being in possession of a more perfect copy of the Inscription: the first step is however firmly established, and you know how much greater the labour, as well as the chance of error, must have been in such a step, than in all those which are to follow. * * *†

10.—*From* M. Silvestre de Sacy *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Paris, 20 Janvier, 1816.

Je ne sais en vérité ce que vous pensez de moi. Avoir été près de six mois sans vous répondre, après que vous avez eu la complaisance de me communiquer obligeamment un échan-

* This conjecture has been confirmed by Lepsius and others, who are of opinion that the sacred characters contain the early language of Egypt, which probably ceased to be that of ordinary life about the time of the Psammetici, when the Memphitic dialect came into popular use.—(Lepsius, *Lettre à Rosellini*, p. 19.) The latter is the language found in enchorial inscriptions, and from which the Coptic is descended. The earliest enchorial manuscripts that have been found do not date further back than the reign of the Psammetici, about 600 years before the Christian Era.—*Ed.*

† The above is the last letter of the correspondence which appeared in the *Museum Criticum*, No. VI., published at Cambridge in 1815.—*Ed.*

tillon de votre travail sur l'inscription de Rosette, doit vous paraître une négligence bien coupable. Il serait même possible que vous vous fussiez imaginé que j'aurais pris en mauvaise part quelques observations de M. Rouse Boughton que vous avez eu la bonté de me communiquer. Je vous prie de croire qu'il n'en est rien ; que mon long silence n'a pour cause qu'une surcharge d'occupations tout-à-fait contraires à mon goût, et un défaut absolu de loisir. Je dois à une circonstance toute particulière quelques instans de liberté, et je m'empresse d'en profiter pour vous écrire.

J'entre parfaitement dans vos idées, Monsieur, relativement au caractère propre à l'ancienne langue Egyptienne. Je suis convaincu que les noms et les verbes n'y avaient ni déclinaisons, ni conjugaisons ; que toutes les idées accessoires de concordance et de dépendance qui sont exprimées dans le Grec et le Latin par des inflexions, nommées *cas*, *nombres*, *personnes*, *modes*, *temps*, &c. ou n'y étaient exprimées que par l'ordre observé dans la disposition des signes, ou exigeaient autant de signes particuliers qui ne se fondaient et ne s'amalgamaient point avec les signes des idées principales. Ce caractère me paraît être nécessairement celui de toute langue primitive, et devoir se conserver presque sans altération, aussi longtemps qu'une nation conserve l'usage exclusive des caractères hiéroglyphiques. Aussitôt, au contraire, qu'une écriture est introduite qui peint les sons, et non les idées, rien n'arrête plus la formation artificielle d'un système compliqué de grammaire, dans lequel ous les signes accessoires qui modifient les signes des idées principales cessent d'être isolés, et s'attachent en se contractant ou s'abrégeant, au commencement, au milieu, ou à la fin des mots. Le Chinois, qui n'a jamais secoué le joug des caractères hiéroglyphiques, est resté avec sa forme primitive : il n'a ni déclinaisons ni conjugaisons proprement dites : l'Egyptien, qui s'est écrit longtemps avec des caractères hiéroglyphiques seulement, et qui ensuite a usé concurremment de ces mêmes caractères et de caractères alphabétiques, a conservé beaucoup de son ancienne physionomie.* L'amalgame des formes grammaticales avec les mots principaux y est à peine commencé.

* According to Klaproth the Japanese, in its system of writing, exhibits a closer analogy than any other language to the Egyptian. "Les Japonais mêlent leurs

Les langues Grecque, Latine, &c., qui ne se sont jamais écrites qu'avec des caractères alphabétiques, ont un système grammatical plus compliqué; et un seul mot primitif, y passant par la filière des déclinaisons et des conjugaisons, donne naissance à une multitude presque infinie de combinaisons artificielles, où l'idée principale est exprimée avec toutes les modifications de concordance et de dépendance dont elle est susceptible. Ne pourrait-on pas ajouter que les langues qui ne s'écrivent point du tout, multiplient encore plus facilement ces combinaisons, et ne serait-ce pas là la raison de cette multitude de formes, de cette grammaire si compliquée, qu'on observe dans les langues barbares, comme le Basque, le Groënlandais, la langue du Congo, &c.? Je ne sais, Monsieur, si je rends ma pensée d'une manière bien claire. Au surplus, vous la trouverez présentée avec un peu plus de développement dans le compte que j'ai rendu des *Recherches* de M. Et. Quatremère, sur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte. Sans doute, Monsieur, vous me comprendrez parfaitement, puisque vous avez vous-même observé ce fait, et que vous dites que cette ancienne langue Egyptienne est construite entièrement sur le modèle des caractères hiéroglyphiques.

Mais d'accord avec vous, par la seule théorie, sur ce point général, je suis bien moins convaincu de la vérité de la valeur que vous attribuez à divers caractères; et de la manière dont vous lisez la plupart des mots que vous croyez avoir reconnus. Je crois bien que l'on peut souvent déterminer, comme vous l'avez fait, la place qu'occupe dans l'inscription Egyptienne alphabétique, tel mot de l'inscription Grecque, comme on le ferait pour une inscription purement hiéroglyphique; mais indiquer ensuite la valeur des lettres dont le mot se compose, en fixer la lecture, le présenter en tout autre caractère, *hic labor, hoc opus est.* Il serait téméraire à moi de censurer le travail des personnes qui ont consacré beaucoup de temps à l'examen et à l'analyse de ce monument; aussi ne proposai-je mes doutes qu'avec une grande réserve.

signes syllabiques, exprimant des sons, aux caractères idéographiques des Chinois exactement comme les Egyptiens, dont l'écriture se composait à la fois de signes phonétiques et de signes symboliques." *Examen Critique des Travaux de feu M. Champollion sur les Hiéroglyphes*, p. 25.—*Ed.*

M. Akerblad, dans une lettre d'Octobre 1815, me dit vous avoir écrit sur la fin de 1814, une longue lettre qu'il a remise à Lord Brownlow, et dans laquelle il vous communiquait son analyse des cinq premières lignes de l'inscription. C'est beaucoup plus qu'il ne m'en a laissé entrevoir dans un temps où il se flattait de parvenir à la déchiffrer. J'en conclus qu'il désespère tout-à-fait de succès. Je ne sais si sa lettre vous sera parvenue.

Je n'entends plus parler de M. Champollion. Sa conduite politique, pendant le règne de trois mois d'Ahriman, lui a fait peu d'honneur, et il n'a sans doute plus osé m'écrire. Il aura vu d'ailleurs, par un rapport que lui-même avait provoqué, et dont j'avais été chargé, que je n'étais pas dupe de son charlatanisme. Je lui en ai donné une copie à sa demande, et il ne m'en a pas même fait un remercîment. Il est sujet à jouer le rôle du geai paré des plumes du paon. Ce rôle-là finit souvent fort mal.

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11.—*From* Dr. Young *to* Baron Silvestre de Sacy.

5 Mai, 1816.

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 20 Janvier, et vous trouverez que j'y avais déjà répondu en partie dans la brochure que j'ai le plaisir de vous offrir. Elle est tirée du Museum Criticum, ouvrage périodique qu'on imprime trois ou quatre fois par an à Cambridge. Je ne la reçus qu'hier, quoique j'en eusse remis la copie au rédacteur avant plusieurs mois. J'espère, Monsieur, que vous ne désapprouverez pas l'usage que j'ai fait de votre nom ; j'ai eu soin de ne rien introduire qui pût vous compromettre, et si vous aviez été plus proche j'aurais demandé votre permission formelle avant de publier les extraits de notre correspondance. Si vous lisez la lettre de M. Akerblad, vous conviendrez, je crois, qu'au moins il n'a pas été plus heureux que moi dans ses leçons Coptes de l'inscription. Mais le vrai est que la chose est impossible dans l'étendue que vous paraissez encore vouloir lui donner, car assurément l'inscription *enchoriale* n'est *alphabétique* que dans un sens très borné. . . . . .

Je me suis borné dernièrement à l'étude des hiéroglyphes, ou plutôt à la collection d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, en attendant que je sois plus en état de les étudier à l'aide des fragmens ou des divers exemplaires de la pierre que M. Salt est chargé de chercher et de faire passer en Europe. Mes succès ultérieurs ne dépendent que trop des siens, et je ne me flatte pas beaucoup d'espérance, mais je ferai de mon mieux. Les caractères que j'ai découverts jettent déjà quelques lumières sur les antiquités de l'Egypte. J'ai reconnu par exemple le nom de Ptolémée dans diverses inscriptions à Philae, à Esné et à Ombos, ce qui fixe à peu près la date des édifices où ce nom se trouve, et c'est même quelque chose que de pouvoir distinguer dans une inscription quelconque les caractères qui expriment les noms des personnages auxquels elle a rapport.

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12.—*From* M. SILVESTRE DE SACY *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, 14 Mai, 1816.

AYANT reçu avant hier votre lettre du 5 de ce mois, je m'empresse d'y répondre de la manière qui me semble la plus propre à vous prouver le grand intérêt que je mets à votre travail et à votre succès. Je vous envoie la gravure des caractères Egyptiens écrits sur une longue bande d'étoffe qui est conservée dans le dépôt de l'Institut. La gravure en a été faite avec beaucoup de soin.

Je ne désapprouve en aucune manière l'usage que vous avez fait de ma correspondance. M. Akerblad est toujours à Rome ; j'ai reçu hier une lettre de lui. Je vois qu'il a des doutes sur son alphabet Egyptien, plus que par le passé. Il craint que dans l'extrait que vous avez publié de ses lettres il n'ait l'air de parler d'une manière trop positive et avec trop d'assurance, "tandis," dit-il, "qu'il n'a proposé ses opinions, ou, pour mieux dire, ses doutes, qu'avec toute la modestie possible, et souvent en forme de plaisanterie." Je vous copie ceci en confidence, pour que vous en soyez instruit, mais ne lui marquez point que je vous l'ai communiqué.

13.—Dr. Young *to* M. Silvestre de Sacy.

Pour vous témoigner combien je vous suis redevable du présent que vous m'avez fait de la gravure du manuscrit qui est conservé dans le dépôt de l'Institut, je m'empresse de vous adresser un échantillon de mon travail sur cette matière, quoiqu'il ne soit par hasard que peu propre à vous en donner une idée complette. C'est un des tableaux de votre MS. comparé avec les hiéroglyphes du grand papyrus de 'La Description de l'Egypte.' Vous voyez que les lignes quatre, cinq et six s'accordent presque parfaitement entre elles; le reste est plus incertain quoiqu'il y ait plusieurs traits de ressemblance. A la fin de la ligne cinq et au commencement de la sixième on trouve les caractères , qui dans l'inscription de Rosette correspondent à l'épithète Epiphanes : dans l'écriture cursive, où je l'ai trouvé près de cent fois, cela devient , et dans la partie enchoriale de l'inscription de Rosette , mais on y ajoute toujours comme intensitifs les caractères , qui ont un sens à-peu-près semblable. Voilà où est réduit mon ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲧ Φερι!

Je vous suis obligé de m'avoir dit en confidence ce que M. Akerblad vous a remarqué sur ma traduction de sa lettre : sans doute il a voulu s'excuser auprès de vous de paraître un peu trop positif; mais assurément il ne peut pas se plaindre de moi; je n'ai taché que de rendre ses idées à la lettre quoiqu'un peu rétrécies, et si j'avais été capable de les modifier c'est plutôt ses doutes que ses décisions que j'aurais été tenté d'exagérer.

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14.—*From* M. Champollion *to the* President *of the* Royal Society.*

Monsieur le Président, Grenoble, le 10 Novembre, 1814.

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser les deux premiers volumes d'un ouvrage que j'ai entrepris sur l'Egypte telle qu'elle fut avant l'invasion de Cambyse. Les siècles qui nous séparent de cette époque si importante pour l'histoire de la civilisation, ne nous ont laissé que des souvenirs épars et confus de l'antique gloire de cette contrée. J'ai essayé de les recueillir, et les volumes qui accompagnent cette lettre sont le premier résultat de mes travaux. Veuillez prier la Société Royale d'en agréer l'hommage.

Ils ne contiennent que la partie géographique. J'ai dû placer avant le tableau de la langue, de la religion, et de l'histoire des anciens Egyptiens, la description du pays qu'ils ont habité. Mon but principal a été de faire connaître d'abord les véritables noms que ce peuple donnait à sa patrie, au fleuve qui la fertilise et aux villes nombreuses qui s'élevaient sur ses rives. Les géographes n'en ont connu jusques ici que les noms Grecs. J'ai retrouvé les dénominations primitives dans les livres des Egyptiens du moyen âge, écrits en Egypte et dans son ancienne langue. J'ai comparé les documens précieux qu'ils m'ont fourni en abondance, avec ceux que nous devons aux Grecs et aux Arabes, et j'ai cru appercevoir dans ce parallèle des résultats qui éclairciront plusieurs points importants de la Géographie comparée de l'empire des Pharaons. Je m'empresse, Monsieur le Président, de les soumettre à votre illustre compagnie; son suffrage deviendrait pour moi un

* Although this letter was not addressed to Dr. Young, it was answered by him as Foreign Secretary to the Royal Society; and it seems to deserve insertion here, not only because it was the accidental origin of a correspondence on hieroglyphical subjects between him and M. Champollion, which was continued, though not without some interruption, till Dr. Young's death, but because it shows that even thus early M. Champollion pretended to have attained, by his own researches, to a considerable knowledge of the Egyptian inscription on the Rosetta Stone, although he did not favour the world with any evidence of his discoveries. It will be seen from the preceding correspondence (pp. 17, 51), that Mr. Silvestre de Sacy, his "ancien professeur," whom M. Champollion himself (*Précis, Avertissement*, 2nd ed., p. xiv) evidently considered a paramount authority, regarded his pretensions as mere charlatanry.—*Ed.*

bien flatteur encouragement si j'étais assez heureux pour l'obtenir.

A la partie géographique doit succéder celle qui regarde la langue et les écritures des Egyptiens. Elle sera en même temps la plus importante. Elle est aussi celle qui offre le plus de difficultés à vaincre et d'obstacles à surmonter. La base de mon travail est la lecture de l'inscription en caractères Egyptiens, qui est l'un des plus beaux ornemens du riche Musée Britannique; je veux parler du monument trouvé à Rosette. Les efforts que j'ai faits pour y réussir n'ont point été, s'il m'est permis de le dire, sans quelques succès; et les résultats que je crois avoir obtenus après une étude constante et suivie, m'en font espérer de plus grands encore. Mais je me trouve arrêté par une difficulté qu'il m'est impossible de surmonter. Je possède deux copies de cette inscription; l'une est faite d'après le *fac-simile* que votre Société a fait graver, l'autre est la gravure du même monument qui doit faire partie de la troisième livraison de la Description de l'Egypte, publiée par l'ordre du gouvernement Français. Elles offrent des différences quelquefois peu importantes, mais quelquefois assez grandes pour me laisser dans une fâcheuse incertitude. Me serait-il permis de prier la Société Royale de confronter les passages transcrits sur la feuille ci-jointe, d'après les deux gravures, avec le monument lui-même? Il est pour moi d'une haute importance de connaître la véritable leçon; et je suis convaincu que j'aurais déjà fixé la lecture de l'inscription entière si j'avais eu sous les yeux un plâtre coulé dans un moule fait sur l'original et par les procédés les plus simples; mais étant réduit à me servir de deux copies qui souvent me présentent des apparences bien diverses, je ne vais que pas à pas et avec une extrême défiance. On ne doit pas même douter que cette partie essentielle de l'antiquité Egyptienne ne fût aujourd'hui plus avancée, si une copie moulée, comme je le dis, du beau monument de Rosette était déposée dans chacune des principales bibliothèques de l'Europe, et envoyée à ses Académies les plus célèbres: ce nouveau présent fait aux amis des bonnes lettres serait digne du zèle et du désintéressement qui animent la Société Royale.

J'ose recommander mon ouvrage à son indulgence, et c'est avec beaucoup d'empressement que je saisis cette occasion de lui payer mon tribut d'admiration et reconnaissance pour ses grands et utiles travaux.

15.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* M. CHAMPOLLION.

MONSIEUR,

LE Président de la Société Royale a reçu l'exemplaire de votre ouvrage sur l'Egypte que vous avez bien voulu adresser à la Société, mais il ne l'a pas encore présenté à la Société, puisqu'à en juger par votre lettre il paraît douteux si vous avez eu l'intention de l'envoyer à la Société Royale ou à la Société d'Antiquités, qui a seule le mérite d'avoir fait graver l'inscription de Rosette : et il l'a cru de son devoir de vous demander, Monsieur, de nouvelles instructions sur la présentation de votre ouvrage à l'une ou à l'autre Société.

J'ai eu beaucoup de plaisir et d'intérêt, Monsieur, à faire les comparaisons que vous souhaitez entre les deux copies de l'inscription. En général celle de la Société Antiquaire me paraît presque parfaite ; quelquefois, pourtant, la copie Française est la plus exacte : mais dans la plupart des endroits que vous avez cités il y a quelque obscurité dans les traits originaux qui sont un peu confus ou usés, et ce n'est qu'en comparant les diverses parties de la pierre qu'on peut s'assurer de la véritable leçon. Autant que j'ai pu distinguer les traits dans un jour qui n'était pas très-favorable, on doit lire ainsi.

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Malgré ces petites différences, ceux qui voudront se donner la peine d'étudier cette inscription trouveront toutes les deux copies assez exactes pour s'assurer du sens de la plupart des mots. Je ne sais si par hasard M. de Sacy, avec qui vous êtes sans doute en correspondance, vous aura parlé d'un exemplaire que je lui ai adressé de ma traduction conjecturale avec l'explication des dernières lignes des caractères hiéroglyphiques. Je lui avais déjà envoyé la traduction de l'inscription Egyptienne au commencement du mois d'Octobre passé ; l'interprétation des hiéroglyphiques ne m'est réussie qu'à la fin du même

mois. Je n'ai pas encore eu le temps de parcourir votre intéressant ouvrage, que je possède depuis deux ou trois mois seulement: mais je vois que nous sommes d'accord dans le mot ⲗⲱ ⲙⲛⲩ pour ⲙⲛⲓⲥⲓ, et dans quelques autres mots, quoiqu'il y ait des cas où nous différons beaucoup l'un de l'autre. J'ai aussi le plaisir d'apprendre que M. Akerblad a trouvé comme moi le mot ϩⲁⲣϩ dans le ⲕⲁ/ⲓⲛ de l'inscription, l'ayant cité dans une dissertation sur la Lamina Dodwelliana. Au reste, après avoir reconnu le sens de plusieurs caractères hiéroglyphiques, j'en ai trouvé quelques-uns très-distinctement dans notre inscription Egyptienne: elle n'est donc rien moins que simplement alphabétique. Sans cela je ne doute point que les efforts réunis des savans tels que M. Akerblad et vous-même, Monsieur, qui avez tant approfondi l'étude de la langue Copte, n'eussent déjà réussi à en donner une traduction plus parfaite que la mienne, qui est tirée presque en entier d'une comparaison très-laborieuse de ses différentes parties entre elles, et avec la traduction Grecque. Si vous voulez bien m'indiquer quelqu'un demeurant à Paris qui voudrait s'en charger pour vous, j'aurais l'honneur de vous en offrir un exemplaire comme un témoignage très peu considérable de mon estime.

16.—*From* M. CHAMPOLLION *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Grenoble, le 9 Mai, 1815.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et je m'empresse de vous donner les éclaircissemens que vous avez la bonté de demander.

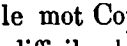
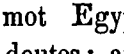
Je serai charmé que la Société Royale veuille bien agréer comme un témoignage de mon respect l'envoi de mon ouvrage sur l'Egypte des Pharaons; je renouvelle ici le désir que j'ai de mériter ses suffrages, auxquels j'attache le plus grand prix: permettez-moi de vous prier d'être auprès d'elle l'interprète de mes sentimens.

Vos savants travaux sur l'inscription de Rosette, les résultats que vous avez obtenus, et surtout l'extrême obligeance que vous montrez à mon égard, me ferait toujours regarder

comme fort heureuse pour moi, Monsieur, la circonstance imprévue qui me met en rapport avec vous. Je m'en félicite bien sincèrement.

Recevez d'abord, Monsieur, mes remercîments de la peine que vous avez prise de vérifier vous-même sur le monument original plusieurs passages dont la transcription offrait des différences importantes dans les deux copies que j'ai entre mes mains; la version que vous me donnez justifie mes conjectures sur quelques mots dont je soupçonnais la valeur sans qu'il me fût possible de l'assigner; cela me prouve toujours davantage l'extrême utilité que les savants qui s'occupent du déchiffrement de cette inscription ne pourraient manquer de trouver dans la possession d'un simple plâtre coulé sur l'original, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de le dire à la Société Royale.

M. Silvestre de Sacy, mon ancien professeur, ne m'a point donné connaissance de votre mémoire sur la partie Egyptienne et le texte hiéroglyphique de l'inscription de Rosette:* c'est vous dire, Monsieur, avec quel empressement je recevrai l'exemplaire que vous avez la bonté de m'offrir. Je vous prierai de l'adresser à M. *Champollion-Figeac, Rue de Lille*, No. 73, à Paris, qui reçoit mes paquets et mes lettres.

J'étudie depuis longtemps le texte Egyptien du monument de Rosette; le mot  avait aussi attiré mon attention dans la douzième ligne, mais j'avoue que, malgré les rapports qu'il présente avec le mot Copte ⲃⲁⲣⲓ, ou ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲓ avec l'article, il me paraît difficile de les croire identiques. La terminaison seule du mot Egyptien  suffit peut-être pour justifier mes doutes; au reste ce n'est qu'après avoir lu votre intéressant mémoire que je pourrai me prononcer à cet égard. J'ose espérer aussi qu'il me sera permis de continuer une correspondance dont tout l'avantage sera bien certainement tout de mon côté.

* It was afterwards lent to him by Baron de Sacy at the request of his brother, M. Champollion-Figeac. (See p. 49.)—*Ed.*

17.—*From* M. JOMARD *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, 29 Avril, 1815.

. . . . . .

LE succès que vous avez obtenu, Monsieur, dans l'interprétation de la pierre de Rosette, a excité mon intérêt et ma curiosité au plus haut degré, et, plus encore que tout le reste, ce que vous avez fait sur l'inscription en hiéroglyphes. La matière, on peut le dire (et vous le faites observer vous-même) est encore toute neuve après bien des efforts et des recherches faites sans base, et même sans connaître les formes précises des caractères. C'est à ce dernier objet que je me suis attaché pendant mon voyage en Egypte et depuis mon retour, et j'espère pouvoir donner un catalogue assez complet d'hiéroglyphes convenablement classés et distincts. Vous savez, Monsieur, jusqu'où l'on a poussé le délire dans les suppositions et les conjectures avancées pour déchiffrer les hiéroglyphes, mais toujours sans poser aucun principe, sans soupçonner que cette écriture fût systématique, enfin sans se douter de l'existence des modifications grammaticales. Comment par cette voie serait-on arrivé à quelque résultat? L'on n'est pas près d'avoir une solution générale de ce fameux problème, mais l'on ne doit pas en désespérer entièrement, en considérant la grande quantité de matériaux qui sont ou seront bientôt dans les mains des savans. L'opuscule que je prends la liberté de vous offrir, Monsieur, et qui est presque entièrement descriptif, fait juger des ressources qu'on possède. Point de doute que des savans, tels que vous, Monsieur, n'obtiennent de grands succès, à l'aide de tant de peintures, de manuscrits, de bas-reliefs et de monuments correctement gravés.

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18.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* M. JOMARD.

MONSIEUR,

JE vous dois bien des remercîmens pour l'obligeant cadeau que vous m'avez fait de votre savante et intéressante dissertation. Si j'avais eu le plaisir de vous voir pendant votre séjour à Londres j'aurais pu vous montrer les détails de

mes recherches sur les caractères hiéroglyphiques: mais à présent il m'est impossible de vous en faire part par écrit: et il ne me reste que de vous promettre un exemplaire de quelques remarques que je vais faire imprimer sur l'inscription de Rosette, sans pourtant entrer dans l'interprétation de la partie hiéroglyphique. Je ne me propose de poursuivre cette partie du travail què j'ai entrepris que quand j'aurai procuré des copies de ce qui reste des autres fragmens connus des pierres trilinguales. M. Salt, qui s'est déjà distingué comme voyageur éclairé, vient d'être nommé Consul-Général pour l'Egypte, et il a eu la bonté d'entreprendre de faire tout son possible pour me les envoyer. Le Dr. Clarke, dans son voyage, parle d'une de ces pierres qui restait encore dans la cour de la maison de l'Institut à Caire, et qui était trop usée pour qu'on pût lire l'inscription en Grecque en entier, mais les traces les plus faibles seraient très-précieuses pour mon but, et j'ose assurer que si nous avions cette inscription complette, je la lirais tout de suite moyennant ce que j'ai déjà déchiffré, et qu'après cela les caractères hiéroglyphiques en général deviendraient susceptibles d'une explication exacte. Peut-être, Monsieur, quelqu'un de vos savans confrères aura déjà essayé de conserver quelques traits de cette répétition de la pierre; et vous m'obligeriez beaucoup si vous pouviez me procurer quelques renseignemens sur cet objet.

Il mé serait d'une grande utilité, Monsieur, dans cette étude s'il vous était possible de me faire parvenir un exemplaire des planches dont vous parlez dans votre mémoire, et où vous avez rassemblé tous les caractères hiéroglyphiques connus. J'en pourrais, peut-être, faire la base d'un Index Hiéroglyphicus, ou d'une espèce de dictionnaire, qu'il faudrait construire peu à peu avec les interprétations qu'on réussirait à établir. Les planches seraient peut-être couteuses, mais j'en ferai volontiers les frais.

M. Boughton, qui a éveillé par hasard au commencement ma curiosité sur la littérature Egyptienne, aura la bonté de vous remettre cette lettre. Comme il a été beaucoup en Egypte, j'espère qu'il ne vous sera pas désagréable de faire connaissance avec lui.

19.—*From* M. JOMARD *to* Dr. YOUNG.

Paris, le 17 Août, 1815.

J'AI reçu avec une grande satisfaction la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré et dont M. Boughton était porteur. Pour me conformer à votre désir je vous adresse des notes sur un monument trilingual, du genre de la célèbre pierre de Rosette. J'ai vu ce monument à Menouf, dans la basse Egypte, où il avait déjà été remarqué par M. Jollois, mon collègue, qui a bien voulu extraire de son journal une des notes ci-jointes. Ce fragment précieux, même dans l'état où il est, vaut la peine d'être transporté en Europe, et si j'avais eu le plaisir de voir M. Salt, ou si pendant mon voyage à Londres j'avais connu son projet d'aller en Egypte, je lui aurais recommandé de faire ses efforts pour enlever cette pierre de Menouf. Il en est de même d'un morceau semblable, découvert par M. Caristie dans une mosquée du quartier d'Asym Bey. J'ai trouvé dans mon propre journal un article sur ce fragment, et j'en joins ici la copie. Cette pierre est encore malheureusement dans un état de destruction qui ne laisse pas d'espérance d'y rien déchiffrer de complet. Néanmoins je pense que M. Salt ferait bien aussi de l'apporter en Euroqe. A mon départ d'Egypte, on l'avait enlevée de la mosquée et déposée dans une des cours du quartier d'Asym Bey, qu'habitait l'Institut: c'est assurément celle dont a parlé le docteur Clarke.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de communiquer tous les détails à M. Salt, et de l'engager fortement à vous envoyer ces précieux débris au lieu de copies, qui seraient nécessairement défectueuses. S'il a la bonté de me donner le moyen de correspondre avec lui d'une manière suivie, je lui adresserai par la suite des renseignemens utiles à ses recherches.

Je m'occupe toujours du tableau des hiéroglyphes classés par séries et dans un ordre déterminé. Ce tableau serait gravé si je n'avais encore quelques monumens à passer en revue pour le rendre aussi complet que le sujet le comporte. C'est un travail que je poursuis avec une sorte d'affection, parceque je me suis aperçu qu'il ne serait pas inutile aux recherches des savans. J'ai toujours été surpris des peines que se

sont données en pure perte tant d'habiles gens, pour déchiffrer les hiéroglyphes. C'est à peu près comme si l'on voulait lire et entendre l'Hébreu sans connaître le nombre ni la figure des lettres de l'alphabet Hébraïque.

Agréez, Monsieur, toute ma reconnaissance pour l'offre que vous faites de contribuer à la gravure de ma table des hiéroglyphes, &c.

20.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* M. JOMARD.

MONSIEUR,

JE vous suis extrêmement redevable des renseignements que contenait votre lettre, quoiqu'ils ne flattent pas beaucoup l'espoir que j'avais entretenu de pouvoir recouvrir quelque autre exemplaire de la pierre de Rosette. Je me suis beaucoup occupé à copier toutes les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques que j'ai pu recueillir, et plus je poursuis ce travail moins je me trouve de confiance à pouvoir jamais parvenir à l'interprétation parfaite de tous les caractères; néanmoins je gagne toujours quelque chose et je me nourris d'espérance. Vous verrez un peu la méthode dont je me suis servi dans la brochure que j'ai l'honneur de vous offrir; mais je n'y en suis entré que fort peu dans le détail.

Je n'ai point eu de nouvelles de M. Salt depuis son départ. Notre gouvernement l'a chargé à ma prière de ne point épargner de dépense pour trouver et pour faire passer ici les fragmens qui sont devenus si précieux; et l'on me dit que le gouvernement Français lui a remis un exemplaire du bel ouvrage auquel vous avez eu tant de part, pour aider ses recherches sur les antiquités de l'Egypte. Je serais charmé d'apprendre que votre collection d'hiéroglyphiques fût prête à être imprimée; elle m'intéresserait sans doute plus qu'aucune autre personne. Je suis curieux de savoir à quel nombre de signes vous avez porté votre catalogue; j'ai peur qu'ils ne soient de beaucoup plus nombreux que Zoega ne s'était imaginé.*

* Zoega estimated the entire number of hieroglyphic signs at 958, while according to Champollion they amount to 864.—*Ed.*

21.—*From* M. JOMARD *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 25 Février, 1816.

JE m'empresse de vous transmettre mes vifs remercîmens pour la nouvelle preuve d'intérêt que vous venez de m'accorder, en me faisant le présent de vos ingénieuses remarques sur les langues Egyptiennes. Personne avant vous, Monsieur, n'avait été aussi loin dans la découverte, ou du moins dans la publication de résultats si intéressans. Il vous appartient sans doute d'arriver à la solution complète de ce problème compliqué, d'autant plus difficile, que plusieurs données sont incertaines, vagues et sans fixité. Assurément on doit regretter beaucoup que les monumens analogues à la pierre de Rosette soient si rares et en si mauvais état, et qu'elle-même soit incomplète. Ne désespérons pas de découvrir encore quelque autre pierre du même genre. Je compte beaucoup sur le zèle de M. Salt pour le progrès de la science des antiquités. Il emporte en effet un exemplaire du voyage d'Egypte qui lui sera de quelque utilité dans ce pays.

Je n'ai pu encore faire la lecture de l'ouvrage que vous avez eu la bonté de m'adresser. Ce n'est pas sans fruit que je lirai vos recherches, et je vois déjà que vous pensez comme plusieurs de nos savans à l'égard des tentatives de M. Akerblad. Il paraît certain que s'il eût possédé la clef de l'Egyptien littéral, depuis longtemps il eût publié la version entière de l'inscription du monument de Rosette. Il paraît bien aussi que la langue Copte, telle qu'elle est connue, est insuffisante pour lire l'Egyptien.

Il est fâcheux pour moi de n'avoir pu terminer le tableau des hiéroglyphes ; aussitôt qu'il y en aura une copie, elle vous sera certainement destinée. Dans ce moment, la publication de la dernière livraison du voyage d'Egypte m'occupe beaucoup. Elle renferme 450 planches et 3000 pages de texte. La grande carte en 50 feuilles en fera partie. Le gouvernement continue avec libéralité à faire les frais de l'entreprise.

22.—*From* M. Akerblad *to* Dr. Young.*

Sir, Rome, 19th April, 1816.

I received, a long while ago, your obliging letter, which was delivered me by Mr. Fagan, together with the copies of the Rosetta inscription, which the Antiquarian Society has been pleased to favour me with. I hope you will have the goodness to present my respectful thanks to that illustrious Society for such a particular favour, and desire the Society to do me the honour to accept of two small dissertations of mine, with which the bearer of this, my friend Mr. Millingen, has the kindness to charge himself, in order to deliver them to you for that purpose.

A few weeks ago I had the pleasure to receive your letter of 15th February, with the extracts of papers relating to the Egyptian inscription. I heartily wish you successful progress in the explanation of the hieroglyphical characters. I hope your system will be more convincing than that of Mr. Palin, who scarcely seems to have understood himself. As for your conjectural translation of the Egyptian inscription, I really do not conceive the purpose of it, as the question is to discover the alphabet, and consequently to separate and read the Egyptian words, not merely to make out the meaning of the inscription, which is undoubtedly the same as in Greek. By your third letter to Mr. de Sacy, I learn that you have adopted almost the whole of my alphabet and most part of the readings which I proposed in my printed letter. In the subsequent series of words, you vastly differ from my way of dividing the words, except in two or three instances: you scarcely admit of the possibility of reading the inscription in *tolerable Coptic*. If by this expression you intend that small portion of the language which is contained in Lacroze's Lexicon, you may have some reason; but our stock of Coptic words, extracted from manuscripts, is much more extensive, and several passages in the

* Mr. Akerblad's former letter, No. 6, originally written in French, was translated by Dr. Young, for publication, at the request of the writer, who said that on looking over it he found the style "extrêmement négligé et souvent barbare." The above letter, No. 22, was written in English, and has only received a few slight verbal corrections.—*Ed.*

inscription may possibly be explained by such Coptic words which you never meet with in Lacroze.

I enter into no discussion about the objections you make to several of my readings. Had I published them in my letter to Mr. de Sacy, you might have adopted them as well as those contained in the same letter; but having now formed a system of your own, you ought of course to disapprove of my conjectures. *Todo puede ser*, say the Spaniards, and perhaps your way of reading may be much better than my own; only two or three persons in Europe can judge of this matter. Our friend Mr. de Sacy, I believe, is not versed enough in the Coptic literature to be admitted as a judge; Quatremère and Champollion are more advanced.

You suppose, Sir, that the Greek inscription is nothing more than a translation of the Egyptian. It may be so; but give me leave to ask you, why then do we meet with Greek words in the Egyptian text, exactly where the same words occur in the Greek inscription? You do not disapprove, it seems, of my reading συντάξεις. See here another word, which begins the seventh line, ; is it not δαπάνη, exactly in the passage corresponding to the Greek (l. 11.) δαπάνας πολλὰς ὑπομεμένηκε? There are a few more Greek words in our inscription, which I leave to your sagacity to investigate, if you should think it worth the while. Your observation, No. 9, hurts me a little, as I never intended to borrow any light from Mr. Palin's obscure performance, but rather to give it some credit by what I found in the Egyptian inscription. I question not whether this gentleman has seen or not the part of the hieroglyphic inscription corresponding to this passage. The fact is that in the Egyptian text the word which signifies ἀθλοφόρος precedes immediately the name of Berenice.

I had the pleasure a few months ago to see Mr. Salt, on his passage to Naples, where he embarked for Malta and Egypt. He is certainly a very active man, and, though he may not probably discover a duplicate of the Rosetta Stone, he will possibly succeed in other researches in the very interesting country where he resides, in a character which undoubtedly enables him to do more than any common traveller.

23.—*To the ARCHDUKE JOHN of AUSTRIA. *Dated* 2 *August*, 1816.

YOUR Imperial Highness was pleased, during your visit to this country, to listen, with patient attention, to the detail of my investigations respecting the Stone of Rosetta: you also requested, that I would send you an account of any further success that I might obtain at a future time in the inquiry. I have therefore now the honour to state to you what I consider as a very important step, which I have lately had the good fortune to make, in the comparison of the different Egyptian inscriptions with each other, and with other remains of Egyptian literature, in order to the more complete interpretation of their respective contents.

I had already ascertained, as I have mentioned in one of my letters to Mr. de Sacy, that the enchorial inscription of Rosetta contained a number of individual characters resembling the corresponding hieroglyphics, and I was not disposed to place any great reliance on the alphabetical interpretation of any considerable part of the inscription. I have now fully demonstrated the hieroglyphical origin of the running hand,† in which

* The two following letters, the first addressed to the Archduke John of Austria, who had lately been in England, and the second to M. Akerblad in answer to the preceding letter, No. 22, appeared in the seventh volume of the *Museum Criticum*, the publication of which was delayed till 1821;—although the letters were printed in 1816 and immediately distributed not only in England but on the Continent, several copies having been sent to Paris and other places. *They announce the discovery of the relation between the different kinds of Egyptian letters, or characters*—the basis on which the system of M. Champollion was afterwards erected.—*Ed.*

† The same discovery was announced by M. Champollion as his own in his Memoir *De l'Ecriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens*, published at Grenoble in 1821. He there says, "Le second système (l'Hieratique) n'est qu'une simple modification du système Hiéroglyphique, et n'en diffère uniquement que par la forme des signes," adding that it must be regarded as a "tachygraphie hiéroglyphique." This memoir contained several plates, in which the hieroglyphic and hieratic characters were compared, on the same plan as Dr. Young's specimens in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, published in 1818. (See Infra, No. III., Pl. V.) He sent a copy of them to Dr. Young, but withheld the letterpress, apparently with the object of concealing the date of publication. Dr. Young accordingly remained for several years under the impression that this work had been published at a much earlier period. (Infra, VIII., 31.) Chevalier Bunsen states that "Champollion, not less than Young, was led to this more accurate view upon his own independent grounds, although each had information through De Sacy of the other's researches, and although both were animated by a warm spirit of emulation." (*Egypt's Place*, p. 324.) Champollion had certainly opportunities of knowing the results of Dr. Young's researches, through the savans of Paris; but Young learned nothing of his from De Sacy, further than that he made false pretensions to have discovered the meaning of many words in the Rosetta inscription, and that he was sufficiently unscrupu-

the manuscripts on papyrus, found with the mummies, are commonly written, and which is obviously of the same kind with the enchorial characters of the Stone of Rosetta, as Mr. Akerblad, and his disciple Mr. Champollion, have both justly observed.

In the great Description de l'Egypte there are several engravings of manuscripts on papyrus; one of them contains more than five hundred columns of well delineated hieroglyphics, consisting, according to Mr. Jomard, of about thirty thousand characters, arranged under a series of vignettes, which run along the greater part of the margin. I was first struck with the evident relation of some of the figures in the margin to the text below; and having observed the same figures in the margins of several other manuscripts written in the running hand, I was led to examine with attention the corresponding texts, and I found at last a similar agreement in almost all of them. I then made copies of the respective passages in contiguous lines, and I found that the characters agreed throughout with each other, in such a manner as completely to put an end to the idea of the alphabetical nature of any of them. In this manner I obtained a duplicate, and sometimes a triplicate and quadruplicate copy of almost half of the great hieroglyphical manuscript, although not without some variations in particular passages: and in a manuscript of which Denon, if I mistake not, has published the first column, and of which an

lous to appropriate Dr. Young's discoveries if the latter did not observe more caution. (Supra, p. 51.) This warning was given by De Sacy, after lending Champollion at Dr. Young's request the latter's translation of the Egyptian inscription on the Rosetta Stone. At this period there could be no rivalry between them, as Dr. Young knew very little more of Champollion's studies than that, although they had been of long duration, they seemed to have produced scarcely any other result than the adoption of Akerblad's discoveries, without acknowledgment. Chevalier Bunsen speaks with evident pride of his intimacy with Champollion, whose character he strangely enough seems to admire as well as his talents, and it is probable that he received from him personally the assertion of his originality as regards the above discovery; but when we recollect that Champollion appropriated other discoveries of Young as well as those of Akerblad and Bankes, and that his charlatanerie and literary dishonesty are acknowledged by some of the most eminent of his countrymen, such as De Sacy and Letronne, men whom he himself distinguished by his especial approbation and regard (see *Précis, Avertissement*, 2nd ed.), we cannot help thinking that Chevalier Bunsen, in adopting Champollion's representations in this and other instances with such easy faith, has been, to use De Sacy's expression, the "dupe de son charlatanisme." We have elsewhere pointed out the injustice which Schwarze has done to Dr. Young from a similar reliance on Champollion's mis-statements. (Infra, pp. 164, 179.)—*Ed.*

engraving has been obligingly sent me by Mr. de Sacy, I have identified a few other passages of the great hieroglyphic manuscript, not found in either of the others contained in the Description de l'Egypte. There is also a passage of several short columns of distinct hieroglyphics at the beginning of one of Denon's plates, which is very obviously repeated in the body of the manuscript, written in the running hand.

It was natural to hope from this discovery, that by the assistance of so many intermediate steps, in the progress of the character from the sacred to the enchorial form, we should be able to translate back the whole of the running hand of the Stone of Rosetta into distinct hieroglyphics, and thus to compare it with a multiplicity of other monuments: for since the enchorial inscription has been preserved nearly entire, and the sense of almost all its parts has been determined with sufficient certainty, and since it has been proved that these characters are truly hieroglyphics, though in a corrupted and degraded form, it is evident that we only want a sufficient number of connecting links, to enable us to apply the whole inscription to the interpretation of the genuine sacred characters. But unfortunately the degradation is too great, and the connecting links too few, to make this universally practicable; it has often happened also that the imitation was so imperfect, as to require some auxiliary character for its explanation, and this interpolation renders the comparison still more difficult. Thus the term ILLUSTRIOUS may be easily traced from the sacred characters, by the assistance of the manuscripts on papyrus, in which it occurs more than a hundred times, into the corresponding enchorial word; but it is here followed by an intensitive, of nearly the same import, which is never united to it in the original hieroglyphics: the word GOD too is preceded by an augmentation of a similar nature; and on the other hand, some hieroglyphical characters, apparently of a more abstract signification, are frequently omitted in the enchorial inscription, as well as in many of the duplicate manuscripts in the older running hand.

A loose imitation of the hieroglyphical characters may even be traced, by means of the intermediate steps, in the enchorial

name of Ptolemy, which is the only proper name that remains among the hieroglyphics of the Stone of Rosetta: at the same time it can scarcely be denied that something like a syllabic alphabet may be discovered in all the proper names, which seem to agree with Mr. Akerblad's hypothesis, more accurately than could easily have happened, without something like a connexion between the characters and the sounds. If the remaining fragments of the stone should ever be discovered, they would perhaps assist us in removing this mystery which appears to involve the very interesting point of the direct transition from pure hieroglyphics to alphabetical characters. The Greek authors will afford us no information respecting this subject: they were so ignorant of all languages but their own, that we can place no reliance on their testimony respecting them, even where it is not contradicted by demonstrative authority.

But however the utility of the comparison of the different kinds of characters may be limited by accidental circumstances, it has already enabled me to establish some facts of importance, and may possibly lead to a great variety of others. Thus I had long suspected that a goose with an egg above it meant SON, this emblem being interposed in many different inscriptions between two proper names; and I have now found, in several passages of the great hieroglyphic ritual, a similar bird, with a dash over it, which is converted, in the duplicates, into the enchorial character first identified by Akerblad as meaning SON or DAUGHTER, which stands the ninth in my enumeration, published in the last number of the Museum Criticum. Now from a knowledge of this hieroglyphic only, together with that of the emblem of royalty, it is possible that we may at some future time obtain a complete genealogical series of the kings of Egypt, supposing that enough of their inscriptions have been preserved: and in some cases we may perhaps be able to determine from collateral evidence, the pronunciation of the names of the personages concerned. The inscription on a statue of granite found at Rome, and engraved by Montfaucon in the second volume of his Supplement, implies that it represented a certain KING or prince who was the SON of a PTOLEMY; hence it is obvious, that its date must be subsequent to the time

of Alexander, and that its antiquity is less remote than has hitherto been believed. On the other hand, the sarcophagus, which has been supposed to have been the receptacle of the body of Alexander, must have belonged to a remoter age: two proper names only are observable among the multiplicity of characters engraved on it, and these belong to a certain KING and his FATHER: the name of the father, which is not that of a divinity, is by far the most frequently repeated: and it is next to impossible, from these circumstances, that either of the names should be either ALEXANDER or PHILIP: neither do they relate to any of the Ptolemies; so that they can only have belonged to some of the earlier kings of Egypt. I have also been able completely to identify the character representing ISIS, which is a throne, with an addition implying a female, and I have ascertained that a similar throne, preceded by an eye, is the emblem of the principal divinity of the Egyptian mythology, whose most appropriate name must have been OSIRIS, though he seems to have been occasionally confounded with the SUN, as the names Phthah and Vulcan are also made synonymous in the Inscription of Rosetta.

On a general consideration of the present state of the inquiry into the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, I am not disposed to be extremely confident respecting its complete success, much less to appreciate its immediate utility very highly. We know that in China it is reckoned sufficient for the labour of half a life to learn a single hieroglyphical language, with all the aid of oral and lexicographical instruction: and we can easily imagine how much a person would deceive himself, if he fancied that he had found out a single clue, which would enable him to unravel all the intricacies of Chinese literature. Equally absurd would it be to pretend to decipher, as if by inspiration, by means of any general principles, an unknown Egyptian inscription, in the absence of all personal and almost all traditional instruction. It is true, that in some cases the imagination is assisted by the resemblance of the symbol to the thing represented; but this resemblance must inevitably be lost wherever the sense becomes metaphorical; and at the very utmost it would help us no more than a few foreign words, scattered

through any mixed language, would enable us to comprehend that language without other assistance. With respect to the utility of the knowledge to be acquired from an interpretation of all the existing inscriptions, a few historical details are the utmost that we could reasonably expect to obtain: the great mass of Egyptian monuments of all kinds relates exclusively to the religious and superstitious rites observed towards the ridiculous deities and the idolized heroes of the country. I have sufficiently ascertained the characters implying units, tens, hundreds, and thousands; but in the inscriptions connected with astronomical representations, scarcely any of these numbers are observable: so that we can entertain but slight hopes of finding any very accurate records of astronomical phenomena, among the monuments of so foolish and so frivolous a nation.

After all, however, notwithstanding our contempt for their absurdities, it must not be denied, that a knowledge of the literature of that country, which is confessedly the parent of the earliest civilisation on record, does present to the imagination an object of the highest possible curiosity; and if a single individual should fail in completing the whole discovery, it may be presumed, that his labours will hereafter be continued by others with renewed ardour, and perhaps under more favourable circumstances. They must, however, remember, when they undertake such a task, that it is not by the gigantic exertions of fancied talents, but by the stubborn perseverance of indefatigable industry, that we can ever hope to obtain, for ourselves and our successors, an admission into the hidden treasuries of nature and art. * * *

24.—*To* Mr. AKERBLAD. *Dated* 12*th August*, 1816.

I IMAGINE, Sir, from the tenor of your obliging letter of the 19th April, that you are disposed to consider my attempt to decipher the hieroglyphical characters, as an undertaking somewhat visionary: you seem at a loss to understand what I can mean by a translation of the Egyptian Inscription, since its sense must undoubtedly be the same as that of the Greek; and you observe, that the great object is to separate the characters

and read them into words: you say, that the language may be "tolerable Coptic," although many of the words may not be found in Lacroze's Lexicon, which you consider as containing but a small portion of the whole language: you suspect, that I should probably have adopted more of the readings which you have proposed, if they had been contained in your first letter to Mr. de Sacy; and you are disposed to appeal to Mr. Quatremère or Mr. Champollion, as judges of the comparative probability of our suggestions: and finally, you express an apprehension, that there is no chance of our ever discovering any more duplicates of the Rosetta Stone.

I certainly cannot expect you to be convinced of the truth of my interpretation of any of the hieroglyphical characters, since I have not attempted to produce any evidence in support of it: and a variety of very different engagements will probably not permit me to enter fully into the subject for many years to come: I must therefore only request you to suspend your opinion for the present. You will observe, that if my translation of the Egyptian Inscription is correct, its sense is in several passages not precisely the same with that of the Greek: and you must be aware, that I could not have divided the translation into lines, without having previously separated the greater part of the characters into single words. I cannot help thinking your condemnation of Lacroze's Lexicon a little severe: there has been an unfortunate propensity among Coptic scholars to be unjust to their predecessors: thus Wilkins has been censured, by more than one of his followers, for errors of the press which are even noticed in his own corrections: and with respect to your remark on Lacroze, you must allow, that we consider ourselves as sufficient judges of what is or is not Hebrew, though we have not half so extensive foundations for our knowledge of Hebrew as Lacroze had for his Egyptian Lexicon. I fear, indeed, that very little advantage could be expected in this inquiry, from the most accurate knowledge of the Egyptian language and of all its dialects; it may however be of some little use, even in the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, to be acquainted with the general character and structure of the language to which they refer: for example, there is a particle

NJE, which has always appeared to me to distinguish a nominative case following its verb, although this peculiarity does not seem to have been noticed by any of the grammarians or critics: and it is not unnatural to suppose, that some symbol may be found among the hieroglyphics, which may have a similar meaning, and to which nothing corresponding could be found in any other language.

You must not expect me to allow, that my adoption of the principal part of the readings, which you proposed in your first letter, depended on any disposition to acquiesce in the result of your labours, rather than to conduct the investigation on independent grounds: the fact is, that the three names most easily identified were discovered without difficulty by Mr. de Sacy: the sixteen or eighteen other words, which you pointed out in your letter, were also among the most prominent; and it was natural, that most of them should have occurred both to you and to me, even if I had never heard of the existence of your letter; while in other instances, where the difficulty was greater, we were less likely to agree. But whatever may be the knowledge, and candour, and integrity, of Mr. Quatremère and Mr. Champollion, I fear they will have very little scope for the exertion of these good qualities in appreciating the comparative value of our attempts to read the inscription of Rosetta into Coptic. It is true, that they had both in some degree pronounced a decision in your favour, Mr. Quatremère expressly, and Mr. Champollion by tacitly adopting your ideas, long before I had ever turned my attention to the subject: but I am persuaded, that if they will take the trouble of making the comparisons which I shall point out in this letter, they will be fully convinced that we have both been attempting an impossibility.

I shall first request them to direct their attention to the manuscripts on papyrus published by Denon; these, I believe, you have yourself acknowledged, in your letter to Mr. de Sacy, to be in the enchorial character: Mr. Quatremère has expressly enumerated them among the remains of the Egyptian language which are clearly not hieroglyphical: and Mr. Champollion refers to one of them as an authority for a particular mode of

writing the name of Egypt. Professor Vater has even talked of reducing them to an alphabet of no more than thirty or forty letters: and that they are not written in the sacred character is sufficiently obvious from the total diversity of the appearance of the distinct hieroglyphics, at the beginning of Plate 138, from that of the principal part of the manuscript which follows. The hieroglyphics are here written from left to right: the running hand always from right to left: but in the sixth line of the first column of the manuscript, we find the three columns of hieroglyphics, over the principal personage of the tablet, very evidently, although by no means exactly imitated, character for character, with a few accidental deviations only.

It is true, that the general appearance of this manuscript is very unlike that of the Rosetta Inscription: but if there were any doubt of their belonging to the same system of representation on account of this dissimilarity, the objection could not extend to the manuscripts engraved in the great Description de l'Egypte, some of which have a much more striking resemblance to the enchorial inscription than the plate of Denon: and I am sure that the large manuscript, which extends from Plate 67 to 71. of the second volume of Antiquities, will be allowed to be as little like a representation of visible objects as any assemblage of alphabetical characters could be: indeed the editors of the work have expressly mentioned these manuscripts as being obviously written in the running hand of the country; while the great coloured manuscript, which follows them, consists as obviously of distinct and very neatly formed hieroglyphics. I shall now give you a collation of the parts of these several manuscripts, which I have carefully copied, and found undeniably to agree with each other, beginning with the ninth remaining column of the hieroglyphic ritual; and if you will take the pains to examine a very small portion of them only, you will be aware of the ample sufficiency of the evidence which they afford in support of my assertion.

SACRED CHARACTERS.	RUNNING HAND.
Pl. LXXV.	Pl. LXXI.
Col. 128, last character.	Col. 3, line 1, first character.
126.	Partly wanting.

SACRED CHARACTERS.

Col. 125.
124, middle, to 109.
109.
108, last two characters.
105..102.
102, rubric.
98..97.
87, 8 Characters from the end.
71, 14th character.
70..68.
67, middle.
52, first 3 characters.
51..48.
48, 2 last characters.
33, beyond the middle.

RUNNING HAND.

Wanting.
Line 3, to the last line.
Principally wanting.
Col. 4, line 1.
3, a whole section wanting.
4.
9, a column wanting.
End, and
Col. 5, beginning.
End.
Col. 1, on the right, torn off.
First perfect line.
Last line.
Col. 2 torn off.
First perfect line.
End.

Pl. LXXIV.

Col. 120, rubric.
113, ——
108, ——
103, ——
99. ——
93, beginning.
87, ————
83, rubric.
78, ——
74, ——
4, ——
2, ——

Pl. LXXIII.

Col. 128.
128 to 130.
119, rubric, to 113.
109 —— to 106.
94 —— to 81.

Pl. LX.

Col. 1, right hand.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
wanting.

Pl. LXIII. Left hand.

Pl. LXII.

Col. 1, upper part.
lower part, torn.
2, upper part.
lower part.
3, upper part.
lower part.
4, upper part.
lower part.
5, upper part.
lower part.
Col. 1.
Col. 2.
End.
Wanting.
Col. 3.
Col. 4.
Col. 5; all with some additions at the beginning, and some omissions.

SACRED CHARACTERS.	RUNNING HAND.
Pl. LXXII.	Pl. LXVII.
Col. 52 to 48.	Col. 1, right hand, last 6 lines.
48 to 35.	2, under the ship.
34 to 14.	Pl. LXX., Col. 1 and 2, on the right. Pl. LXVIII., much abridged.
29, part 2.	Wanting.
Pl. LXXIV.	
Col. 14.	M.S. Inst. N. 3.
4.	9.
1.	7.
Pl. LXXIII.	
Col. 119.	11.
37.	16.
Pl. LXXII.	
Col. 87.	17.
80.	18.

By means of this comparison, notwithstanding the extreme degradation of the enchorial characters of the Rosetta Stone, I have identified several of them with the hieroglyphics, although at first sight they exhibited no traces of the resemblance. One of these appears a little mutilated at the beginning, as the twenty-second of my enumeration, and you agree with me in translating it YOUNG: now if you will compare it with the ninth line of the right hand column of Pl. 70, you will find a character strongly resembling it: and again in the 26th column of Pl. 72, which corresponds to this passage, you will find the original of the character, in the form of an INFANT, in a sitting posture, with his left hand raised to his mouth: the same figure occurs in the fifth line of the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta Stone, there answering to CHILDREN; it is also found in some other monuments, connected in such a manner with an ithyphallic representation, as to bear the evident sense of filiation: but in the enchorial inscription belonging to this passage, the character employed appears to be the same as is often used in the manuscripts to represent a beetle, which is another emblem of reproduction. The hieroglyphic character, which I have considered

as expressing APIS, is also found with very little variation in many parts of the manuscripts, and is as constantly expressed in the running hand by a compendium approaching very nearly in its form to the enchorial designation of the same personage (N. 65). But it is extremely remarkable that this character bears an evident relation to the figure with a dog's head, which is one of the four deities that very commonly accompany each other, and are usually represented at all funeral ceremonies, and that it is never attached to the figure of the sacred bull, which is so universally supposed to be intended for Apis. The first of the Tetrad is distinguished by a character like a U turned horizontally, thus ⊂ ; the second is our Apis; the third, with a wolf's head, is indicated by a vulture and a star; and the fourth, with a hawk's head, by a pitcher and a plant. What their respective names may have been is uncertain; although the unhesitating Kircher has denominated them Horus, Mophtha, Anubis, and the Solar deity; nor can we attempt to assign verbal appellations to any of the "XLII assessor gods," who are mentioned in the 51st column from the end of the great ritual, and particularly characterized in twenty-one of the subsequent columns, and who are often depicted as a long train of figures nearly resembling each other. There is however a personage with the head of an ibis, frequently employed in writing, who seems sometimes to have the number VIII as a part of his name: and who may therefore very possibly be meant for ASMONEUS, the Æsculapius of the Egyptians.

You will now, Sir, I trust, at least admit that I have some encouragement to induce me to pursue the attempt to obtain an interpretation of the hieroglyphics on a solid basis; and that even if I should not be so fortunate as to recover any further portion of the Inscription of Rosetta by Mr. Salt's exertions, I have happily obtained an unexpected store of materials for continuing the investigation, which may in some measure enable me, by means of redoubled industry, to supply the deficiency. * *

No. III.

EGYPT.*

SECT. I.—INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE LATEST PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO EGYPT.—II. PANTHEON.—III. HISTORIOGRAPHY.—IV. CALENDAR.—V. CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.—VI. ANALYSIS OF THE TRIPLE INSCRIPTION.—VII. RUDIMENTS OF A HIEROGLYPHICAL VOCABULARY.—VIII. VARIOUS MONUMENTS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

SECTION I.—*Introductory view of the latest Publications relating to Egypt.*

THE antiquities and literature of Egypt have always been considered, on account of the very early progress which its inhabitants had made in the arts of civilised life, as objects of the highest interest and curiosity, though involved in inextricable obscurity; but we have acquired, in the course of the last twenty years, and are still continuing to acquire, such additional information respecting them, as promises, if completely confirmed by future researches, to establish the whole of our knowledge

* The following treatise is reprinted from the Encyclopædia Britannica, where it formed the article EGYPT in the fourth volume of the Supplement, which was published in 1819. It was written in the spring of the preceding year, and embodied the results of Dr. Young's hieroglyphical investigations up to that period. This article obtained much celebrity throughout Europe, and was pronounced by the *Edinburgh Review* (No. XLV., p. 114) "the greatest effort of scholarship and ingenuity of which modern literature can boast." The plates by which it was accompanied, containing upwards of 200 names or words which he had deciphered in the hieroglyphic and enchorial inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone and in the Egyptian manuscripts, were also engraved in the summer of 1818, and, having been favoured by the proprietors with a few separate copies of these, he distributed them among his friends, both on the continent and in England, with a cover on which was printed the title *Hieroglyphical Vocabulary*. At the present day, however, the article EGYPT, being buried in an old edition of an Encyclopædia, is almost inaccessible, especially to continental scholars; and consequently Champollion, who pursued a wholesale system of plagiarism in regard to Dr. Young's discoveries, enjoys the credit abroad of having decyphered many hieroglyphical characters, symbolic as well as phonetic, the interpretation of which was first published by Dr. Young in this treatise. (See Schwarze, *Das Alte Ægypten*, p. 445.) With regard to the article generally it must be admitted that portions of it have been rendered obsolete by more recent additions to our knowledge of Egyptian literature and antiquities; but at the same time it should be borne in mind that these very discoveries were based upon the views here enunciated by Dr. Young.—*Ed.*

respecting this marvellous country on a new and a sure foundation.

A considerable portion of the labours of the French Institute at Cairo has been communicated to the public in a work of unexampled splendour and magnificence, the ponderous *Description de l'Egypte*, about one half of which only has hitherto appeared. Many of the monuments brought by the British army to England have also been accurately and elegantly engraved in this country; and a variety of travellers of different nations have published accounts of their numerous observations and discoveries made in Egypt and its neighbourhood.

The first in order of these, that it will be necessary to notice, is Mr. William Hamilton's volume, entitled *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey*. Part I. *Ægyptiaca*, 4to., London, 1809. It appears that the power of the French in Egypt having terminated in September, 1801, the temporary possession of the country was at first divided between the Turks, the Mamelukes, the Arabs, and the English, a circumstance which afforded some convenience to a European traveller, although it had no tendency to enlarge the sphere of his observations. In the beginning of October, Captain Leake and Lieutenant Hayes were appointed, by General Hutchinson, to make a general survey of Egypt, and of the country beyond it, if it should be found practicable to penetrate further south. Mr. Hamilton, who had resided at the British head quarters for the purpose of corresponding with Lord Elgin upon the events of the war, was now at liberty to join these gentlemen in their expedition; and the various information which, with their assistance, he collected, respecting the remains of the ancient Egyptian magnificence, bears ample testimony to the good taste, as well as to the industry and accuracy of the whole party. On account, however, of the disturbed state of the country, and of a multitude of other difficulties, both moral and physical, they were unable to proceed further south than a few hours' journey beyond Syene, to a village called Debôd, opposite to which they observed the ruins of Barembre, the Parembole of the ancients; and amongst these they found a Greek dedication of a temple to Isis, by Ptolemy Philometor and his queen. They collected, also, a variety of

inscriptions from other parts of Egypt, to which they added drawings and descriptions of the remains of the buildings to which they belonged; and, at Alexandria, in particular, Mr. Hamilton was enabled, in company with some other gentlemen, by examining the inscription on Pompey's Pillar, in different positions of the sun, to ascertain the name Diocletian, as that of the emperor to whom it was dedicated; and to find some traces of the name of Pompeius, who has been shown by Mr. Quatremère to have been a prefect of Egypt under that emperor. It is, however, to be regretted, that the Coptic inscriptions, which are sometimes found mixed with the Greek, have not been more generally copied by travellers, since it is only among these that we can hope to find any traces of the vernacular nomenclature of the Egyptian mythology; although, from the few specimens which have been hitherto examined, it seems probable that the introduction of the Coptic character was only coeval with that of Christianity.

Mr. Badia, a Spaniard, who is supposed to have been sent into the East on the business of the French government, has published two volumes of his *Travels*, under the name of *Ali Bey*. They contain some documents relating to the recent history and present state of Egypt, but very little information respecting its antiquities.

Mr. Legh and Mr. Smelt visited Egypt in 1812. They extended their tour as far as Ibrim, and observed, in their way, many remains of ancient buildings, some of which were in perfect preservation; but they were unable to attain the second cataract, which was said to be three days' journey further south. At Cairo, they paid a visit to the Pasha, Mohammed Ali, under whom they "found Egypt in a state of greater tranquillity than it had enjoyed for many years, a change for which it is entirely indebted to the vigorous administration of the present Pasha." It appears that, soon after the English had evacuated the country, the Mamelukes were driven by their rivals into Upper Egypt; they, however, regained a momentary influence in Cairo after the deposition of Mohammed Pasha by his Albanian soldiers, but they were soon again expelled by these same troops, with whom they had formed a temporary alliance; and the present

Pasha, Mohammed Ali, who had been formerly captain of a pirate boat in the Archipelago, was made chief of these insurgents, whom, according to Ali Bey, he was at first obliged to indulge in all their licentiousness; but he promised that, in a few years, it should be safe to walk the streets of Cairo "with both hands full of gold," and Mr. Legh found that he had completely kept his word. He was then occupied in preparations against the Wahabees, and his intercourse with England materially assisted him in his various pursuits.

Besides some other interesting antiquities which he collected, Mr. Legh obtained in the island of Elephantine a few Thebaic manuscripts, written with a chalybeate ink on skins of leather, which he has deposited in the British Museum.* They appear to be principally conveyances of estates, dated at Cyrshe or Gyrshe, a place 50 or 60 miles beyond Essouan or Syene; and, though unimportant in themselves, they tend to illustrate the history of the kingdom of Nubia in the middle ages. This kingdom seems to have been almost forgotten by some late travellers and geographers, although it was formerly remarkable for having been, according to an old tradition, one of the first that embraced Christianity, even in the time of the Queen Candace, one of whose servants was baptized by St. Philip (Acts viii.); and who appears to have been one of the immediate successors of the Candace, mentioned by Strabo, as having attacked the province of Egypt, and having been conquered by Petronius in the time of Augustus. The kingdom of Nubia extended as far north as Syene, which continued to be the boundary of the Mussulman power in the tenth century, and probably much later. To the south it originally comprehended Ethiopia, its capital, Meroe, being placed in latitude 17°, on an island in the Nile, or rather on a peninsula formed by its principal branches. Candace had also a palace at Napata, which Pliny makes about 500 Roman miles beyond Syene, and 360 short of Meroe. In the seventh century, the Nubians seem nominally to have been made tributary to the Arabs; but they remained, in fact, almost wholly independent of them in their government, and their reli-

* In the Appendix to Legh's *Narrative* will be found an account of these manuscripts by Dr. Young.—*Ed.*

gion was entirely subjected to the spiritual direction of the patriarchs of Alexandria. Early in the tenth, the Nubians attacked Syene, not as rebels but as legitimate enemies. They were, however, repulsed soon afterwards. A little later, we find that George, king of Nubia, was a mediator between the king of Abyssinia and the patriarch, whom he persuaded to send bishops from Alexandria into Ethiopia. In the eleventh century Solomon, king of Nubia, abdicated in favour of his nephew George, and retired to a monastery, within three days' journey of Syene; whence he was brought by the Saracens to Cairo, and there treated with great attention as a sort of state prisoner. It is also said, that a king Cyriac once raised 100,000 men to assist the Christians against the Mussulmen; but the magnitude of the number renders the whole story more than doubtful. We learn from Hartmann's notes on Edrisi, that Abulfeda in the fourteenth century, and Bakui in the fifteenth, spoke of the Nubians as still Christians; and it seems highly probable that they continued to exercise their religion till about the time of Sultan Selim, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not still later; for Vansleb, who was at Siut in 1673, tells us that the churches were then still entire, though they were shut up, Christianity having become completely extinct for want of pastors. He gives us the names of seventeen bishopricks, which had constituted three provinces; the first province he calls *Maracu*, and attributes to it the bishopricks of *Korta*, *Ibrim*, *Bucoras*, *Dunkala* or *Dungala*, *Sai*, *Termus*, and *Scienhur*; the second province seems to hold a middle place: and, in the third, he mentions *Soper* as the capital of the kingdom, without noticing Nuabah, which is the name given to the metropolis by the Arabic authors. D'Herbelot, who died in 1695, speaks of a patriarch still resident at Dungola, and appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria. There can, at any rate, be little doubt that the "King John," mentioned in the manuscripts of Gyrshe as a Christian, must have been a king of Nubia, and rather a predecessor of the Mek of Dungola, than a Greek emperor, whose authority was probably never acknowledged in this country, and least of all when Egypt was in the possession of the Arabians. (Strabo, Book XVII. Pliny, Book VI. Chap. xxix. *Hist.*

Byzant. Vol. XXI. *Ancient Universal History*, fol. Vol. VII. *Modern Universal History*, Vol. I. Vansleb. *Hist. de l'Egl. d'Alexandrie*, Par. 1677, p. 29. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Country beyond the Cataracts.* By Thomas Legh, M.P. 4to. Lond. 1816. *Sepulchral Inscriptions from Nubia*, Archæologia, XIX. p. 169.)

The remains of the churches mentioned by Vansleb were observed, in many parts of Nubia, by Captain Light, of the Royal Artillery, covered generally with paintings of Scriptural subjects, and not uncommonly appearing to have been originally built for pagan temples. The Pasha of Egypt, he says, "was named as sovereign" of the country, "in all transactions" between Cairo and Assouan; beyond this, as far as Ibrim, which was the extent of his expedition, "the reigning Sultan Mahmoud was considered as the sovereign," though the neighbouring "cashief's power was plainly feared more." At Dakki Captain Light found the name of Hermes inscribed as that of the deity to whom the temple situated there must have been dedicated; and it will be interesting to inquire if any hieroglyphics can still be found on this remarkable edifice, which will bear a similar interpretation. (*Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey.* Edited by R. Walpole, M.A. 4to. Lond. 1817. P. 402, 465.)

Captain Light has more recently published a separate volume of his *Travels*, 4to. London, 1818.* He informs us, that after the expulsion of Mohammed Pasha, two others were elected by the troops to the same dignity, each of whom remained in power a few weeks only. The last of them had appointed Mahommed Ali as his general, to command an expedition against the Mamelukes, but having succeeded in checking the enemy, the victorious general returned to expel and take place of his master. This remarkable person was originally a Thracian; and he has certainly given sufficient proofs of the "vigour" of his character in his transactions with the Mamelukes, with whom he concluded a treaty of alliance against the Wahabees; for when they had sent the stipulated force of 1500 men to co-

* To this work Dr. Young contributed translations of some Greek inscriptions. —*Ed.*

operate with him, he put to death every man of them in a single morning. He succeeded, however, in rescuing the holy cities from the power of the Wahabees, and the possession of the keys of these cities ostensibly obtained him the favour and countenance of the Porte, notwithstanding the general insubordination of his proceedings.

Mr. Walpole's collection contains also some older papers of the late Mr. Davison, who was British consul at Algiers, and accompanied Mr. Wortley Montague to Egypt in 1763. Mr. Davison discovered, in the great pyramid, a room before unknown, immediately over the chamber which contains the sarcophagus; and he descended the three successive wells to the depth of 155 feet. He also describes the catacombs of Alexandria, which seem to have been principally employed by the Greek inhabitants of that city. The same volume contains a very interesting account of the customs and manners of modern Egypt, from the journal of Dr. Hume.

A considerable addition has been made to our knowledge of the geography of Egypt, by the publication of Lieutenant Colonel Leake's accurate and elegant map of that country, comprehending also a sketch of Nubia, as far as the southern cataract, which appears to be the limit of the existing remains of antiquity. Besides the results of his own personal survey, Colonel Leake has employed the observations of the French astronomers for the determination of the situation of the different places; and with respect to the remoter parts, he has had the advantage of consulting the manuscript papers of the late lamented Mr. Burckhardt, who unhappily fell a victim to the dysentery at Cairo, in October, 1817, after having obtained by long residence in the country, under the name of Shekh Ibrahim, an intimate acquaintance with everything that could have tended to facilitate the further prosecution of his projected expedition into parts of the continent still more remote. Besides the ruins of Greek churches, scattered throughout this country, the principal points of Nubia, which are remarked as exhibiting remains of still greater antiquity, are the Parembole of the Itinerary of Antonine, near Debôd, and Tzitzi, now Klitzic, both of which had been visited by Colonel Leake and

Mr. Hamilton; Kardassy or Gartaas; Taphis and Contra Taphis, now Tafa; Kalabshe, the ancient Talmis; Merowan, the ancient Tutzis, near Gyrshe; Pselcis, now Dakki, and Corte, still Korti; Maharraka, supposed to be the Hierosycaminon of the Itinerary, and which may, very possibly, have been the Maracu mentioned by Vansleb as an archbishoprick; Seboua; Hasséya; Derr; Ibrim, the Premnis of the ancients; Ebsámbal, perhaps the Aboccis, with its two temples, still better known by the labours of the active and ingenious Belzoni; Beyllany, or rather Fereyg; Serra, probably Phthuris; Sukkoy, perhaps Cambusis; Samne, not improbably the Acina of Nero's spies; Aamara, possibly Stadysis; and Soleb, not far short of the southernmost cataract, where the author is disposed to place the Napata of the ancients, in latitude about 19½°: a situation which would agree very well with the distances of Napata from Syene and from Meroe; but it is impossible to admit that this cataract can be so far south as even 20°, consistently with the testimony of other geographers respecting the latitudes of Mosho and Sukkot; and, indeed, the course of the river is laid down more nearly north and south than the description of Burckhardt requires. We may, however, expect much information on this subject from the observations which have been more recently made in the lower parts of Nubia, by Captain Corry of the Navy, who has visited them in company with his brother Lord Belmore. (*Map of Egypt*, 2 *Sheets*. London, 1818.)

The Quarterly Review has afforded us, in several late numbers, a highly interesting and gratifying detail of the operations and discoveries which have been conducted in Egypt by several of our spirited and enterprising countrymen. Among these Mr. Bankes has proceeded the furthest south, in the steps of Mr. Burckhardt, and has made collections and drawings of a great number of striking remains of antiquity (*Quarterly Review*, No. 31); and he has sent home to this country a variety of statues and bas reliefs, as well as large manuscripts on papyrus, in the epistolographic character. Mr. Salt has been indefatigable in his exertions, and he has most fortunately found an assistant of Herculean strength of body, and of proportional energy of

mind, in the person of Mr. Belzoni. The head, called a young Memnon, now in the British Museum, which weighs eight or ten tons, and which is one of the very finest specimens of Egyptian sculpture now in existence, was a joint present of Mr. Salt and Mr. Burckhardt; and Mr. Belzoni has the merit of having conducted the very difficult operation of bringing it down to the Nile. Mr. Hamilton has conjectured that it may have belonged to the statue described by Philostratus as a Memnon of great beauty (*Quarterly Review*, No. 36); but the remaining fragment of the hieroglyphical inscription agrees better with the name of another sovereign, apparently of the same family, who is represented in several other magnificent monuments at Thebes and elsewhere.

Captain Caviglia, the master of a mercantile vessel in the Mediterranean, has exerted himself with singular activity and perseverance in examining the interior of the great pyramid of Cheops. After having retraced the forgotten steps of Mr. Davison, he succeeded in pursuing the principal oblique passage 200 feet further downwards than it was before practicable, and in discovering at this point a communication with the well, which descends from the floor of the upper chamber. This communication affording him a freer circulation of air, he was enabled to proceed 28 feet further in the passage, when he found that it opened into a spacious chamber, 66 feet by 27, but of unequal height, immediately under the centre of the pyramid, which Mr. Salt supposes to have been the place of the THECA, or sarcophagus mentioned by Strabo, as situated at the end of the oblique passage, though at present no sarcophagus is to be found in it. The floor is elevated 30 feet above the level of the Nile, so that the water could never have flowed into this part of the pyramid, to surround the tomb of Cheops, as Herodotus imagined. Some passages leading out of this chamber appear to terminate abruptly, without opening into any others. The dimensions of the upper chamber, which still contains a sarcophagus, are only $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $17\frac{1}{4}$, and $18\frac{3}{4}$ high.

In six pyramids which have been opened, the principal passage preserves the same inclination of about 26° to the horizon:

but if this construction was intended to facilitate the observation of the pole star, as has been conjectured, it was at least extremely ill contrived for the determination of time, on account of the very slow apparent motion of that star. In a small pyramid south of that of Mycerinus, two chambers were found, but both were empty.

Captain Caviglia proceeded to examine a number of detached mausoleums, more or less dilapidated, in the neighbourhood of the pyramids: he found their embellishments chiefly in the style of the Theban catacombs; and they sometimes contained images too large to have been brought in through the doors or windows. Some of the stones with sculptures were placed upside down; and it was conjectured that these might possibly have been portions of the original casing of the pyramids, which is said to have been sculptured, but which is now fallen down.

His next undertaking was the very arduous task of digging away the sand in front of the great sphinx; a share of the expenses of this labour, which amounted to eight or nine hundred pounds, being contributed by Mr. Salt and some other gentlemen. The body of the monster is principally formed out of the solid rock; the paws are of masonry, extending forwards fifty feet from the body:* between them were found several sculptured tablets, so arranged as to constitute a small temple or chapel, and further forwards a square altar with horns, which seems to have been employed for burnt offerings. Several little lions, painted red, which had been placed on the neighbouring walls, are also among the antiquities which Captain Caviglia has very liberally presented to the British Museum, as a testimony of respect to the nation whose flag had formerly protected him in his voyages.

Mr. Belzoni, at his own risk and expense, succeeded, after many fruitless efforts, in discovering the entrance into the second pyramid of Chephren, in which Herodotus had asserted that there were no chambers. The passage, descending at first obliquely from the north side, proceeds afterwards horizontally to the principal and central chamber, which measures 46 feet

* For a restoration and translation of an inscription in one of them see p. 198. —*Ed.*

by 16, and is 23½ high, containing a sarcophagus of granite, with some bones, which, from a specimen brought over by Major Fitzclarence, have been ascertained to be those of a bullock. An Arabic inscription testifies that the pyramid had once been opened in the presence of the "Sultan Ali Mahomet the First, Ugloch," who may possibly have been the Ottoman emperor, Mahomet the First, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. (*Quarterly Review*, Nos. 36, 37, 38.)

Among the Theban catacombs, Mr. Belzoni has discovered six new tombs; the most remarkable of them, which, with all its galleries, is 309 feet long, he calls the tomb of Apis, from having found the mummy of a bullock in one of its chambers. In another apartment was a magnificent sarcophagus of white alabaster, almost as transparent as crystal; and the whole excavation, sculptured and painted in the most finished style of art, was found in the most perfect preservation. Mr. Salt observes, that the colours are generally pure and brilliant, but intermixed with each other nearly in the proportions of the rainbow, and so subdued by the proper introduction of blacks, as not to appear gaudy, but to produce "a harmony that in some of the designs is really delicious." Mr. Beechey, a son of the celebrated painter, professes himself, in a private letter, to be completely fascinated with the effect of these combinations. "One would think it was in Egypt," he observes, "that Titian, Giorgione, and Tintoret had acquired all that vigour and magic of effect, which distinguishes them so remarkably from all other painters, in point of arrangement, and principally in the happy disposition of their darks. The new tomb," he continues, "lately discovered here by Mr. Belzoni, is about to be transferred by him from Thebes to London. Belzoni has made moulds of every individual object in the tomb; accurate drawings of the whole have been executed on a small scale; the greater part are already finished, and coloured by a young Italian of the name of Ricci, whom Belzoni has employed for that purpose. The tomb will be built on the same scale with the original, and will be seen by candle-light; so that the effect cannot fail to be precisely that of the excavation itself."

In Nubia the spirit and perseverance with which the little

band of excavators pursued the attempt to penetrate into the temple of Ebsambal, were not less worthy of admiration. Mr. Belzoni and his servant, accompanied only by Mr. Beechey, were abandoned on some futile pretence by the Arab workmen whom they had employed, and were unable to procure for many weeks any other food than durra or millet; they had resolution, however, to proceed with their enterprise as manual labourers, and they were at last amply rewarded for their perseverance. In front of the temple there were four colossal statues, sixty feet high, one of which had been thrown down; but it was only after digging for three weeks through 150 feet of sand, that our adventurers succeeded in entering the temple, consisting of fourteen chambers and a great hall, cut out of the solid rock, and ornamented with sculptures superior, in point of execution, to the greater part of those which are found in Egypt; besides eight colossal statues thirty feet high, which are placed in the hall. Mr. Belzoni also found at Thebes a colossal head and arm, supposed to have belonged to a Horus; and his lady discovered, during his absence in Nubia, a fine statue of white marble, supporting a ram's head on its knees.

Though Burckhardt's untimely end interrupted his further progress in Africa, yet with respect to Nubia his observations were complete, and he had himself prepared his journals for publication, in a form which does equal credit to his diligence and judgment in observation, and to his candour and good taste in the simple and elegant narration of that which he has observed. He informs us, that the tragedy of the Mamelukes was not confined to Cairo; but that 400 more of them were decoyed out of the mountains near Assouan, and fell victims, together with 260 of their slaves, to the treachery of Ibrahim Bey, the son of the Pasha.

It appears that the Nile, between the first and second cataracts, runs chiefly through a country of sandstone, and is navigable throughout this extent; but at the cataract of Wady Halfa, a little above Ebsambal, the sandstone terminates, and the district of granite and other primitive rocks begins, extending a hundred miles further upwards: and in this space the

course of the river is interrupted by frequent shallows and small falls. The roaring of the fall at Wady Halfa, sometimes called by way of distinction Jenadel, or the cataract, may be heard at the distance of a mile or two; but the part of the river that falls is only about 20 yards over: there are, however, three falls in succession, and the neighbouring scenery is very romantic. Immediately beyond this country is Kolbe, the principal place in the district of Sukkot, for there is no town of that name: then the island Say, probably the Sai of Vansleb; and, 450 miles above Assouan, according to Mr. Burckhardt's reckoning, is Tinareb, in the district of Mahass, the furthest point to which he penetrated, within 15 or 20 miles of the remotest cataract, and a day and a half's journey only from Mosho, by the shortest road. The country through which he passed is supposed to contain a population not exceeding 100,000, and is governed by three Kashefs, who are brothers, and tributary to Egypt, but inclined to favour the Mamelukes, who seem to be pretty firmly established in the neighbourhood of Dongola: Hassan Kashef lives principally at Derr; his brothers further south. At Mahass a series of more than 20 little kingdoms begins, which extend to Sennaar; their kings are independent, but have scarcely the power of life and death; the people are generally slave-merchants, and those of Mahass are the nearest that send caravans to Cairo. At Mosho begins the kingdom of Dongola; and near it is the island of Argo, a long day's journey in length, with a brick castle in it. There are many other islands in the course of the river through Dongola, which extends for five days' journey: the country is celebrated for a very fine breed of horses, like the Arabian, but much stronger, and fed, as Bruce observed of the horses in the same neighbourhood, on straw only. The city of Merawe, singularly resembling the ancient Meroe in name, is the metropolis of the Sheygya Arabs, beyond Dongola, and is remarkable for schools, of high reputation, and particularly celebrated for their penmanship. These Arabs ride, like their distant neighbours the Abyssinians, with a toe only in the stirrup.

The languages spoken in Nubia are the Kensy and the

Nouba, the former being confined to the northernmost parts of the country: these languages somewhat resemble each other, but they differ essentially from the Arabic, although the people are supposed to be the descendants of Bedouin Arabs, who spread from the East in the middle ages, with the exception of a few of the original inhabitants, who remain about Tafa and Serra, having become Mahometans. However this may be, it is certain that the languages exhibit no traces whatever of any dialect of the old Egyptian; and this circumstance affords a very strong argument in confirmation of the author's assertion, that the Christians had in general been expelled from Nubia before the time of Sultan Selim; the three garrisons of Bosnian soldiers, whom this prince established, in Assouan, Ibrim, and Say, having been sent by the express invitation of one of the rival factions of Arabs, who occupied the country, and remaining still distinct from the rest of the population, and being governed by their own Agas. We can only reconcile these facts with the testimonies in favour of the existence of Christianity in Nubia down to about the same time, by supposing that its extinction must have been gradual, and that the Thebaic language, and the ancient religion of the country, dwindled away by degrees, not "for want of pastors" only, but from the hostility of the Arabian intruders.

A concise but clear and satisfactory description of the various temples, noticed in Colonel Leake's map, is inserted in Mr. Burckhardt's relation: and he conjectures that the order of their antiquity is nearly this: 1. Ebsambal; 2. Gyrshe; 3. Derr; 4. Samne; 5. Ballyane; 6. Hasseya; 7. Seboua; 8. Aamara and Kalabshe; 9. Dakke and Maharraka; 10. Kardassy; 11. Merowau; 12. Debot; 13. Korty; and 14. Tafa. The small temple at Ebsambal has a head bearing a temple for the capital of its columns, like those at Dendera, but with a lock of hair hanging down on each side. The statues before the great temple, which is supposed to have been dedicated to Osiris, are of remarkably fine forms. In a small temple at Kalabshe there are some good historical sculptures of a victory over the southern countries, beyond Meroe. But the sculptures at Dakke Mr. Burckhardt thinks superior to any others

of the Egyptian school, and such as might have been considered as fit ornaments for a Grecian building. In a small temple at Samne, there is still an image with the attributes of Osiris, and there are figures of a Paamyles on the walls.

Mr. Burckhardt has given us several Greek inscriptions, many of which had been copied by Captain Light a little differently. One of these begins with "*This is* the homage of *Caius* Cassius Celer;" not *Vulsilius*, as it had been read from Captain Light's manuscript. At Maharraka, the writer of one inscription has very benevolently included "the reader" in his petition, for a blessing from "Isis, the goddess with ten thousand names, and from the sun Sarapis." At Kardassy, an inscription dated under the Philips, the successors of the Emperor Gordian, records the munificence of Psentuaxis, who gave to the temple "twenty pieces of gold in his first priesthood, and thirty in his second." A Thebaic tombstone, lying at Assouan, seems to contain only these words: "$\overline{\text{IS}}$ + $\overline{\text{CHT}}$. This day, in memory of the late John Panokë. Indict. xvi. 15. Mechir 6." In fact, there is scarcely any trace of the old Egyptian language to be found in any existing monument, employed upon any other occasion than for the most unimportant memorials of the most insignificant personages.

An article has lately appeared in one of the French journals, announcing the discovery of a ruined city, situated a few leagues from the Red Sea, by a young French traveller, Mr. Caillìaud, nearly in the latitude of Assouan, and called by the Arabs, Sekelle. It has still many temples, palaces, and private houses standing, so that it may in some respects be compared to Pompeii: the architecture is Greek, with some Egyptian ornaments; several inscriptions prove that it was built by the Ptolemies; and one of the temples was evidently dedicated to Berenice. The situation agrees sufficiently well with that of the ancient city Berenice, so called in honour of the mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, notwithstanding that several ancient authors agree in describing this city as a port on the Red Sea; for the city may easily have been at some little distance from a harbour bearing the same name; and no other town of any magnitude seems to have existed in the neighbourhood. It

was through Berenice, according to Pliny, that the principal trade of the Romans with India was conducted, by means of caravans which reached the Nile at Coptus, not far from the point at which the present shorter route by Cosseir meets the river; and by this channel it is said that no less than 400,000*l.* of Roman money was sent to India, while merchandises were returned, that ultimately sold for a hundred times as much. Mr. Burckhardt seems to have heard some vague reports respecting these ruins; but it was reserved for Mr. Cailliaud to obtain ocular evidence of their existence, and of their magnitude.

While so much has been done abroad for the recovery of the lost treasures of Egypt, it appears that no less labour has been silently employed in the pursuit of the investigation at home: and it seems to have been partly with a view to perpetuate the continuance of these efforts, that an association has been formed in London, of which the first and immediate object is merely to insure the preservation, and to facilitate the study of all that remains of Egyptian literature, by making a collection of drawings of all the hieroglyphical inscriptions in existence, and printing them lithographically, in a form most convenient for reference and examination, under the title of *Hieroglyphics, collected by the Egyptian Society.* The plates, which have already been executed, do credit to the manipulation of Mr. Ackermann's press, as well as to the extreme neatness and accuracy of the draughtsman who has been employed on them. They can scarcely be said to have been published, as they are only to be distributed among a limited number of subscribers; but as they are to be presented to several public libraries, in different parts of Europe, they may be consulted by the general reader without difficulty.

In the midst of all the zeal and activity displayed by our countrymen who have travelled, or who are resident, in Egypt, it is greatly to be deplored that their attention has not yet been turned to an object which is paramount to all the rest in its importance, for the substantial advancement of our acquaintance with the ancient history and literature of the count try; that is, the recovery of the lost fragments or of some of the duplicates of the "trilinguar," or rather trigrammatic

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STONE of ROSETTA; a monument which has already enabled us to obtain a general idea of the nature and subject of any given hieroglyphical inscription, by pursuing the investigations already carried to an unexpected extent by an anonymous author, whose interpretation was communicated to the Antiquarian Society by Mr. Rouse Boughton, together with copies of some fragments of manuscripts which this gentleman had brought from Egypt. (*Archæologia*, vol. XVIII. p. 61. *Museum Criticum*, No. VI. and VII.) Mr. de Sacy, and more especially Mr. Akerblad, had made some progress in identifying the sense of the several parts of the second inscription of the stone; but they had scarcely at all considered the sacred characters, and it was left for British industry, to convert to permanent profit a monument, which had before been a useless, though a glorious trophy of British valour.

We must recollect that every analysis of an unknown object of this nature must unavoidably proceed more or less by the imperfect argumentation sometimes very properly called a circle, but which, in such instances, may be more aptly compared to a spiral, or to an algebraical approximation; since, by assuming certain incorrect suppositions, not too remote from the truth, we may render them, by means of a continual repetition of the calculation, more and more accurate, until at length the error is rendered wholly inconsiderable; and in this manner we often satisfy the conditions of a problem, which it would be impracticable to solve by a more direct method. A process thus tedious and laborious, however, loses the greatest part of its interest when the solution is obtained; and it is no longer necessary to explain in detail every step through which it has passed. The deciphering of the Rosetta stone is fortunately in great measure independent of any hypothesis of this kind extraneous to itself; and the Greek text affords at once the first approximation for beginning the process; but, in order to extend the inquiry to other objects, a variety of authorities must be compared and appreciated: we must select from the Greek authors an abstract of the religious superstitions and of the civil ordinances of the Egyptians; but it will be necessary, in making this selection, to have some regard to the results

which have been obtained from an examination of the principal hieroglyphical monuments still extant, in order that we may avoid the confusion, which would be the necessary consequence of adopting indiscriminately the whole mass of contradictory matter, which various mythological authors have collected or invented upon the subject; and considering how absurdly and monstrously complicated the Egyptian superstitions really were, it becomes absolutely essential to separate that which is most fully established, or most generally admitted, from the accidental or local varieties, which may have been exaggerated by different authors into established usages of the whole nation, and still more from those which have been the fanciful productions of their own inventive faculties. Unfortunately, by far the greater number of the existing monuments of Egypt are of a mythological nature; so that their pantheon, or rather pantherion, acquires an interest altogether foreign to its real character, on account of the utility of a general knowledge of the subject, in developing the nature of the language employed. The accounts, which have been preserved, of the customs and civil ordinances of the country, are still more discordant than those which relate to their deities; but they may still in some instances be illustrated from monuments which remain in existence. Respecting the early history and chronology of Egypt, we can do little more than appreciate the various degrees of plausibility of the different fables that have been related, and the comparative credulity of the authors who have appeared to believe in them; for hitherto no hieroglyphical records have been discovered, which can afford us much assistance in this department of the investigation: though it is by no means impossible that a continued series of the sovereigns of Egypt, from the earliest times, may have been chronicled in more than one of the innumerable multitude of inscriptions hitherto uncopied and unexamined. (See infra, p. 114, *note.*)

SECTION II.—*Pantheon of Egypt.**

In the selection of authorities respecting the principal deities

* Since this article was written some further light has been thrown on Egyptian mythology by the researches of Champollion, Rosellini, Birch, and Wilkinson, especially the last, whose treatment of the subject is justly preferred to Champollion's by Chevalier Bunsen, because his "researches and explanations are more sober and critical." The substance of their discoveries is embodied in the mythological section of

worshipped by the Egyptians, it will be most convenient to consider the respective personages in their chronological, or rather genealogical order, as far as any evidence can be obtained to ascertain their places in the mythological system.

1. AGATHODAEMON, *Cneph*, or *Chnuphis*, appears to be the oldest representative of the divine power admitted by the Egyptians, although his attributes are not distinctly ascertained, except as the parent of Phthah, whose origin is referred, in the works of the spurious Hermes, to an egg of *Cneph*, or *Emeph*, which is perhaps the Coptic IHHNIFI, *genius of spirit*. Even before this Cneph, we are told of the existence of an *Eicton* or *Icton*, which has been supposed to mean IHHTHO, *genius of the whole world;* but this seems to have been a sort of chaos, and the personification is not generally admitted. Eusebius makes Cneph distinctly synonymous with Agathodaemon; and this interpretation seems to identify the term with the *Cnuphis*, of whom Strabo mentions a temple in Elephantine; since IHHNUFI would naturally mean *good genius*, the word NUFI occurring frequently in other compounds. In a Greek inscription lately brought to the British Museum, the emperor Nero is called the "good genius" of the world, and the winged globe hovering over the inscription seems to be allusive to this piece of flattery: but the Chnuphis or Chnumis of the amulets of later times is a serpent or a dragon raising itself on its tail, having rays about its head, and surrounded with stars. The

'Egypt's Place in Universal History,' pp. 357–444, the author of which seems to have done little more himself than repeat what had been said by others. He asserts, indeed, that his "attempt to restore the three orders of Herodotus, and reduce them to their oldest demonstrable form, is the first recorded in the annals of Science." ('Egypt's Place,' p. 366.) But if he refers to Wilkinson's *Materia Hieroglyphica* (p. 57), published at Malta in 1828, as Chevalier Bunsen himself intimates (for he is not unacquainted with the book), he will find that he has been anticipated by that author, who communicated his attempt at restoration of the three orders of deities without any parade or self-complacency, because he must have been fully aware of its imperfections. For the same reason he seems to have partially abandoned it in his subsequent works, and Chevalier Bunsen would do well to follow his example, for certainly the attempt at restoration in *Egypt's Place* is a complete failure, a very considerable number of deities being excluded from his classification who have at least as strong a claim to admission as some of those who figure therein; while he has had recourse to the clumsy expedient of tacking a tail to his second and third orders, in the shape of "supplementary deities," or, as he calls it in one instance, an "appendix." For this device, at least, he deserves the credit of originality, for "an appendix of gods" is certainly something new in "the annals of science." Lepsius,—a great authority with Bunsen,—in his work *Ueber den ersten Aegyptischen Götterkreis*, Berlin, 1851 (p. 2), condemns all such attempts to classify the deities of Egypt as premature and futile (*leeres Schematisiren*), and describes them as consisting of the "collocation, in greater or smaller number, of the gods who most frequently occur, according to an arrangement which is quite arbitrary, or at least destitute of proper grounds."—*Ed.*

name of Agathodaemon is inserted by Manetho among the fabulous kings, immediately before Cronus.

2. The same authority attributes a still higher antiquity to PHTHAH, whom it places as the first of the fabulous kings of Egypt; and he is universally considered as the great ancestor of the other deities, and is especially called the father of the sun, as we learn from various chronologers, and from Callisthenes and others. He seems to have been a personification of the creative, and perhaps of the generative power, designated under the character of a workman, or an architect. He is sometimes compared to Prometheus, as the discoverer of fire: but Hephaestus or Vulcan is his common representative in the Greek and Roman mythology; although it must always be remembered, that BETWEEN THE IMAGINARY PERSONAGES OF DIFFERENT NATIONS THE IDENTITY MUST NATURALLY BE ACCIDENTAL AND IMPERFECT. Cicero and Eusebius mention Phthah as the same with Vulcan; and Eratosthenes, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, interprets—MOEPHTHA, *Philephaestus*, or *loving Vulcan*, which in Coptic would be exactly expressed by MAIPHTHAH, as MAISON is *loving a brother*. Mr. Akerblad quotes, from a Coptic sermon of Sinnethi, the words, "Hephaestus, who is Ptah," and this remarkable passage proves, as he justly observes, how much Jablonsky was mistaken in his orthography of *Phthash*, on which he founded one of his fanciful etymologies,

3. NEÏTH, the Minerva of the Egyptians, had a celebrated temple at Saïs, in which was the well known inscription on the goddess of universal nature, whose offspring, in the translation of the inscription, as preserved by Proclus, is said to be the sun. It seems therefore natural to call Neïth the wife of Phthah; as Plato also observes, that arts were invented by Vulcan and his wife; but we are told that Neïth is to be considered as both male and female. The name is mentioned by Plato as synonymous with Minerva, and Eratosthenes explains Nitocris, Minerva the victorious.

4. RE, or PHRE, *the Sun*, otherwise called *On*, is mentioned by Manetho as the son of Vulcan. He married Rhea, and having discovered her infidelity, condemned her to bear no offspring on any day or any night of the whole 360 that then

made the year. Plutarch says that he was represented by a young child rising out of a lotus; but this emblem is more probably attributable to Horus, who is another of the forms of the solar power, and is sometimes improperly confounded with Apollo. The word *Phre* is often found in Greek letters on the amulets, accompanied by emblems of the sun.

5. RHEA, the wife of the Sun, may perhaps have derived her name from *Re;* she appears to be identical with the *Urania*, or female Heaven, of Horapollo, the Coptic PHE being feminine. Jablonsky makes Rhea the same with Athor, but he adduces no sufficient authority for the opinion. She is said to have been familiar both with Cronus and with Thoth; and Diodorus calls her the wife and sister of Cronus.

6. IOH, *the Moon.* Plutarch tells us that Hermes played at dice with the Moon, probably as presiding over the calendar, in order to gain a time for the birth of Rhea's children, and to evade her husband's curse; so that the Moon must be considered as one of the oldest deities. The Egyptian name being masculine, the Moon can scarcely have been worshipped as a goddess; and whatever relation may have been imagined to exist between Isis and the lunar influence, the two deities were certainly not identical.

7. APOPIS, a brother of the Sun, is mentioned by Plutarch as having made war against Jove. But the Jupiter of Manetho stands much later in the list, the order being Vulcan, the Sun, Agathodaemon, Cronus, Osiris with Isis, * *, Typhon, Horus, Ares, Anubis, Hercules, Apollo, Ammon, Tithoes, Sosus, and Jove; the last nine being denominated semi-gods.

8. CRONUS, or *Saturn*, is only known from his connexion with Rhea, the wife of the Sun. His character probably bore some relation to a personification of Time and Antiquity.

9. THOTH, *Theuth*, or *Taaut*, one of the most celebrated of the Egyptian deities, is sufficiently identified with Hermes or Mercury, by the testimony of a variety of authors. Diodorus mentions him as the scribe, or secretary, and privy counsellor of Osiris. He is generally considered as the inventor of letters and of the fine arts. Plutarch and Horapollo observe, that he was typified by the ibis, which was sacred to him. Plutarch also says, that he had one arm shorter than the other.

10. Osiris, properly Oshiri, meaning in Coptic *energetic*, or *active*, which is precisely one of Plutarch's interpretations of the name, was the deity most universally adored throughout Egypt, and possessing the principal attributes of Bacchus, Adonis, and Pluto; besides being often compared to the Nile, and sometimes to the Sun. He was genealogically considered as the son of the Sun and of Rhea: at his birth, on the first of the supplementary days of the calendar, a voice was heard, proclaiming that he was Lord of all. He married his sister, Isis, and, according to Diodorus, left her to govern his kingdom during his military expeditions, resembling those of Bacchus; being accompanied by Pan, Hercules, and Macedo, having a ship which was the prototype of the Argo of the Greeks, with Canopus for his pilot. He was at last treacherously shut up alive in a coffin by Typhon, aided by seventy-two conspirators, together with an Ethiopian queen Aso. The coffin, being thrown into the Nile, was carried to one of its mouths, and there left on shore; it became afterwards enclosed in the trunk of an erica, which grew round it, and which constituted one of the columns of King Malcander's palace: but the body escaped from its confinement, and was found by Typhon as he was hunting: he divided it into fourteen parts, which were afterwards found, scattered in different places, by Isis, and buried separately. Osiris, however, returned from the dead, to console his wife, and to conduct the education of his son Horus. There was a mystery in his identification with Pluto, of which the old authors affect to speak with reverence. His dress was generally white, but sometimes black. He is represented as carrying a whip, which is supposed to be intended for the punishment of Typhon. Plutarch says, that he is typified by a hawk, and denoted hieroglyphically by an eye and a sceptre.

11. Arueris, a twin brother of Osiris, and, like him, the son of the Sun and of Rhea, was born on the second supplementary day. He is also called the elder Horus, and is considered by some of the Greeks as their Apollo.

12. Typhon, the spurious son of Rhea and Cronus, was born on the third supplementary day, and married his sister Nephthe. He is characterized by a red colour, and is supposed to have been a personification of the effects of scorching heat. He is also compared to the earth's shadow, as causing eclipses of the

moon. The celestial habitation of his soul was supposed to be in the Great Bear. According to Plutarch, his Egyptian names were *Seth*, *Bebon*, or *Babyn*, and *Smy;* the word Typhon being apparently of Greek origin.

13. Isis, Isi, or Esi, was supposed to be the offspring of Thoth and Rhea, born on the fourth supplementary day; she was also sometimes called the daughter of Prometheus. She is generally compared to Ceres, or the Earth, and is made the deity of fertility and of maternal love. She was also esteemed analogous to Proserpine, as the queen of the lower regions, and the wife of Pluto; thus she is called by Aristides, "the saviour and conductress of souls;" and, in some Roman inscriptions, copied by Zoega, she is made "the guardian of the ashes of the dead." Horapollo says, that her head was sometimes adorned with vulture's plumes; but Herodotus tells us that she was represented with cow's horns, like Io; other authors, however, say, that, after Horus, in revenge for his father's death, had made Typhon prisoner, Isis imprudently set him at liberty, and Horus, therefore, tore the regal diadem from her brow, but that Thoth or Hermes substituted for it a helmet made of a bullock's head. Her soul was supposed to have its residence in the Dog Star, the Sothis of the Egyptians. Her dress was of many colours. She is sometimes compared to the moon; but this idea appears to be foreign to the oldest mythology, as well as to the genius of the Egyptian language. She has also been somewhat arbitrarily confounded with Minerva by Plutarch, in speaking of the inscription of the temple of Saïs, which confessedly related to the Egyptian Minerva, who was indisputably the goddess Neïth; although, in consequence of this inattention, the "robe" mentioned in the inscription has been called the "robe of Isis," and the expression has been almost proverbially employed as denoting mystery and secrecy.

14. Nephthe, rather than *Nephthys*, the spurious daughter of Rhea and Cronus, was born on the fifth supplementary day. She is sometimes called by the Greeks *Teleute*, that is, consummation; and sometimes Venus and Victory. She is mentioned by Firmicus as the sister and companion of Isis; and Plutarch says, that the face of Isis was sometimes represented on the sistrum, and sometimes that of Nephthe.

15. THUERIS, a concubine of Typhon, is only noticed as having been pursued, on her way to visit Horus, by a huge snake, which was killed by Horus's people.

16. BEBON, who is sometimes confounded with Typhon, is also mentioned as one of his companions.

17. ARES is inserted among the fabulous kings of Manetho. Vettius Valens says, that the planet Mars was called by the Egyptians *Artes;* and Cedrenus makes the name *Ertosi.* Herodotus tells us, that Mars was worshipped at Papremis.

18. SOMUS, or *Shom,* was probably the personage called the Egyptian Hercules by the Greek writers. Thus, the Great Etymologicon has *Chon* for this deity, and Eratosthenes writes his name *Sem,* both of these having been probably intended to express the Coptic JOM or SJOM, *strength,* which seems sometimes to have been written JEM or SJEM. Diodorus mentions this Hercules as a general of Osiris, whom he left behind with Isis. He is said to have been killed by Typhon, but to have been revived by the smell of a quail. Herodotus asserts, that the word Heracles is originally Egyptian; but in this, as in many other instances, his interpreters must have misinformed him, perhaps from misunderstanding his questions; for his Egyptian etymologies are almost uniformly erroneous. Thus, when the priests had shown him, or rather Hecataeus, whose original story he seems to have copied and disfigured, the statutes of 341 successive generations of high priests, who were neither gods nor heroes, but each a PIROMIS, the son of PIROMIS; he tells us, that PIROMIS means *beautiful and brave;* while, in fact, the literal sense of PIROMI, in the modern Coptic of Lower Egypt, which is simply *a man,* restores to the observation of the priests an intelligible and consistent sense.

19. BUTO, the nurse of Horus and of Bubastis, compared to the Latona of the Greeks, must be considered as anterior to the birth of Horus.

20. HORUS, *Hor, Or,* or *Horsiesi,* was the son of Isis and Osiris. Jablonsky observes, that a king *Ur* is mentioned by Manetho, and that *Or* was, in later times, the name of a certain monk, and *Taor* of a nun: the Egyptians having always, as Lucian informs us, had a propensity to adopt the names of their

deities for their own, so that they may have become current in families without any immediate reference to their origin. Akerblad has also found *Horsiesi* as an Egyptian name, and conjectures, not without probability, that it may have meant originally Horus, the son of Isis; SI being an abridgment of SHERI, as it appears also to have been in the name *Siphoas*, or rather *Siphthas*, which is explained by Eratosthenes, *the son of Vulcan.* Horus is often confounded with the Sun, perhaps from the resemblance of his name to the Hebrew AOR, *light;* while Suidas makes him rather analogous to Priapus. He was nursed by Buto, in the city Butus. The most remarkable exploit of his youthful days was the pursuit and conquest of Typhon, in revenge for his father's death. The constellation Orion was supposed to be the habitation of his soul. His dress was white. Damascius, as copied by Photius, informs us that he was represented with his finger on his mouth.

21. HARPOCRATES was the son of Osiris, from a visit paid to Isis after his death. He was also born prematurely, and was weak in his lower limbs. Eratosthenes seems to have called him Phrucrates; and PHROKHRAT, in Coptic, would mean dried or *withered feet.*

22. ANUBIS was the offspring of Osiris and Nephthe, whom he had mistaken for Isis, and who exposed the child; but Isis recovered him, and he became her faithful attendant. He was considered as belonging both to the upper and the lower worlds, and was therefore compared to the horizon: and he seems to have been typified by a dog, or figured with a dog's head. He attended Osiris in his military expedition; and he is sometimes erroneously confounded with Mercury, and even with Saturn. A cock was usually sacrificed to him; and Pliny tells us, that his images were properly made of gold, in allusion to his name; a remark which is amply explained by the Coptic word NUB, which still signifies *gold.*

23. ARSAPHES is mentioned by Plutarch as a son of Isis; but the same name is said to have been sometimes applied to Osiris.

24. ATHOR, or *Athyr*, was the Venus of the Egyptians, according to the Great Etymologicon. Herodotus mentions a

temple of Venus at Atarbechis, which might be translated the city of Venus, BAKI in Coptic meaning city; although Plutarch enumerates Athyri among the different names of Isis. Strabo informs us, that at Momemphis, a sacred cow was fed in honour of Venus.

25. AMUN, the Jupiter of the Egyptians, though apparently a personage of much less importance than the Greek and Roman Jupiter, was worshipped by the Ammonians, under the form of a human figure, with a ram's head. Hecatæus, as quoted by Plutarch, denies that this term is the proper name of the deity, and observes, very truly, that it is an Egyptian word meaning *come*, by which the god was supplicated to appear. The word, however, implies also *glory*, or *splendour*. If there was a more appropriate term for this deity, it may possibly, as Mr. Akerblad has observed, have been *Ho*, which was the Egyptian name of the city, called by the Greeks Diospolis the Less. It is remarkable, that Manetho gives us a Zeus distinct from Ammon, interposing Tithoes and Susus as intermediate kings.

26. ANTAEUS, *Entes*, or *Mendes*, is said to have been left by Osiris as a viceroy or lieutenant governor, together with Busiris, for the assistance of Isis, during his absence. He is generally identified with Pan, though Diodorus mentions Pan as having accompanied Osiris on his expedition. At Mendes a goat was fed in honour of this deity, and Plutarch seems to say, that this goat was called Apis, as well as the bull fed at Memphis. He was also generally represented with the face and legs of a goat. Herodotus calls him one of the eight gods, older than the twelve; but Diodorus makes the eight senior gods of the Egyptians the Sun, Cronus, Rhea, Ammon, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury. Out of these, however, Juno and Vesta cannot easily be identified in the Egyptian mythology.

27. BUSIRIS* is only mentioned by Diodorus as a colleague of Antæus in his government.

* This name was probably added to the Egyptian Pantheon by the Greeks. It seems to be formed from Osiris with the article, Pe-Osiris, which they naturally converted into Βουσιρις, although Diodorus gives a different etymology of the name of the city Busiris —"the tomb of Osiris" (Be Oshiri). The legend of Busiris, the ruthless son of Poseidon, who put all strangers to death, and even attempted to offer up Hercules as a sacrifice, perhaps had its origin in Greece, before the reign of the Philhellene Psammeticus, at a time when the Greeks still regarded Egypt with mysterious dread. See Müller's 'Scientific System of Mythology' (Leitch's translation), p. 114.—*Ed.*

28. MACEDON, according to Diodorus, was a companion of Osiris in his expedition.

29. BUBASTIS was a sister of Horus, preserved and nursed with him by Buto in the city of Butus. She is compared by various authors to Artemis or Diana: Apuleius gives us Bubasthis for the Egyptian name of the plant Artemisia; and Bubastis is addressed in a Greek epigram in the place of Diana, considered in her obstetrical capacity.

30. SARAPIS, an ancient deity of the Greeks, was raised into a more distinguished rank by the honours paid him, as identical with Pluto, by Ptolemy Soter, who had found an image of Pluto at Sinope, accompanied by Cerberus and a dragon, which he brought to Alexandria, and established in the Serapeum there, as belonging to Sarapis. Some of the ancients were, however, of opinion, that the word Sarapis meant only the *feast of Apis;* and, indeed, the Coptic SHAIIRI, which signifies to feast, agrees tolerably well with this etymology, however improbable the opinion founded on it may be esteemed. Sarapis is also supposed to have had some relation to the regulation of the Nilometer, which consisted of a column of different heights marked on it, in the centre of a bath or well, into which the water of the river was admitted.

31. ESMUNUS, or *Shmun*, was the eighth son of Sadycus by one of the Titanides, and brother of the Dioscuri and Cabiri; all of them names which seem as foreign to the Egyptian mythology as the word SHMUN is familiar to the language, meaning simply *eight*. He is, however, said by Damascius to have been the Egyptian Æsculapius, although Manetho gives the name Tosorthrus to this deity, making him a son of Pan and Hephæstobule.

32. PAAMYLES is mentioned by Hesychius and Plutarch as a Priapic deity; he is also made by Cratinus synonymous with *Socharis*.

33. TITHRAMBO, according to Epiphanius, was analogous to the Hecate of the Greeks.

34. THERMUTHIS, though generally understood to be only a name of the sacred serpents worn in the crown of Isis, is distinguished by Epiphanius as an independent deity; and if we may

judge by the signification of the Coptic word, which means *mortiferous*, her character must have been somewhat analogous to that of Nemesis.

35. CANOPUS, or *Canobus*, had a temple which is mentioned by Dionysius Periegetes. The jars called Canopi were often made porous to serve as filters, and are mentioned by Hesychius, in the word *Stactice;* but we are not exactly informed how far they were connected with this deity.

36. MENUTHIS was the wife of Canopus, and seems to have given her name to a village near the town Canopus, which is mentioned by Stephanus. Epiphanius calls her *Eumenuthis.*

37. BESA is only known from Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions an oracle dependent on him.

38. PROTEUS, though noticed as a king of no very high antiquity, is said to have had a temple erected to him as a hero. Diodorus says that his Egyptian name was Cetes; though Herodotus, as in other instances, fancies, from some misapprehension, that the Greek and Egyptian names were identical; and he observes, that similar honours were also paid to Perseus, another hero known to the Greeks.

39. NILUS, whether as a king or merely as a river, appears to have received divine honours. The Egyptian name of the Nile seems to have been simply PHIARO; the Ethiopians called it *Siris;* the AMEÏRI of Kircher's vocabulary was probably a name of later date,

40. APIS, a bull consecrated to Osiris, was fed, with divine honours, at Memphis, the principal burying-place of that deity, of whose soul he was considered as the living image. He was all over black, except some small white spots, and some other particular marks not of common occurrence. He was sometimes said to be the offspring of a cow and a ray of moonlight.

41. MNEUIS, or *Mnyis*, was also a black bull, sacred to Osiris, kept at Heliopolis, although some authors assert that he was sacred to the sun. Ælian mentions also a black bull called Onuphis; and Macrobius speaks of a bull named Pacis, or Bacis, and kept at Hermonthis. For the cow that was consecrated to Venus, it does not appear that any particular name has been recorded.

Section III.—*Historiography of Egypt.*

The early history of Egypt claims a much higher antiquity than that of almost any other nation, and is consequently involved in darkness more impenetrable. It is utterly impossible to reconcile the accounts of various authors with each other, and even the same authors are not always consistent with themselves. But some little idea may be formed of the comparative value of the different catalogues of sovereigns, by observing which of them is confirmed by the testimony of the greatest number of respectable and unconnected writers, and by inquiring, at the same time, what internal evidence they afford of truth or falsehood.

The only original authorities on which we can depend, for the early history of Egypt, are those of Herodotus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, all of whom had been more or less in the country. Herodotus lived soon after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, when the names of the later monarchs could not easily have been forgotten. The earlier part of his history is of a much more apocryphal nature: he does not, however, continue the series of kings further back than Sesostris and Moeris: so that almost all his names are sufficiently recent to be considered as completely within the province of legitimate history. Manetho lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, to whom he dedicated his three books of the *History of Egypt;* and there is little doubt that the extracts preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, although some of them have passed in succession from one compiler to another, are in general perfectly authentic. How much of the work was originally fabulous, and how much has been distorted by transposition and anachronism, it is impossible accurately to determine:* but besides the original inadmissibility of the existence of so long a series of successive generations, the

* M. Champollion's discoveries, to which he was led by several passages in this article, have furnished, together with the Tablet found at Abydos by Mr. Bankes, a remarkable confirmation (at least so far as the names in the latter have been identified) of the authenticity of Manetho's royal chronological canon, which had been previously considered fabulous by the majority of learned men.—*Ed.*

invention of which may possibly have been derived from the same national vanity that led the priests to boast to Herodotus of 330 kings between Menes and Sesostris, there are several coincidences which Marsham has pointed out, in the names and qualifications of princes mentioned as having lived at very remote times, tending strongly to encourage the opinion that the originals of the stories were respectively one and the same person; there are also other instances, in which it is not improbable that several of the persons enumerated may have been contemporary sovereigns of different subdivisions of the country, although this part of Marsham's theory has perhaps been carried a little too far; and amidst so much confusion, it must be confessed that all his learning and all his ingenuity have been inadequate to the establishment of any satisfactory result. He holds the catalogue of Eratosthenes in high and just estimation, although he was not acquainted with the strong argument in favour of its authenticity, which has been deduced from the agreement of many of the etymologies with the acknowledged meaning of the terms in the Egyptian language; an agreement which makes it more than probable that Eratosthenes, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, did actually receive these names and their interpretations from the priests of Diospolis. This interesting catalogue has been successively copied by Apollodorus, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus; but how many of the names contained in it were really those of actual sovereigns of Egypt, and how many had been negligently or ignorantly read and pronounced, it is by no means easy to ascertain: it can only be observed in general, that scarcely any of them are found in the works of other chronologers or historians. Diodorus is, on the whole, a very candid and judicious writer, and we shall hereafter find some remarkable evidence of his correct knowledge of the Egyptian institutions, although some of the most approved critics of modern times have entertained considerable prejudices against him. The accuracy and good sense of Strabo are so well known, that we can only lament the paucity of the historical facts that can be collected from him. Besides these authors, there is an anonymous chronicle copied by Africanus, and from him by Syncellus, which

affords a series of kings somewhat shorter than that of Manetho, and more regularly filled; it seems, however, to be principally a compilation from Manetho, with some regard to the contemporary events of the scriptural chronology.

That MENES, whom many suppose to have been Misraim, the son of Ham, was the first king of Egypt, is fully agreed by all authors, and both Manetho and Eratosthenes make his immediate successor ATHOTHES; and, together with Herodotus, mention NITOCRIS as one of the early queens. Besides these coincidences, there are slight resemblances in the names of six or seven of the intermediate personages of the respective lists; but it is impossible to pronounce with confidence, that the circumstance is anything more than accidental: and, in fact, we find little or no collateral confirmation of the accuracy of any others of the appellations, till we come down to the 18th dynasty of Manetho; the Phenician shepherds, who are referred to the 17th, being little mentioned by other historians, and very few, even of their supposed names, having been preserved by Manetho. But we find a particular catalogue of the 18th dynasty both in Josephus and in Eusebius, bringing us down to the time of Sesostris, with whom the histories of Herodotus and Diodorus may be said to begin. So far, therefore, as the chronology of the kings of Egypt can be recovered from these documents, it will stand nearly as in the subjoined table; the dates being deduced from the lengths of the several reigns as given by Manetho alone, taking the mean of the different readings of the numbers, and setting out with the presumption that the conquest of Psammenitus by Cambyses happened 525 years B.C.

According to Manetho.

XVIII Dynasty. Diospolitan.

1.	Thuthmosis, or Amosis . . .	reigned	24 years	1874	B.C.
2.	Chebron, his son	„	13 „	1750	„
3.	Amenophthis	„	20 „	1737	„
4.	Ammessis, sister . . .	„	18 „	1717	„
5.	Mesphres, son	„	16 „	1699	„
6.	Misphragmuthosis . . .	„	23 „	1683	„
7.	Thmosis, or Thuthmosis, s. . .	„	9 „	1660	„

8.	Amenophis, s. ("Memnon")	reigned	31 years	1651	B.C.
9.	Horus, s.	„	41 „	1620	„
10.	Acenchres, d.	„	23 „	1579	„
11.	Rathotis, sist.	„	15 „	1556	„
12.	Acencheres, s.	„	17 „	1541	„
13.	Acencheres, ii. s.	„	11 „	1524	„
14.	Armaïs	„	6 „	1513	„
15.	Ramesses, s.				
16.	Armesses Miamun, s.	„	68 „	1507	„
17.	Amenophis, or Ammenoph	„	15 „	1439	„

XIX Dynasty. Diospolitan.

18.	Sethosis, or Sesostris	„	53 „	1424	„
19.	Rapsaces	„	63 „	1371	„
20.	Ammenephthes				
21.	Rameses	„	60 „	1308	„
22.	Ammenemes	„	15 „	1248	„
23.	Thuoris	„	7 „	1233	„

XX Dynasty. Diospolitan.

24—35.	Twelve kings	„	125 „	1226	„

XXI Dynasty. Tanite.

36.	Smendes	„	26 „	1101	„
37.	Psusennes	„	41 „	1075	„
38.	Nephelcheres	„	4 „	1034	„
39.	Amenophthis	„	9 „	1030	„
40.	Osochon	„	6 „	1021	„
41.	Psinaches	„	9 „	1015	„
42.	Psusennes	„	35 „	1006	„

XXII Dynasty. Bubastite.

43.	Sesonchosis	„	21 „	971	„
44.	Osorchon	„	15 „	950	„
45.	. . . .			935	„
46.	. . . .	„	25		
47.	. . . .				
48.	Tacellothis	„	13 „	910	„
49.	. . . .			897	„
50.	. . . .	„	42		
51.	. . . .				

XXIII. Dynasty. Tanite.

52.	Petubastes (I. Olymp.)	reigned 30 years	855	B.C.
53.	Osorchon	„ 9 „	825	„
54.	Psammus	„ 10 „	816	„
55.	Zet...	„ 31 „	806	„

XXIV Dynasty. Saïte.

56.	Bocchóris	„ 44 „	775	„

XXV Dynasty. Ethiopian.

57.	Sabacon	„ 10 „	731	„
58.	Sevechus	„ 13 „	721	„
59.	Tarachus	„ 19 „	708	„

XXVI Dynasty. Saïte.

60.	Ammeres	„ 12 „	689	„
61.	Stephinates	„ 7 „	677	„
62.	Nechepsus	„ 6 „	670	„
63.	Nechao	„ 8 „	664	„
64.	Psammitichus	„ 48 „	656	„
65.	Nechao ii.	„ 6 „	608	„
66.	Psammuthis	„ 12 „	602	„
67.	Vaphres	„ 22 „	590	„
68.	Amosis	„ 43 „	568	„
69.	Psammecheritus	„ 0 „	525	„

According to Herodotus.

1. Sesostris, M. 18.
2. Pheros, s.
3. Proteus.
4. Rhampsinitus.
5. Cheops (Pyr.)
6. Chephren (Pyr.)
7. Mycerinus (Pyr.)
8. Asychis, M. 40?
9. Anysis, M. 41?
10. Sabacus, M. 57.
11. Sethon, M. 58.
12. Dodecarchia.
13. Psammitichus, M. 64.
14. Necos, s. M. 65.
15. Psammis, M. 66.
16. Apries, M. 67.
17. Amasis, M. 68.
18. Psammenitus, M. 69.

According to Diodorus.

(After Osymandyas, and many more.)

1. Sesoosis, M. 18.

21. Remphis, H. 4.
22—28. Nilus and others.
29. Chemmis, H. 5.

2.	Sesoosis, ii. s.	30.	Cephrès, H. 6.
	(Nuncoreus, another son.)	31.	Mycerinus, H. 7.
3.	... Many others.	32.	Bocchoris, M. 56.
17.?	Ammosis.	33.	Sabbacon, M. 57.
18.	Actisanes.	34.	Dodecarchia, H. 12.
19.	Mendes or Marus (Lab.) M. 36?	35.	Psammetichus, M. 64.
		36—39.	Four generations.
	Interregnum of five generations.	40.	Apries, M. 67.
		41.	Amasis, M. 68.
20.	Cetes or Proteus, H: 3.		

It is only in the name and order of the nine last sovereigns, that the three catalogues agree so well as to be considered as fully confirming each other: before these, the Asychis and Anysis of Herodotus are not unlike the Osochon and Psinaches or Sinaches, which stand together at a much earlier period, in the longer list of Manetho. The Cheops, or Chemmis, Chephren, and Mycerinus of the two Greek historians, supposed to be the builders of the pyramids, are nowhere found in Manetho, who attributes some of these extraordinary edifices to the fourth dynasty, in which we have Suphis, Suphis, and Mencheres, each supposed to have reigned more than sixty years, the names having so much of general resemblance to those of Herodotus, that they may easily have been corruptions of the same originals. It is impossible to conjecture what date we ought to assign to this dynasty, although it is remarkable that the names and characters of several of the kings agree sufficiently well with those of Sesostris and his immediate predecessors, which occur much later in the catalogue. But, considering that not a single hieroglyphical representation has yet been discovered about the pyramids, there is no reason to induce us to bring down their date so low as to this period, much less to believe, with Herodotus, that they were built only twelve generations before the time of Cambyses. The third pyramid, in Africanus's extract from Manetho, is attributed to Nitocris, who is referred to the sixth dynasty. The different passages of Manetho, which Syncellus has copied from Africanus and from Eusebius, exhibit many other variations, both in names and dates, which would require the catalogue to be considerably

extended, if we admitted into it all the personages enumerated; while on the other hand, a comparison with other authorities makes it more desirable that we should abridge the whole period by about 300 years out of the 1350 which it occupies, in order that Thuthmosis or Amosis might become contemporary with Moses, as Josephus makes him. But it is obvious that this degree of anachronism is not enough to vitiate the general truth of Manetho's statement of the names and order of succession of the sixty or seventy sovereigns preceding Cambyses; at the same time we must admit the accuracy of the respective dates with considerable latitude, and the more as their antiquity becomes greater. Thus the taking of Troy is mentioned as having happened in the time of Thuoris, the commencement of whose reign our catalogue makes 1233 B. C., that is, only 50 years earlier than the date assigned to this event from other authorities; and Petubastes, who is said to have been reigning at the institution of the Olympiads, stands full 50 years too far back for the commencement of the Olympic era, though he is somewhat more modern than the date at which Iphitus is said to have instituted the games. It would, however, be unreasonable to expect, considering the imperfect nature of the evidence that we possess, a coincidence much more accurate.

Section IV.—*Of the Egyptian Calendar.*

From the chronology of Egypt, we may pass very naturally to the consideration of its calendar, which has often been a subject of speculation both with critics and with astronomers. The inquiry is in itself somewhat intricate; but the principal difficulties have arisen from the ignorance or carelessness of the Greek authors who have written on the Egyptian mythology. The Baron Alexander von Humboldt and Mr. Jomard have displayed great learning and research in collecting authorities on this subject; and nothing is wanting to establish the propriety of their acquiescence in the opinion of Petavius, except a little less indulgence for the extreme inattention of Plutarch, and a more marked deference to the important testimony of

Eratosthenes, a writer whose catalogue of the Egyptian kings has been noticed, as bearing intrinsic marks of the authenticity of his information, and whose competency, as an accomplished astronomer, to discuss the regulation of the calendar, is of still greater notoriety. Geminus, a Greek astronomer of the Augustan age, has very distinctly stated, that the later Greeks had been in the habit of mentioning the Egyptian festivals as connected with particular seasons of the year, in spite of the clearest evidence that their mythological year consisted of 365 days only, and that their anniversary festivals must necessarily have passed in succession through every part of the natural year. "It is a common and inveterate error among the Greeks," says Geminus, "to believe that the festival of Isis happens at the winter solstice. This was indeed true 120 years ago; but it is now a month earlier; and such a mistake betrays the grossest ignorance of the Egyptian calendar. In former ages, this festival was celebrated not only as late as the winter solstice, but, at an earlier period of time, even at the summer solstice; as Eratosthenes expressly states in his *Commentary upon the Octaeterides*" (*Geminus in Petav. Uranologia.* Par. 1630, f. p. 33.)

The later inhabitants of lower Egypt, and especially the Greeks of Alexandria, had certainly a stationary as well as a wandering year; but this was no other than the Julian year, which was introduced here some little time after its establishment in other parts of the Roman empire; and which was probably the only year ever employed by the Coptic Christians, although it can scarcely have been adopted at any time by the Pagan Egyptians. The common opinion is, that the Julian calendar was established at Alexandria, in the year 25 B. C., the first month Thoth then beginning on the 29th of August, as the Coptic year continued to do ever after. Thus Vansleb found in the seventeenth century, that Thoth began on the 8th of September N. S., which was the 29th of August O. S. A passage of Theon, in his *Commentary on Ptolemy*, would rather incline us to fix on the 1st September for the beginning of the Alexandrian year; but the ecclesiastical authority is more direct, and it is confirmed by the present usage of the Abyssi-

nian church. The quadriennial intercalation of a sixth supplementary day took place, according to the Abbé Boyer, at the end of the second year after the Julian bissextile; so that, in the year preceding the bissextile, the first of Thoth happened on the 30th of August. From these authorities, we have no difficulty in ascertaining the beginning of the ancient or moveable Egyptian year for any earlier or later period; reckoning both ways, for the sake of simplicity, in Julian years.

B.C.	1500	2nd Sept. O.S.	
	1400	8th Aug.	
	1300	14th July.	
	1200	19th June.	
	1100	25th May.	
	1000	30th April.	
	900	5th April.	
	800	11th March.	
	700	16th Feb.	
	600	21st Jan.	
	500	26th Dec.	
B.C.	400	1st Dec.	
	300	6th Nov.	
	200	12th Oct.	
	100	17th Sept.	
B. of C.		23rd Aug.	
	100	29th July.	
	200	4th July.	
	300	9th June.	
	400	15th May.	
	500	20th April.	

It is of importance, in the discussion of some representations of astronomical objects, to determine at what time of the year the sun entered the respective signs, according to the Egyptian calendar, or, more particularly, what was the sun's place in the starry zodiac at the commencement of the year, for different periods of time. Taking then 6 h. 9′ 8″ for the excess of the sidereal above the Egyptian year, we find that 1424 Julian years were required for a complete revolution of the sun's place on the 1 Thoth, and 119 for each sign. Now since, about a century before the establishment of the Julian calendar, the sun entered Libra on the 24th of September; and since the Egyptian year began on that day, in 120 B. C., it follows that Libra had been the first constellation during the whole of the preceding century; for, at this period, the beginning and end of the signs of the ecliptic agreed very nearly with those of the corresponding constellations of the zodiac. The first constellation of the Egyptian year will therefore stand nearly thus:

From 1552 B.C.		484	♒
to 1433	♍	365	♐
1314	♌	247	♏
1196	♋	128	♎
1077	♊	9	♍
958	♉	A.C. 110	♌
840	♈	228	♋
722	♓	347	♊
603	♒		

We may take, for an example of an Egyptian date, that of the Rosetta stone, in the ninth year of Ptolemy Epiphanes, or 196 B. C., when the Egyptian year must have begun on the 11th of October: consequently the first of the sixth month, Mechir, was the 9th of March, and the 18th of Mechir, which is made synonymous with the 4th of Xanthicus, the 26th of March: so that Xanthicus must constantly have begun on the 22nd of March, if the intercalations were properly adjusted; and this agrees sufficiently well with Usher's table of the Macedonian "lunar" months, which may therefore be supposed to have been generally employed by the Greeks in Egypt.

If we attempt to determine the date of a given monument from astronomical symbols contained in it, we must suppose that they represented the state of the heavens with respect to the Egyptian year at the time in question. Thus, in the zodiacs of the ruins at and near Esne or Latopolis, the constellation Pisces seems to be the first sign, as it really was, about 800 B.C. or in the time of Bocchoris and of the Ethiopian dynasty. It is, however, equally possible, that Virgo may have been intended for the first sign, and this would answer either to the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, or to a period fourteen centuries earlier. The zodiac at Dendera appears to begin with Leo; and unless we suppose its antiquity extravagantly great, we must refer to the time of Tiberius, as Visconti has indeed already remarked. Mr. Hamilton has confirmed this opinion by the collateral evidence of inscriptions in honour of the Roman emperors: although with respect to the difference of time implied by the difference of a sign in the beginning of the zodiacs, he is rather inclined to adopt the sentiments of

Lalande, who refers it to the effect of the precession of the equinoxes; imagining, without any kind of authority, that the division of the signs corresponded to the period of the solstices, a period which never constituted a marked feature in the Egyptian calendar.

In the zodiac at Esne, the sign Libra is denoted, as is usual in the Roman representations, by a female holding the balance; while the Egyptian constellation, in most other instances, is without the female. Servius, however, informs us, that the Romans borrowed this sign from the Egyptians, the Greek astronomers having considered it as a part of the Scorpion; so that there is no reason to question the antiquity of the ceiling, from the occurrence of this constellation in it. The sign Cancer, both here and elsewhere, has eight feet, and it has certainly no connexion with the figure of the sacred beetle, which occurs many thousands of times in other places, but never with more than six feet.

The beetles in the zodiac of Dendera have a very different signification, and the whole representation is much more of a mythological than of an astronomical nature. The beetle near the beginning of the zodiac is the well known symbol of generation, and he is in the act of depositing his globe: on the opposite side, at the end of the zodiac, is the head of Isis, with her name as newly born; both the long female figures are appropriate representations of the mother; and the zodiac between them expresses the "revolving year" which elapsed between the two periods. This explanation is completely confirmed by a similar representation of two female figures on the ceiling of the first tomb of the kings at Byban El Molouk; one with the beetle, the other with the name of the personage just born: between them, instead of the zodiac, are two tablets, divided into 270 squares, or rectangles, corresponding to the number of days in nine Egyptian months, with ten circles placed at equal distances, probably intended to represent full moons, and relating to the ten incomplete lunations to which these days must belong. The number 270 is too remarkable to be supposed to have been introduced by mere accident; and when the argument is considered as a confirmation of other evidence,

in itself sufficiently convincing, the whole must be allowed to be fully conclusive.

There is indeed little chance of our discovering any astronomical records of importance among the profusion of hieroglyphical literature which is still in existence. Herodotus tells us, that the Greeks derived their acquaintance with astronomy from the Babylonians, though they were supposed to have learned the elements of geometry from the Egyptians: and it is well known that Ptolemy the astronomer, who lived at Alexandria, and who must have had easy access, as well as Eratosthenes before him, to all the knowledge of the Egyptian priests, refer to no Egyptian observations, but employs the Babylonian records of eclipses which had happened a few centuries before his time; records, which, as Pliny informs us, were preserved on a particular kind of bricks, the same, perhaps, that have been brought to Europe in our own times, as undeciphered specimens of the nail, or arrow headed character. But a certain degree of geometrical knowledge can scarcely be denied to a people, who had made very considerable progress in sculpture and architecture, at a time when all Europe was immersed in the profoundest barbarism, and who must necessarily have had frequent occasion for the employment of agrarian measurements. The Egyptians must also have been good practical chemists; so far, at least, as was required for the preparation of brilliant and diversified and durable pigments: and even their devotion to alchemy, which derives its name from having been the *secret* or *dark* study of Egypt, must have led them to make some little progress in experimental philosophy, although neither their manufacturers nor their magicians could have any right to boast of solid acquirements in genuine science.

The months of the fixed or Alexandrian year were these:

1.	Thoth . . .	began	29th August, O.S.
2.	Paopi . . .	„	28th September.
3.	Athor . . .	„	28th October.
4.	Choeak . . .	„	27th November.
5.	Tobi	„	27th December.
6.	Mechir . . .	„	26th January.
7.	Phamenoth . .	„	25th February.

8.	Pharmuthi . .	began	27th March.
9.	Pashons . . .	„	26th April.
10.	Paoni . . .	„	26th May.
11.	Epep . . .	„	25th June.
12.	Mesore . . .	„	25th July.

The years are commonly dated from the era of the martyrs of Diocletian, beginning in the autumn of 284.

Section V.—*Egyptian Customs and Ceremonies.*

Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch, have entered at large into an account of the manners and opinions of the ancient Egyptians; but it is difficult to ascertain in what precise proportion we ought to consider their information as accurate. A few insulated observations are, however, sufficiently striking to attract our attention; and there are some passages of Strabo, whose veracity, with respect to what he had seen, is undoubted, that will serve to afford us an introductory view of some of their usages. He gives us, for example, an interesting description of the usual form of the Egyptian temples, and of the habits of the sacred animals, which were frequently kept in them. "At the entrance of the sacred inclosure," he says (Book 17), "there is a paved area, about a hundred feet wide, or a little less, and three or four times as long, or sometimes even more; this area is called the dromus, or course, as in the line of Callimachus, 'This sacred course the great Anubis claims.' On each side of the whole length of this area is a row of sphinxes of stone, at the distance of 30 feet, or a little more, from each other; one row on the right hand, and the other on the left. Beyond these is the first great propylon; then, as you advance, a second and a third; their number not being limited, any more than that of the sphinxes, but both varying in various temples, as well as the length and breadth of the dromus. Next to the propyla is the temple, properly so called, consisting of a large and splendid pronaos, and a moderate cella or secos, without any image, at least in a human form, but commonly with the representation of some animal. On each side of the pronaos there is a projecting wing; that is, a wall of equal height with the temple; at the

beginning of the wings, their distance from each other is a little more than the breadth of the extreme border of the temple, but as we advance forwards, they incline till it becomes about 80 or 90 feet. The walls are sculptured with the representations of large figures, in the style of the Etruscan, or the very ancient Greek decorations. Some of their buildings are encumbered with a multitude of columns, as at Memphis, in a barbarous style of architecture; for, besides that the columns are heavy, and numerous, and in a variety of rows, they have nothing graceful or picturesque about them, but merely exhibit ill directed labour, without good taste.

"At Heliopolis we saw some large buildings appropriated to the accommodation of the priests; and it is said that this colony or college was formerly remarkable for the residence of philosophers and astronomers; but their habits and studies are no longer of so refined a nature. It was here that Plato and Eudoxus passed a considerable time; and, as some say, not less than thirteen years; for the priests were very cautious of imparting their knowledge; and though courted patiently by all sorts of attentions, would at last only communicate to them a small part of the theorems which they had discovered. They taught them, however, the true length of the year, as exceeding 365 days; but the Greeks were not accurately acquainted with its magnitude, until they had obtained translations of the sacred commentaries of the Egyptians.

"At Memphis, the capital of Egypt, there are several temples, among which is that of Apis, or Osiris, where the bull Apis is fed, in a sacred stable, being honoured as a deity: he has white spots on his forehead, and on some other small parts of his body, but with this exception he is completely black. In front of the stable is a court, with another stable appropriated to his mother: into this court the bull is turned at certain hours, especially when he is to be exhibited to strangers, who, however, are allowed to see him at other times through a window of his stable: when he has leaped about and taken his exercise, he is soon shut up again. In the dromus of the temple of Vulcan it is usual to exhibit combats of bulls, the animals being fed for this express purpose. There is also a

temple of Aphrodite or Venus, and another of Serapis in a very sandy place, where we saw some of the sphinxes already buried up to the necks by the effect of the winds."—"In the city of Arsinoe, which was formerly called Crocodilopolis, the crocodile is worshipped, and a sacred crocodile is kept in a pond, who is perfectly tame, and familiar with the priests. He is called Suchus; they feed him with corn, and meat, and wine, which are continually brought him by strangers. The friend who conducted us had provided a cake, and some meat, and a vessel of water and honey: we found him on the bank of his pond; the priests held open his mouth, while one of their number put the cake and the meat into it, and then poured the liquor on them; the animal then jumped into the pond, and crossed to the opposite side, where he was again fed in a similar manner, with the offerings of another visitor." It appears, therefore, that in the days of Augustus these sacred animals were not regarded with much more awe than the inmates of a menagerie in modern times.

The stories of Herodotus, though told with an elegant simplicity, and with every appearance of good faith, are by no means free from a frequent mixture of fable; and, with respect to his Egyptian etymologies, he is almost universally mistaken; but his account of the ceremonies observed in the preparation of the mummies has many marks of authenticity, and he is perfectly correct in asserting that the most splendid of the coffins are formed in imitation of the figures of Osiris; a circumstance which he could not easily have conjectured without direct and accurate information.

There is, however, a still stronger confirmation of the veracity of Diodorus Siculus, from the coincidence of a number which he mentions, with a variety of Egyptian monuments still existing. He tells us that a talent of silver was sometimes expended on the funeral of an individual. "The relations of the deceased announce," he says, "to the judges, and to all the connexions of the family, the time appointed for the ceremony, which includes the passage of the deceased over the lake or canal of the nome to which he belonged. *Two and forty* judges are then collected, and arranged in a semicircle, which is

situated beyond the canal; the boat is prepared, and the pilot is called by the Egyptians Charon; whence it is said that Orpheus borrowed the mythological character of this personage. Before the coffin is put into the boat, the law permits any one that chooses to produce his accusations; and if it is proved that the life of the deceased was criminal, the funeral is prohibited, while all false accusations are severely punished. If there are no accusations, or when they have been repelled, the relations of the deceased lay aside their lamentations, and pronounce his encomiums; asserting that he is about to pass a happy eternity with the pious, in the regions of Hades; and the body is finally deposited in the catacomb prepared for it." The history of so extraordinary a ceremony certainly required some confirmation to make it appear consistent with probability; but the number of forty two judges is found in a great variety of pictorial representations, and in some inscriptions, so that the account must have been given by a person well acquainted with the practice of the country; and, when thus established, it demonstrates also the truth of the received opinion, that the Egyptians believed in a future state of rewards and punishments. (See Vol. II. p. 19 of this work.)

In cases of civil law suits, the number of judges, according to the same author, was only thirty; their president wearing a breast plate adorned with jewels, which was called Truth. The eight books of the laws were placed near the judges: the pleadings of the advocates were all conducted in writing only, in order that the feelings of the judges might not be improperly biassed by the too energetic eloquence of an impassioned orator; and the president delivered the sentence of his colleagues, by the form of touching the successful party with the symbol of justice which he wore.

Section VI.—*Analysis of the triple inscription of Rosetta.*

Having acquired some preliminary notions of the mythology and history, and chronology and institutions, of ancient Egypt, we may proceed to the discussion of its written language and literature, as far as they are likely to be recovered from existing monuments; and, first of all, we must inquire into the best

mode of obtaining some satisfactory conclusions from the invaluable inscriptions in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes; which contain the only authentic specimen in existence of hieroglyphical characters expressly accompanied by a translation.

The block or pillar of black basalt, found by the French in digging up some ground at Rosetta, and now placed in the British Museum, exhibits the remains of three distinct inscriptions: and the last, which is in Greek, ends with the information, that the decree, which it contains, was ordered to be engraved in three different characters, the sacred letters, the letters of the country, and the Greek. Unfortunately a considerable part of the first inscription is wanting: the beginning of the second, and the end of the third, are also mutilated; so that we have no precise points of coincidence from which we can set out, in our attempts to decipher the unknown characters. The second inscription, which it will be safest to distinguish by the Greek name *enchorial*, signifying merely the characters "of the country," notwithstanding its deficiencies near the beginning, is still sufficiently perfect to allow us to compare its different parts with each other, and with the Greek, by the same method that we should employ if it were entire. Thus, if we examine the parts corresponding, in their relative situation, to two passages of the Greek inscription in which *Alexander* and *Alexandria* occur, we soon recognise two well marked groups of characters resembling each other, which we may therefore consider as representing these names; a remark which was first made by Mr. de Sacy, in his Letter relating to this inscription. A small group of characters, occurring very often in almost every line, might be either some termination, or some very common particle: it must, therefore, be reserved till it is found in some decisive situation, after some other words have been identified, and it will then easily be shown to mean *and*. The next remarkable collection of characters is repeated twenty nine or thirty times in the enchorial inscription; and we find nothing that occurs so often in the Greek, except the word *king*, with its compounds, which is found about thirty seven times. A fourth assemblage of characters is found fourteen times in the enchorial inscription, agreeing sufficiently well in frequency

with the name of *Ptolemy*, which occurs eleven times in the Greek, and generally in passages corresponding to those of the enchorial text in their relative situation: and, by a similar comparison, the name of Egypt is identified, although it occurs much more frequently in the enchorial inscription than in the Greek, which often substitutes for it country only, or omits it entirely. Having thus obtained a sufficient number of common points of subdivision, we may next proceed to write the Greek text over the enchorial, in such a manner that the passages ascertained may all coincide as nearly as possible; and it is obvious that the intermediate parts of each inscription will then stand very near to the corresponding passages of the other.

In this process, it will be necessary to observe that the lines of the enchorial inscription are written from right to left, as, Herodotus tells us, was the custom of the Egyptians; the division of several words and phrases plainly indicating the direction in which they are to be read. It is well known that the distinct hieroglyphical inscriptions, engraved on different monuments, differ in the direction of the corresponding characters: they always face the right or the left of the spectator according as the principal personages of the tablets, to which they belong, are looking in the one or the other direction; where, however, there are no tablets, they almost always look towards the right; and it is easily demonstrable that they must always have been read beginning from the front, and proceeding to the rear of each rank. But the Egyptians seem never to have written alternately backwards and forwards, as the most ancient Greeks occasionally did. In both cases, however, the whole of the characters thus employed were completely reversed in the two different modes of using them, as if they were seen in a glass, or printed off like the impression of a seal.

By pursuing the comparison of the inscriptions, thus arranged, we ultimately discover the signification of the greater part of the individual enchorial words; and the result of the investigation leads us to observe some slight differences in the form and order of some parts of the different inscriptions, which are indicated in the "conjectural translation," published in the *Archaeologia* and in the *Museum Criticum*. The degree of

evidence in favour of the supposed signification of each assemblage of characters may be most conveniently appreciated, by arranging them in a lexicographical form, according to the words of the translation; the enchorial words themselves not readily admitting a similar arrangement: but the subject is not of sufficient interest for the public, to make it necessary that this little lexicon should be engraved at length.

It might naturally have been expected that the final characters of the enchorial inscription, of which the sense is thus determined with tolerable certainty, although the corresponding part of the Greek is wanting, would have immediately led us to a knowledge of the concluding phrase of the distinct hieroglyphical characters, which remains unimpaired. But the agreement between the two conclusions is by no means precise; and the difficulty can only be removed by supposing the king to be expressly named in the one, while he is only designated by his titles in the other. With this slight variation, and with the knowledge of the singular accident, that the name of Ptolemy occurs three times in a passage of the enchorial inscription, where the Greek has it but twice, we proceed to identify this name among the sacred characters, in a form sufficiently conspicuous, to have been recognised upon the most superficial examination of the inscriptions, if this total disagreement of the frequency of occurrence had not imposed the condition of a long and laborious investigation, as an indispensable requisite for the solution of so much of the enigma: this step, however, being made good, we obtain from it a tolerably correct scale for the comparative extent of the sacred characters, of which it now appears that almost half of the lines are entirely wanting, those which remain being also much mutilated. Such a scale may also be obtained, in a different manner, by marking, on a straight ruler, the places in which the most characteristic words, such as *god*, *king*, *priest*, and *shrine* occur, in the latter parts of the other inscriptions, at distances proportional to the actual distances from the end; and then trying to find corresponding characters among the hieroglyphics of the first inscription, by varying the obliquity of the ruler, so as to correspond to all possible lengths which that inscription can be

supposed to have occupied, allowing always a certain latitude for the variations of the comparative lengths of the different phrases and expressions. By these steps it is not very difficult to assure ourselves, that a *shrine* and a *priest* are denoted by representations which must have been intended for pictures of objects denoted by them; and this appears to be the precise point of the investigation at which it becomes completely demonstrative, and promises a substantial foundation for further inferences. The other terms, *god* and *king*, are still more easily ascertained, from their situation near the name of Ptolemy.

The most material points of the three inscriptions having been thus identified, they may all be written side by side, and the sense of the respective characters may be still further investigated, by a minute comparison of the different parts with each other. The last line of the sacred characters, with the corresponding parts of the other inscriptions, will serve as a fair specimen of the result that has been attained from these operations. (Plate V. M.)

In thus comparing the enchorial with the sacred characters, we find many coincidences in their forms, by far too accurate to be compatible with the supposition that the enchorial could be of a nature purely alphabetical. It is evident, for example, that the enchorial characters for a *diadem*, an *asp*, and *ever-living*, are immediately borrowed from the sacred. But this coincidence can certainly not be traced throughout the inscriptions; and it seemed natural to suppose, that alphabetical characters might be interspersed with hieroglyphics, in the same way that the astronomers and chemists of modern times have often employed arbitrary marks, as compendious expressions of the objects which were most frequently to be mentioned in their respective sciences. But no effort, however determined and persevering, had been able to discover any alphabet, which could fairly be said to render the inscription, in general, at all like what was required to make its language intelligible Egyptian; although most of the proper names seemed to exhibit a tolerable agreement with the forms of letters indicated by Mr. Akerblad; a coincidence, indeed, which might be found in the

Chinese, or in any other character not alphabetical, if they employed words of the simplest sounds for writing compound proper names.

The question, however, respecting the nature of the enchorial character, appears to be satisfactorily decided by a comparison of various manuscripts on papyrus, still extant, with each other. Several of these, published in the great *Description de l'Egypte*, have always been considered as specimens of the alphabetical writing of the Egyptians, and certainly have as little appearance of being imitations of visible objects, as any of the characters of this inscription, or as the old Arabic or Syriac characters, to which they bear, at first sight, a considerable resemblance. But they are generally accompanied by tablets, or delineations of certain scenes, consisting of a few visible objects, either detached, or placed in certain intelligible relations to each other; and we may generally discover traces of some of these objects, among the characters of the text that accompanies them. A similar correspondence between the text and the tablets is still more readily observable in other manuscripts, written in distinct hieroglyphics, slightly yet not inelegantly traced, in a hand which appears to have been denoted by the term *hieratic*;* and by comparing with each other such parts of the texts of these manuscripts, as stand under tablets of the same kind, we discover, upon a very minute examination, that every character of the distinct hieroglyphics has its corresponding trace in the running hand; sometimes a mere dash or line, but often perfectly distinguishable, as a coarse copy of the original delineation, and always alike when it answers to the same character. The particular passages which establish this identity, extending to a series of above ten thousand characters, have been enumerated in the *Museum Criticum;* they have been copied in adjoining lines, and carefully collated with each other; and their number has been increased, by a comparison with some yet unpublished rolls of papyrus, lately brought from Egypt. A few specimens from different manuscripts will be

* The characters here referred to are called by Champollion *linear* hieroglyphics, which scarcely form a class by themselves, and the term *hieratic* he more correctly applied to the cursive manuscripts on papyrus generally found with mummies.—*Ed.*

sufficient to show the forms through which the original representation has passed, in its degradation from the *sacred* character, through the *hieratic*, into the *epistolographic*, or common running hand of the country. (Plate V. N.)

It seems at first sight incomprehensible, that this coincidence, or rather correspondence, should not be equally observable in the two inscriptions of the Rosetta stone, which, if the enchorial character is merely a degradation of the sacred, must naturally be supposed to be as much alike as those of the different manuscripts in question; while, in reality, we can but seldom trace any very striking analogy between them. But the enchorial character, having been long used in rapid writing, and for the ordinary purposes of life, appears to have become so indistinct in its forms, that it was often necessary to add to it some epithet or synonym, serving to mark the object more distinctly: just as, in speaking Chinese, when the words are translated from written characters into a more limited number of sounds, it is often necessary, on account of the imperfection of the oral language, to add a generic word, in order to determine the signification, and to read, for example, *a goose bird*, when *a goose* only is written, in order to distinguish it from some other idea implied by a similar sound; and even in English we might sometimes be obliged to say *a yew tree*, in order to distinguish it from *a ewe sheep*, or *you yourself*, or *the letter u*. The enchorial character, therefore, though drawn from the same source, can scarcely, in this form, be called the same language with the sacred hieroglyphics, which had probably remained unaltered from the earliest ages, while the running hand admitted all the variations of the popular dialects, and bore but a faint resemblance to its original prototype. Indeed, if it had been completely identical, there could have been no propriety in repeating the inscription with so slight a change of form.

The rituals and hymns, contained in the manuscripts which have been mentioned, are probably either of higher antiquity than the inscription of Rosetta, or had preserved a greater purity of character, as having been continually copied from older originals. It is also remarkable, that, in one of these rolls of papyrus, engraved by Denon, the introduction is in the sacred

character, and some of the phrases contained in it may be observed to be repeated in the subsequent part of the manuscript, which is in a kind of running hand, though somewhat less degraded than in most other instances.

It was not unnatural to hope, that the comparison of these different manuscripts would have assisted us very materially in tracing back all the enchorial characters to the corresponding hieroglyphics, as far as the parts of the respective inscriptions remain entire, and even in filling up the deficiencies of the sacred characters, where they are wanting; and something has certainly been gained from it with respect to the names of several of the deities; but on account of the differences which had crept in between the forms of the language expressed by the sacred and the cursive characters, the advantage has hitherto been extremely limited. It seems, indeed, to have been a condition inseparable from the whole of this investigation, that its steps should be intricate and laborious, beyond all that could have been imagined from our previous knowledge of the subject; and that, while a number of speculative reasoners have persuaded themselves, at different times, that they were able to read through a hieroglyphical inscription in the most satisfactory manner, beginning at either end, as it might happen, the only monument that has afforded us any real foundations for reasoning on the subject, is more calculated to repress than to encourage our hopes of ever becoming complete masters of the ancient literature of Egypt; although it is unquestionably capable of serving as a key to much important information, with respect to its history and mythology; nor is it by any means impossible, that a careful consideration of other monuments already known, or of such as are now discovered from day to day, may enable us to detect a number of unknown characters, so situated with respect to others, which are already understood, as to carry with them their own interpretation, supported by a degree of evidence far exceeding mere conjecture. We are now to proceed to an enumeration of the principal characters, which have already been rendered intelligible.

SECTION VII.—*Rudiments of a Hieroglyphical Vocabulary.*

A. DEITIES. (PLATE I.)

1, 2. The word GOD is always represented in the inscription of Rosetta, and often in many others, by a character resembling a particular kind of hatchet, which is delineated repeatedly at Medinet Abou, as a weapon in the hands of warriors, and is even found among the modern weapons engraved by Denon (*Plate XCV.*). This character is frequently exchanged, in parallel passages of different manuscripts, or of the same, for a figure sitting or standing without distinct arms or feet, either with a human head or a hawk's head; or sometimes, by a deviation from the correct nature of an abstract or general term, with the heads of different animals, according to the character of the deity to whom it is applied. But in the inscription of Rosetta, this symbol appears to be exclusively appropriated to the gods in their JUDICIAL capacity; and it occurs several times in the term meaning *lawful*, n. 151. This interpretation is also fully justified by the testimony of Plutarch, that "the figures of *judges* were represented without hands."

3. A GODDESS is denoted by the hatchet or sitting figure, with the addition of the female characteristic, generally as a termination; but sometimes the simple character is applied to gods and goddesses indifferently. The semicircle and oblique oval, distinguishing the feminine gender, are observable in almost all well marked names of females found in different tablets, and the crooked line, which corresponds to them, in the enchorial character of the stone of Rosetta, may be distinguished at the end of each of the five names of females that occur in the inscription, n. 58, 60, 69, 70, 71. Occasionally the characteristic is prefixed, and this position agrees better with the Coptic TI, which distinguishes a female: nor must we omit to observe, that a semicircle seems to answer to the T in some other cases, and is always expressed in the running hand by the character which Mr. Akerblad calls T or D, and which is also exactly the

Syriac T. The asp or basilisc standing erect is a symbol of divinity, which occurs on the green sarcophagus, called the tomb of Alexander, and elsewhere, instead of the more ordinary character. In a few instances, the semicircle is found without the oblique oval (n. 57.)

4. The plural, GODS, is formed by repeating the character three times, or by placing three dashes after, or sometimes before it. In the enchorial inscription, the dashes are united into a crooked line, and are placed in this instance both before and after the principal character; but, in general, the second line is straighter than the first. The dual is expressed by a double character only, (n. 57.)

5. A winged globe, sometimes flattened, as if intended for an egg, but often coloured red, is very commonly represented as hovering over a hero, and generally occupies the lintel of some of the doors of a temple. A globe nearly similar is also sometimes connected with the head and tail of a serpent, bearing the symbol of *life*, which is the common characteristic of a deity. There can, therefore, be no objection to considering these representations as belonging to the *Agathodaemon*, or *Chnuphis* of the Greek authors; and the same symbol is sometimes found in the text of an inscription, in the neighbourhood of the pictural representation; so that its sense may be considered as tolerably well ascertained; but the evidence being somewhat indirect, the name is inserted in smaller characters, the same distinction being also observed in other instances. Mr. Bruce informs us, in his letter to Wood, that in some parts of the Tunisian dominions, serpents are still regarded as a kind of good angels. The Chnubis, or Chnumis, of the amulets, is generally represented as a serpent with a human head, or with that of a lion; and the former combination is not uncommon in the tablets of the manuscripts; but the hieroglyphic denoting it is a long undulated line, totally distinct from this character.

6. The symbol, often called the *Hieralpha*, or sacred A, corresponds, in the inscription of Rosetta, to PHTHAH, or Vulcan, one of the principal deities of the Egyptians; a multitude of other sculptures sufficiently prove, that the object intended to be delineated was a plough or hoe; and we are informed by

Eusebius, from Plato, that the Egyptian Vulcan was considered as the inventor of instruments of war and of husbandry. In many other inscriptions, the pedestal or pulley is used indifferently for the plough. Horapollo tells us, that Vulcan was denoted by a beetle; and the Monticaelian obelisc of Kircher has the plough on three sides, and the beetle on the fourth: Horapollo, however, is seldom perfectly correct; and the names of different divinities are frequently exchanged on the banners of the same obelisc; nor is there any clear instance of such an exchange of the plough for the beetle as occurs perpetually in the case of the pedestal. The beetle is frequently used for the name of a deity whose head either bears a beetle, or is itself in the form of a beetle; and in other instances the beetle has clearly a reference to generation or reproduction, which is a sense attributed to this symbol by all antiquity; so that it may possibly sometimes have been used as a synonym for Phthah, as the father of the gods. The plough is very rarely found as the name of a personage actually represented, and it is difficult to say under what form the Egyptian Vulcan was chiefly worshipped; but on the tablet of a Horus of bad workmanship, belonging to the Borgian Museum, he is exhibited with a hawk's head, holding a sphere; while in the great ritual of the *Description de l'Egypte*, Ant. II. Pl. 72, Col. 104, he seems to be represented by a figure with a human head; an exchange, however, which is very common in some other cases, with respect to these two personifications, though it does not extend to the substitution of the heads of different animals for each other.

7. Ammon, the Egyptian Jupiter, is sufficiently identified by a combination of evidence of various kinds, although no single link of the chain extends very far. A figure with a ram's head is denoted, both on the green sarcophagus, and on the temple at Elephantine, by a water jar, sometimes, but not always, accompanied by a bird: now a water jar of this form is constantly converted, in the running hand of the manuscripts, into a character like a z; and this character, in the enchorial text of Rosetta, is made to express the name of Jupiter; a fact which confirms the testimony of the Greek authors, who consider the Egyptian Jupiter as having been represented with a ram's head.

A similar figure is found at Edfou, or Apollinopolis Magna, and at Esne or Latopolis: the temple at Edfou seems to have been dedicated by Amenophis or Memmon; and he appears to be called *lover of Ammon*, that is, MIAMUN, which is not unlike the name MEMNON.

8. The common astronomical diagram for the sun, ⊙, seems to have been adopted by the Latin astrologers from their masters in Egypt; since it is not very probable that both should have employed a point in the centre of the circle, without some communication with each other; the circle alone having been mentioned by some of the Greek authors, who say, that it was the symbol of the sun. The deity RE or PHRE is indicated by this character followed by an upright bar; and the circle is often enveloped in a coil of the body of a serpent; an oval and an arm also often follow the circle. The enchorial name of the sun is extremely like that which corresponds in the manuscripts to this hieroglyphic; and a similar circle, with rays diverging from it, though seldom exactly in straight lines (N. 160), is used in the sense of "enlightening," or "rendering illustrious;" and it has also been observed by some of the French, who have been in Egypt, to stand in several inscriptions with a manifest reference to light. The circle occurs also as a part of the terms month and day (N. 178, 179). In the great Hieratic Ritual, and in some other manuscripts, this name of Phre occurs very frequently under or near the tablet which contains a representation of the sun shining, as well as under the next to it, which exhibits a head rising out of a lotus, an emblem, mentioned by Plutarch as relating to the sun, which here is made to spring from the pedestal (No. 6), as the sun is said to have been the offspring of Phthah. Whatever plant this lotus may have been, it certainly does not much resemble the nelumbo of the east, which some imagine to have been the original emblem of fertility. The name Phre is almost the only intelligible combination of letters that ever occurs on the Abraxas or amulets; and the monster, to which it relates, has generally radiations from its head, and is surrounded by six stars. The tablets of the sun in the manuscripts exhibit also little genii worshipping him, each of which is always marked "*star god.*"

9. The name of RHEA may, without impropriety, be assigned to a female personage very commonly accompanying the sun, and distinguished by many of his attributes; although the evidence would have been somewhat more conclusive, if the name had been found attached to the figure of the mother in the tablet of the birth of Isis. On the coffins of the mummies, this personage is generally represented with outstretched wings; in other tablets without wings: but she carries in both cases a circle on her head, emblematic of the sun. If we consider the analogy of the hieroglyphic name only, we should be disposed to interpret it as meaning the wife or sister of Ammon.

10. IOH, the Moon, is not a deity of very frequent occurrence; but the character is easily interpreted, both from its form, and from its being found, in a different position, as a part of the word month. (No. 179.) At Dendera this character is accompanied by the epithet God, and without any female termination, as well as in several passages of an epistolographic manuscript sent home by Mr. Bankes; a circumstance which is favourable to the opinion that Ioh was considered as masculine in mythology as well as in grammar, just as Men or Lunus was sometimes made masculine by the Greeks and Romans; the fact, however, is not absolutely decisive of this question, since the character is not accompanied by the delineation of any personification of the deity.

11. The historical description of the god THOTH, or Hermes, as the scribe or secretary of Osiris, and the inventor of writing, sufficiently identifies him with the person who is perpetually represented standing before Osiris, and writing with a quill or a style on a square or oblong tablet. He has always the head of an ibis, and this bird, standing on a perch, constitutes his hieroglyphical name, as the ibis is known to have been the emblem of Thoth; the hieroglyphic for letters, N. 103, is also frequently found among his titles; and all these circumstances abundantly confirm the opinion of his true character, which Zoega and others have already advanced from conjecture only. The enchorial name is much disfigured, but the manuscripts exhibit a character which may serve to supply the connecting link, and another abridgment of the name which deviates still

more widely from the original, being simply the common substitute for a feather, which here seems to stand for the whole bird, or perhaps merely for a feather which is often found projecting from the end of the perch. Next to Osiris, we find that Thoth is of more frequent occurrence than any other deity in the great ritual; and it is probable that the mummies of the ibis, which are so commonly found, were preserved in honour of him. The semicircle with two oblique dashes, under the perch, seems to correspond to the epithet "great and great" of the Rosetta inscription, this character being generally significative of a dual. The scale with eight dashes and two other characters is also very frequently employed as an epithet, and sometimes as a synonym of Thoth: it seems to mean "dispenser of the eight treasures or laws of the country," for Diodorus informs us that the principal laws of Egypt were contained in eight books.

12. The name of OSIRIS is found, with the epithet "divine," in a great majority of all the mythological inscriptions that have yet been discovered; so that this circumstance alone is sufficient to show that it must have been that of the principal deity of Egypt. The enchorial character of the inscription of Rosetta is readily identified, and it agrees perfectly well with that of the manuscripts answering to the eye and the throne; so that the manuscripts here completely supply the want of that part of the stone which contained the name in the sacred character. This name is also universally annexed to the great figure which is found at the end of almost all the manuscripts, and on the coffins of mummies, holding a hook and a whip or fan, and of which the small detached images are also extremely common. In the sculptured inscriptions, the eye generally precedes the throne; in the running hand of the manuscripts, and on the coffins of some mummies, apparently of later date, the eye sometimes follows. Plutarch had perhaps been rightly informed respecting this character, but by a mistake, which was easily committed from a want of perfect recollection, he has called it "an eye and a sceptre;" and this combination has not been recognised as the name of a deity, though a symbol something like it occurs in some of the tablets. The pictured

delineation of Osiris has indifferently a human head or that of a hawk, but never that of any other animal. The tear, N. 100, seems also sometimes to have been used as an emblem of Osiris, as well as of Apis and Mneuis, who were considered as representations of him. The name is found perpetually on monuments of all kinds as an epithet of a departed person, and this is one great reason of the frequency of its occurrence.

13. ARUERIS, the Apollo of the Egyptian mythology, is sufficiently identified by the comparison of various inscriptions with the fragment of Hermapion, preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus, as the translation of the inscription on a particular obelisc, with which, however, it does not exactly agree, although its style completely resembles that of the Egyptian inscriptions in general, and the beginning corresponds perfectly well to the beginning of almost all the obeliscs in existence, supposing only the hawk to be part of the name of Arueris; which is, besides, an inference extremely probable, from the tablets of several of the obeliscs representing a deity characterized by a hawk with two bars, and styled the son of another personage who seems to be the sun, as Apollo is called by Hermapion, and Arueris by Plutarch. Mr. Hamilton has also given us a Greek inscription of Ombos, in which Arueris is made synonymous with Apollo; although the hieroglyphics, which have been copied from this temple, afford us no assistance in the inquiry. The sort of ladder, which occurs as a second name of Arueris, is found prefixed to the hawk in its usual form, on the obelisc at Wanstead figured by Gordon, and on the frize of Montagu and Ficoroni (*Hierogl. Eg. Soc.* 7 Eo p; 9 Lk); and it follows it on a statue of Pococke (Vol. i. p. 212). Arueris is commonly represented either with a human head, or with that of a hawk, bearing a disc, as that of the sun is also generally depicted; and in plate 138 of Denon, the two deities seem in some measure confounded. The Egyptian name may be interpreted "evening sun," as emblematic of the repose of victory —ER RUHI RE.

14. ISIS, the sister and wife of Osiris, is very naturally denoted by the throne with the female termination; and, in more than one instance, the female figures, which have been

long recognised as representations of Isis by other attributes, are distinguished by bearing the throne on the head, which is a common mode of characterizing the different personages of the tablets. The manuscripts, again, enable us to discover the connecting link between the sacred and enchorial characters, and to supply the defects of the stone of Rosetta; though the resemblance is somewhat too imperfect to have satisfied us without their assistance. The goddess, thus distinguished, is very generally represented as standing at the head or feet of a corpse, with another female figure opposite to her; and we find the same personages at the opposite ends of several of the sarcophagi; so that the analogy of Isis to Proserpine, and her character as the guardian of the remains of the dead, are sufficiently consistent with these representations. On a scarabaeus, brought from Egypt by Mr. Legh, and in a hieroglyphic inscription at Philae, she appears to be called the offspring of Phthah. She often bears in her hand a sceptre forked at the foot, with a lotus for its head, while Osiris has more commonly a similar sceptre with the head of an animal; but these attributes are sometimes assigned to other deities. In one of the boats on the green sarcophagus, and on Letheuillier's mummy, both in the British Museum, she is personified as a basilisc. Mr. Hamilton has published some Greek inscriptions from Philae, and from the small temple at Dendera, which show that Isis was the principal deity of these temples; and the hieroglyphics, as far as they have been copied, are precisely of the same import. The great temple at Karnak seems also to have been dedicated to Isis, and probably the small southern temple. On a medal, of Greek workmanship, in the Borgian Museum, we have a figure of Isis, with the word THĔSI, which may probably have been intended for TIESI, the Egyptian name with the feminine article.

15. The constant companion of Isis can be no other than NEPHTHE: her name somewhat resembles that of Isis, with a scale or basin annexed to it, but the square surrounding the throne is completed, and the scale is sometimes detached from it, with a circle interposed; and, in this form, the name comprehends one of the characters denoting a temple. (N. 87.) It

seems also to be a head of Nephthe that is found at Dendera and elsewhere, supporting a little temple or shrine, in the place of the capital of a column; nor is it improbable that the great temple at Dendera was dedicated to Nephthe, for the Greek inscription has Aphrodite, which is mentioned by Plutarch as a synonym of Nephthe. It is true that the birth of Isis is represented on one of the ceilings, but it does not therefore follow that Isis was the principal goddess of the temple. A head bearing a shrine is not an uncommon ornament of a sistrum; and this agrees perfectly with the remark of Plutarch, that the head of Nephthe, as well as that of Isis, was sometimes represented on these instruments.

16. The emblem of a bird in a cage, which is often found in the manuscripts, accompanied by the figure of a child, seems to indicate the character of a *nurse*, and may without inconvenience be interpreted as relating to the goddess *Buto*, the nurse of Horus and Bubastis; though it would perhaps have been more correct to engrave the name in smaller letters, as denoting some degree of uncertainty. On the sarcophagus called the Lover's Fountain, in the British Museum, she is delineated with a hawk's head; in the western temple at Philae she has a human head with a horned head-dress, and she sits near Isis and Horus, a circumstance which strongly confirms the propriety of the denomination.

17. The enchorial name of Horus seems to be derived from the figure of a hawk followed by the character denoting Isis, an arrangement which agrees very well with the supposition that his usual denomination was HORSIESI. The figure of the infant (N. 133), the chain, and the knot, clearly form a part of the name on a Horus engraved by Montfaucon (*Ant. Expl.* II. p. 302), and on an obelisc from Bosc in the Supplement of the same work. In some cases a feather, following the infant, seems to supply the place of the bird, as in Caylus, Recueil, IV. Pl. 13.

18. PAAMYLES, mentioned by several authors as the Priapus of Egypt, is sufficiently distinguishable by his usual attributes. He is often figured with one hand only, which is elevated towards the angle of a kind of whip or fan, suspended above

him. At Edfou he is once denoted in an inscription by a figure like that of the tablets; and in another place by a distinct name, much resembling that of a female deity, found on some of the cases of the mummies, who might consequently be called *Paamylia*.

19. The Nile seems to have been reckoned among the deities of Egypt, and the character which appears to be appropriate to a river (N. 82) is found occasionally in the tablets, followed by a vessel and a spiral (N. 7 or 9, and 201), which seem indeed to make a part of the name, and accompanied by epithets of respect. This character has already been considered by Kircher and others as representing a Nilometer, and the deity in question can only be distinguished by the name NILUS.

20. The sacred characters denoting APIS are pretty clearly determined by the triple inscriptions; the enchorial name is perfectly so. If, however, any doubt remained on the subject, it would be removed by an examination of the inscriptions on four vases found by Paul Lucas (*Voyage dans la Turquie*, 2 v. 12. Amst. 1720, Vol. I. p. 346) at Abousir, the Busiris of the ancients; that is, the BE OSHIRI, or sepulchre of Osiris, as Diodorus very properly translates it. There is a received tradition that Apis was worshipped and buried here, and Lucas established its truth by finding the mummy of a bullock in the catacombs. Now, all the inscriptions on the vases end with a bullock, preceded by this character, though the angles are turned in a different direction from those of the inscription of Rosetta; so that the two forms of the character seem to have been used indifferently. With this latitude, we have no difficulty in identifying the name as it occurs in almost every line of the inscriptions on the great sarcophagus of granite, formerly at Cairo, called the Lover's Fountain, and now in the British Museum; which, there is some reason to suppose from the frequency of this name, may have been intended for receiving a mummy of the bull Apis; although it must be confessed that, in several other monuments, the names of the deities are introduced in a manner somewhat similar, with an evident relation to the designation of some human being, whom they are intended to commemorate.

21. The enchorial name of MNEUIS is very completely ascertained by the inscription of Rosetta: and from a comparison of different passages in the manuscripts, there is reason to infer, that it was intended as an imperfect representation of a basilisc and a tear, emblems which are repeatedly found in the great ritual, connected with the figure of a bullock.

21*. The sacred cow, in the manuscripts sent home by Mr. Bankes, is denoted by a serpentine line with two dots, followed by the term goddess. We may venture to distinguish her by the temporary name *Damalis*: that of Io would imply too great identity with the Greek mythology. (Plate V., L.)

22, 23. In the tablets representing the judgment of the deceased, we generally find two personages standing by the balance, and apparently weighing his merits; one with the head of a hawk, the other with that of a wolf; seeming to officiate as the good and evil genius of the person. The former, denoted by a hawk with a bar, and sometimes also a spear, appears, from various monuments, to have some relation to the sun or to Horus, and may therefore be called *Hyperion*: the other is often observed to be employed in the preparation of a mummy, and may be called from this occupation *Cteristes*, or the embalmer. He is also frequently represented on the coffins of mummies, and elsewhere, under the form of a wolf, sitting on a kind of altar: and he seems to be an immediate minister of Osiris. His hieroglyphical name is a feather, a wavy line, and a block; or a hatchet under a sort of arch.

24..27. Under the bier on which a mummy lies, and in many other situations near the person of the deceased, we find representations of four deities who seem to be concerned in the operation of embalming, and who might even be supposed to preside over the different condiments employed, their heads frequently serving as covers for four jars, of the kind sometimes called Canopi: they may also very properly be considered as attendants of Isis, who seems to be a still more important personage on such occasions. The first of the four has generally a human head, and may be called *Tetrarcha*: his name contains a sort of forceps, and a broken line: the second and third

have respectively the heads of a dog or baboon and of a wolf: and they agree very satisfactorily with the well known character of ANUBIS, and with that of MACEDO his companion, mentioned by Diodorus as having a wolf's head, whose name may possibly have some relation to MANCHAT, "a worker in silver," as that of Anubis has to NUB, "gold." The hieroglyphic name of Anubis differs from that of Apis only in having the angles directed immediately upwards, a circumstance which is not so indifferent to the signification as it at first appeared; that of Macedo has a vulture with a star, and sometimes an arm instead of the vulture. The fourth of these deities is represented with the head of a hawk, and may therefore be called *Hieracion*: and he is denoted by a water jar, with three plants, somewhat resembling leeks or onions.

28..32. Among the many hundreds of deities who are represented in various inscriptions and sculptures, some of the most remarkable are two personages with the heads of wolves, the first characterized by a sort of raised frame or banner, and a pair of horns, which may be expressed by the pseudonymous or temporary term *Cerexochus*, and the second by a half bow, and a sword or knife, whence he may be called *Bioxiphus*; a figure with a human head, generally wearing a feather on it, and denoted by a broad feather reversed, which is implied in the name *Platypterus*; another wearing a cap with a whip in it, who may be called *Mastigias*; and a fifth in the form of a female, distinguished by a bier, who, at Edfou, bears a tear on her head, and who may be called *Soraea*.

B. KINGS.

33, 34. We are informed by Pliny, that the *Alexandrian* obelisc was erected by Mesphres or Mestires, the reading of the different manuscripts being different; and since no king of the name Mestires is mentioned by other authors, we may consider this *Mesphres* as the Mesphres or Mesphris who succeeded his mother Amersis about 1700 B. C., or perhaps a century or two later. The hieroglyphical name of his father contains that of the god Thoth, and may therefore possibly have

been intended for the *Thuthmosis* of the chronologers, who is said to have been the grandfather of Mesphres. The obelisc at Alexandria, now called Cleopatra's Needle, like almost all others which contain three lines on each side, exhibits different names in the middle and the outer lines: from this circumstance as well as from the greater depth of the sculptures, which is generally observable in the middle line, there is reason to suppose that this line stood at first alone, and that the two on each side were added by a later monarch. The *Lateran* obelisc, however, is remarkable for exhibiting the name of Mesphres on all the lines of the different sides. The *Constantinopolitan* obelisc has only one line on each side, with the name of Mesphres the son of Thuthmosis. The same name is also found on the gateway of the fifth catacomb, at Byban El Molouk: on a pillar of the palace of Karnak, and in a splendidly coloured bas-relief on one of the interior architraves of the gallery; as well as on a seal of Denon, Pl. 98, and on some others brought from Egypt by Mr. Legh.

35. The *Isean* obelisc of Kircher has a "son of Mesphres, favoured by Phthah;" we must therefore distinguish this king by the name *Misphragmuthosis,* who is recorded as the son and successor of Mesphres.

37..39. A multitude of ancient Greek inscriptions identify the statue of Memnon, celebrated by all antiquity for its musical powers, which Strabo says, he witnessed in person, though he could not very positively decide that the sound proceeded from the statue, rather than from some of the bystanders. In one of the inscriptions we find the word *Phamenoth,* not as a date, but as a synonym of Memnon, which must be considered as identical with the Phamenoph given by Pausanias as his Egyptian name, and with the Ammenoph or Amenophis of Manetho, or others, which differs from it only as wanting the article. There is, however, some doubt to which Amenophis this statue properly belongs. Manetho makes Memnon the eighth king of the eighteenth dynasty, who may be called Amenophis the Second; but Marsham brings him down to the Ammenephthes of Manetho, or Amenophis the Fourth, and principally because he thinks that only a successor of Sesostris

could have been well known in Asia; and he even supposes him to have been later than Homer, who, he says, never mentions him, though Hesiod calls him the son of Tithonus and Aurora. But, in fact, the name of Memnon does occur in the Odyssey, where Ulysses alludes to his beauty in a conversation with the shade of Achilles; and Hesiod could scarcely have mentioned a king as descended from a deity, that was not considerably earlier than his own time; so that the tradition of Manetho seems to be preferable to the mere conjecture of Marsham. At the same time we cannot well call him Memnon the son of Thuthmosis, the name of the father not agreeing with that of this king; and there is another circumstance which seems to lead us to the third Amenophis, intermediate between these two extremes, who was the son of Ramesses Miamun, or Ramesses the lover of Ammon; which is, that Amenophis himself appears to have built a temple to Ammon in the isle of Elephantine, and is called Miamun in several of the hieroglyphical inscriptions still existing there; so that there is little doubt that the name Memnon must have been derived from Miamun. Besides the different statues of the Memnonium, we find monuments of the same personage in almost every part of Egypt, though they are much more frequent at Thebes and in its neighbourhood. The name is marked on all the lion-headed goddesses of black granite which are now in the British Museum, and on some others which are in possession of Mr. Bankes. The first of this series having been purchased, as Bruce informs us, for a large price, by Donati, for the King of Sardinia, the inhabitants were induced to take some pains in digging the others out of the sand. The building, called by the French the tomb of Osymandyas, bears also the name of Memnon; and it is remarked by Strabo, that Memnon and Ismendes may probably have been the same person. The name is also found in the grottos at Byban El Molouk, on some statues representing Osiris, and in some inscriptions at Ombos, as well as on a seal of Denon, Pl. 98. Mr. Bullock has presented to the British Museum a scarabaeus of very hard stone, on which we find the name of Memnon, together with that of his father and mother, whom we may call, in order to preserve the

mythological analogy, *Tithous* and *Eoa*, although without asserting that this Tithous was the builder of the Labyrinth, which some authors have attributed to a king named Tithoes, and others to Ismendes. The mother's name occurs also alone, as "the goddess mother," on the back of a beetle in Gordon's Mummies, Plate 22; a circumstance which removes the doubt that might otherwise arise, from the want of the female termination in the name; the father's is found on a square seal, in the possession of Mr. Legh. There is another copy of the inscription of Mr. Bullock's scarabaeus on a scarabaeus belonging to Mr. Palin, which had long been used by a Greek priest at Athens, for stamping the paschal bread. (*Dubois*, Pierres Gravées, Par. 1817, Pl. V. N. 5.) The beautiful head lately brought from the Memnonium to the British Museum, has only a part of the father's name remaining, which does not appear to be that of the father of Memnon, though the first three characters are the same; but the fourth is the pedestal representing Phthah; and a similar name is found on some other colossal statues and obeliscs remaining in Egypt, as well as on a smaller figure of red granite, brought by Mr. Hamilton from Elephantine.

39. In the principal name on the obelisc at *Karnak*, the final scale of the name of Memnon is exchanged for a pair of arms stretched upwards; a variation which may be expressed by calling it Amenuses or *Amenses*, from SHESH, a pair. The father's name is also a little like that of Tithous; but, that the difference is constant, may be inferred from its separate occurrence on a seal brought home by Mr. Legh, a lion's head making a part of it in both instances. The true name and date of this personage must be considered as wholly unknown; though the resemblance of the name to Memnon makes it convenient to place them together. In Mr. Boughton's minute golden image, engraved in the Archaeologia, the name appears to be the same, but with the synonymous substitution of the hatchet for the judge.

40, 41. The obelisc at *Heliopolis* has every mark of considerable antiquity, and the shortness and simplicity of its inscription is appropriate to a remote period. Pliny says, that

Mitres or Mestires first erected obeliscs at Heliopolis; he also mentions Sothis, and apparently Ramesses, as having left similar monuments of their magnificence in the same place. The principal name on the obelisc now remaining at Matareah may also be observed in several other inscriptions, but with the substitution of two other names for that of the father; so that the name of the son must probably have belonged to many different individuals; a circumstance which, as well as the sounds belonging to the different characters, agrees very well with Ramesses, for we have RE, "the sun," MES, "a birth," and SHESH, "a pair," so that we may venture to call it *Remesses*; and we may take *Heron* for the father of the first Remesses, from Hermapion, though it is possible that he may be the Armais of Manetho; but we have scarcely sufficient evidence to appropriate to him that name. Another Remesses seems to have been a son of Sesostris; a third Ramesses follows Ammenephthes in Manetho, and agrees with the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, and the Remphis of Diodorus, who is mentioned as the successor of Proteus; and this may, perhaps, have been the Remesses of the frizes of Montagu and Ficoroni (Hierogl. 7 Ou. 9 If), who seems, from the resemblance of the different parts of the work, to have been nearly contemporary with Sesostris. (Hierogl. 7 H. I.) There is also another Remesses on the Lions at the fountain of Aqua Felice, near the baths of Diocletian at Rome, the name of whose father is a little like the name supposed to belong to Arsinoe, N. 60.

42, 43. The obelisc, erected by Augustus in the *Campus Martius*, is said, by Pliny, to have been the work of Sesostris; and there are sufficient documents of its identity with that which had long remained buried near the Monte Citorio, and of which figures have been given by Zoega and others. The inscription was supposed, in the time of Pliny, to contain a compendium of the physical and philosophical learning of the Egyptians; but, in order to make this opinion credible, it would be necessary to admit that the princes of earlier days entertained very different ideas from those which have since been prevalent, respecting the comparative importance of the abstract sciences, and of national prosperity, and martial glory. If

Sesostris was the son of Amenophis, he cannot have been the reigning king mentioned in this obelisc: but it may safely be attributed to *Pheron* the son of *Sesostris*, who, according to Herodotus, erected two obeliscs; and the occurrence of the name of Sesostris, as the father, may be considered as sufficiently conformable to the testimony of Pliny. The same names are found, with a slight variation, on a small statue of basalt, very highly finished, now standing in the British Museum; and Denon has copied them from an inscription in the Memnonium. (Pl. 118.)

44. *Nuncoreus*, according to Diodorus, was another son of Sesostris; his name occurs also in Pliny, and we may consider him as the son of Sesostris mentioned in Mr. Montagu's frizes. The name is also found at Philae, and, with a slight variation, on an altar of basalt, figured by Caylus (Rec. I. Pl. 19), now in the king's library at Paris. The remains of the same name may also be observed on a block, apparently of white sandstone, in the British Museum, which is figured by Norden, in its old situation, as a part of the foundations of Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria, and it occurs on a fragment of a statue brought by Mr. Hamilton from Thebes.

45. The name of *Proteus*, or Certus, otherwise Ammenephthes, is only known as the predecessor of one of the kings named Ramesses, and we may safely employ it for the father of the Remesses of the frizes of Montagu and Ficoroni, the whole of which are remarkable for the excellence of their workmanship.

46, 47. Until we obtain evidence of a more positive nature, we may give to the two kings mentioned on the sarcophagus of green breccia, the names of *Amaenupthes* and *Anysis*, supposing them to have lived about the time of Amenephthes, or Amenophis the Fifth, and his successor Osochon. The father's name might, without difficulty, be read "Maenuphthah," supposing some titles to follow it. There are also two obeliscs of the same king, brought from Cairo, which stand near the sarcophagus in the British Museum, and the style of the workmanship somewhat resembles that of the times of Sesostris, and his immediate successors. It has been observed, that neither of

the names can well be Alexander's, since that of the father is repeated much more frequently than that of the son, which could not have happened if it had been meant for Philip; and Alexander had no son who could have been mentioned in his sarcophagus. Nor is it at all probable that Alexander should have erected any obelisks at Memphis or in its neighbourhood. The god Ammon is nowhere mentioned among the titles of the king, and holds only an inferior rank among the innumerable deities represented in the tablets. We find both the names, without any addition, on a dovetail of copper, engraved in Lord Valentia's *Travels*, which was found at Behbeit, the Atarbechis or Aphroditopolis of the ancients, situated on the branch of the Nile that runs to Damietta.

48..50. We learn from Pliny, that the *Flaminian* obelisc, now standing near the Porta del Popolo at Rome, which was the smaller of the two formerly in the Circus Maximus, placed there by Augustus, and used as the gnomon of a dial, was the work of Senneserteus or Semnesyrtaeus, who reigned in Egypt at the time that Pythagoras visited it. This king seems to have been the same with Psammuthis or PSAMMIS; and the authority of the evidence is so much the stronger, as the period in question is not extremely remote. The father of Psammis, according to Herodotus, was NECOS or NECHAO. The two names occur on all the middle lines of the obelisc; and that of the father on the pillar of a colossal Isis in the Supplement of Montfaucon: the *Sallustian* obelisc, which seems to have been partly copied from the Flaminian, has them both. In the middle lines of both the obelisks at *Luxor* we find a name much resembling that of Psammis, which we may therefore call *Psammetius*, conjecturing that it may have belonged to Psammetichus, who reigned a little earlier: the father's name is not unlike in its import to that of Nechao, both implying "approved by Phthah;" and it is remarkable, that in Manetho's series, the predecessor of Psammetichus is also Nechao.

51, 52. Among the most common of all the names of the kings of Egypt, on a great variety of monuments, are those which were mistaken by Kircher for a sort of amulets or charms, which he denominated the Mophthomendesian tablets.

They occur alone on three small obelisks only, the *Medicean*, the *Mahutean*, and the *Monticaelian* of Kircher; but they are found in the external lines of the Alexandrian, the two at Luxor, the Flaminian, and the Sallustian, while none are ever found exterior to them. They must, therefore, necessarily be attributed to one of the latest kings of Egypt; and there is none so likely to have made such a display as AMASIS, a man of considerable magnificence, and at the same time of a cautious and artful character: indeed, we have no alternative left but to choose between him and some of the kings who revolted against the Persians, and who do not appear so likely to have had leisure or finances for public works of splendour. His father's name, like that of Nechao, contains the character denoting Vulcan, and it may be called *Maenuphthes;* but he was not the son of a king. Both the names are found in one of the middle lines of the Flaminian obelisc; and on that side the king is represented in the tablet as doing homage to his predecessor, who occupies the place of honour on the other sides. The father's name seems to occur on the belt of a colossal statue in the palace at Karnak. On a fragment of stone in the British Museum, the names are repeated in various directions, as if it had belonged to a floor or a ceiling: they also occur on a statue, considerably mutilated, in the attitude of kneeling; and in Montfaucon's Supplement, on the back of a colossal Isis, which seems also to have been begun by Psammis. On the eastern colossus at Luxor, there is a name which might be taken either for that of Amasis or for that of the pseudonymous Psammetius; but the sitting figure is somewhat different: the victor in the naval combat at Medinet Abou, who appears also frequently at Ombos, considerably resembles them both. Lord Mountnorris has a rough seal with the name of Amasis only, the epithet God being prefixed in a smaller character. The names also occur on a small obelisc lying at Tsan, the ancient Tanis, of which a sketch was brought home by Dr. Merion.

53, 54. We find at Karnak the name of a king somewhat like Psammis, that of his father resembling a compound of Ptolemy and Berenice. Perhaps they are not very correctly

copied, but they may stand, under the temporary names of *Discozygus* and *Ptoleberius*, as specimens, somewhat singular, of a mixture of different dynasties; and in this point of view they may be placed between the old Egyptian kings and their Grecian conquerors.

55. (Plate II.) The name of ALEXANDER has not yet been identified in the sacred characters; but it will appear hereafter, that a knowledge of the enchorial form may possibly contribute very materially, at some future time, to assist us in determining it.

56. There can be no doubt whatever respecting the signification of the name of PTOLEMY, as it occurs on the stone of Rosetta; but it is not quite so easy to determine its identity in some other cases, where it may possibly have been modified by contraction, mutilation, or combination. In this and a few other proper names, it is extremely interesting to trace some of the steps by which alphabetical writing seems to have arisen out of hieroglyphical; a process which may indeed be in some measure illustrated by the manner in which the modern Chinese express a foreign combination of sounds, the characters being rendered simply "phonetic" by an appropriate mark, instead of retaining their natural signification; and this mark, in some modern printed books, approaching very near to the ring surrounding the hieroglyphic names. The enchorial name of Ptolemy appears at first sight to be extremely different from the hieroglyphical; and it would have been impossible to deduce the one from the other, without a knowledge of the epistolographic forms of the separate characters, as ascertained by a comparison of the manuscripts. The beginning and end are obviously parts of the ring, which, in the sacred character, surrounds every proper name, except those of the deities. The square block and the semicircle answer invariably in all the manuscripts to characters resembling the P and T of Akerblad, which are found at the beginning of the enchorial name. The next character, which seems to be a kind of knot, is not essentially necessary, being often omitted in the sacred characters, and always in the enchorial. The lion corresponds to the LO of Akerblad; a lion being always expressed by a similar cha-

racter in the manuscripts; an oblique line crossed standing for the body, and an erect line for the tail: this was probably read not LO but OLE; although, in more modern Coptic, OILI is translated a ram; we have also EIUL, a stag; and the figure of the stag becomes, in the running hand, something like this of the lion. The next character is known to have some reference to "place," in Coptic MA; and it seems to have been read either MA, or simply M; and this character is always expressed in the running hand by the M of Akerblad's alphabet. The two feathers, whatever their natural meaning may have been, answer to the three parallel lines of the enchorial text, and they seem in more than one instance to have been read I or E; the bent line probably signified great, and was read OSH or OS; for the Coptic SHEI seems to have been nearly equivalent to the Greek SIGMA. Putting all these elements together we have precisely PTOLEMAIOS, the Greek name; or perhaps PTOLEMEOS, as it would more naturally be called in Coptic. The slight variations of the word in different parts of the enchorial text may be considered as expressing something like aspirations or accentuations.

57. The appellation SOTERES, as a dual, is well marked in the inscription of Rosetta, and the character, thus determined, explains a long name in the temple at Edfou, which must mean "the two saviour gods," with various titles of honour, such as "the agents of Phthah, the emblems of triumph, the approved of Phre, the favoured of the Nile, the venerable consorts in empire."

58. The wife of Ptolemy Soter, and mother of Philadelphus, was BERENICE,* whose name is found on a ceiling at Karnak,

* Learned men of all nations had been long engaged in attempts to decypher the inscriptions on the monuments and papyri of Egypt; but as they for the most part erroneously assumed that the cursive characters, whether hieratic or enchorial, were exclusively alphabetic, and the hieroglyphics entirely symbolical, all their industry and ingenuity proved of little avail, very small progress having been made in the decypherment of the enchorial, and nothing at all in that of the sacred characters, when Dr. Young entered upon the investigation; and to him belongs the honour of having, within a short space of time, discovered that the enchorial writings contained symbolic as well as phonetic signs, and that the hieroglyphic inscriptions possessed not only a symbolic but a phonetic element. The latter discovery was based chiefly upon his analysis of the names of Ptolemy and Berenice. As some of M. Champollion's countrymen and personal friends claim for him the honour of having discovered the hieroglyphic alphabet, we shall extract a brief account of the real

in the phrase, "Ptolemy and . . Berenice, the saviour gods." In this name we appear to have another specimen of syllabic and alphabetical writing combined, in a manner not extremely unlike the ludicrous mixtures of words and things with which

origin of the discovery from the 'Examen Critique des Travaux de feu M. Champollion,' p. 1, by Klaproth, the celebrated German orientalist.

"Depuis dix ans on parle avec enthousiasme de la découverte de l'*alphabet phonétique* faite par feu M. Champollion, mais peu de personnes paraissent avoir une idée bien nette, soit de ce qu'elle est réellement, soit des résultats qu'elle a pu produire. Le Docteur Young, en Angleterre, est sans contredit le premier auteur de cette découverte. Ce fut en 1818 qu'il reconnut la valeur alphabétique de la plupart des signes hiéroglyphiques qui composent les noms de Ptolémée et de Bérénice, parmi lesquels il a bien exactement déterminé les sept suivans, qui correspondent avec les résultats obtenus par M. Champollion." Here follow the hieroglyphic characters for B, F, I, M, N, P, and T. The horned snake, however, representing the letter F, does not occur in either of the above proper names. It was separately determined by Dr. Young. (See p. 162.) The signs for B and M were not admitted by Champollion, because Dr. Young considered them in this instance syllabic, although the latter is distinctly pointed out as also representing "simply M." Dr. Young, however, discovered several other purely alphabetic characters, which are not mentioned by Klaproth. (See infra, p. 296.)—The author proceeds: "M. Champollion travaillait cependant dans un tout autre sens, et jamais l'idée que les hiéroglyphes pouvaient contenir une partie alphabétique n'avait pris racine dans son esprit; c'est ce que l'on voit clairement par le passage suivant de son ouvrage intitulé 'De l'Ecriture hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens,' publié à Grenoble en 1821. Il s'y exprime ainsi: 'Ces manuscrits (hiératiques) ont de bonne heure attiré l'attention des savans; Rigord, Montfaucon, le Comte de Caylus, l'Abbé Barthélemy, Zoëga, M. de Humboldt, et les membres de la Commission d'Egypte, ayant reconnu que l'écriture de ces rouleaux différait essentiellement de l'hiéroglyphique, la considérant les uns comme étant l'écriture Egyptienne hiératique, les autres comme l'écriture épistolographique ou populaire mentionnées par les auteurs Grecs; mais tous s'accordent sur ce point important, que l'écriture de ces manuscrits Egyptiens est ALPHABÉTIQUE: c'est-à-dire qu'elle se compose de signes destinés à rappeler les sons de la langue parlée.

"'Une longue étude, et surtout une comparaison attentive des textes hiéroglyphiques avec ceux de la seconde espèce, regardés comme alphabétiques, nous ont conduit à une conclusion contraire.

"'Il résulte, en effet, de nos rapprochemens:—

'1°. Que l'écriture des manuscrits Egyptiens de la seconde espèce (l'hiératique) n'est point alphabétique;

'2°. Que ce second système n'est qu'une simple modification du système hiéroglyphique, et n'en diffère uniquement que par la forme des signes;

'3°. Que cette seconde espèce d'écriture est l'hiératique des auteurs Grecs, et doit être regardée comme une tachygraphie hiéroglyphique;

'4°. Enfin, que les caractères hiératiques sont DES SIGNES DE CHOSES, ET NON DES SIGNES DE SONS.'

"Après un exposé pareil, on peut être bien convaincu qu'en 1821 M. Champollion ne croyait pas à l'existence de signes alphabétiques parmi les hiéroglyphes, quoique le Docteur Young eût déjà communiqué sa découverte aux savans de l'Europe, par un mémoire imprimé en 1818, et qui fut publié l'année suivante, dans le Supplément de l'Encyclopédie Britannique."

With respect to the above Memoir by Champollion some curious particulars are given in the preface to a work published at Paris in 1827, entitled 'Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Egypte,' which was a translation of two articles in the Edinburgh Review, by Dr. James Browne, advocate. "Ce petit volume in-folio est devenu extrêmement rare; on dit que l'auteur a fait tout son possible pour en soustraire les exemplaires aux yeux du public, en retirant du commerce et des mains de ses amis, ceux qu'il avait d'abord répandus. La raison qu'on a mise en avant

children are sometimes amused; for however Warburton's indignation might be excited by such a comparison, it is perfectly true that, occasionally, "the sublime differs from the ridiculous by a single step only." The first character of the hieroglyphic name is precisely of the same form with a basket represented at Byban El Molouk, and called, in the 'Description,' "panier à anses;" and a basket, in Coptic, is BIR. The oval, which resembles an eye without the pupil, means elsewhere "to," which in Coptic is E; the waved line is "of," and must be rendered N; the feathers I; the little footstool seems to be superfluous; the goose is KE, or KEN; Kircher gives us KENESOÜ. for a goose; but the ESOÜ means gregarious, probably in contradistinction to the Egyptian sheldrake, and the simple etymon approaches to the name of a goose in many other languages. We have, therefore, literally BIRENIQE; or, if the N must be inserted, the accusative BIRENICEN, which may easily have been confounded by the Egyptians with the nominative. The final characters are merely the feminine termination. The enchorial text affords us a remarkable instance of the diversity which was allowed in the mode of representing the same name. The first character has not the least resemblance to the basket; but the first and second together are very commonly used in the manuscripts, as a coarse representation of a boat, which was called BARI, or possibly BERE, for it is doubtful whether Kircher had any other authority than that of Diodorus for BARI; and the word

était 'la crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses.' Mais il ne se trouve dans ce livre absolument rien qui ait trait à la haute antiquité de l'Empire des Pharaons, et qui pour cette raison soit en contradiction ouverte avec les récits de la Bible. Il est permis de penser que le véritable motif qui a déterminé M. Champollion à supprimer ce livre a été de ne pas donner une mesure trop précise des progrès qu'il avait faits jusqu'en 1821, un an avant sa 'Lettre à M. Dacier.' Cette mesure existe dans l'assertion 'que les signes hiéroglyphiques sont des signes de choses et non des signes de sons.' Certes celui qui depuis dix ans avait travaillé sur les hiéroglyphes sans les déchiffrer, et qui faisait en 1821 imprimer un axiome pareil, avait grand besoin d'être guidé dans ses nouvelles recherches de 1822 par les découvertes du Docteur Young, publiées au mois de Décembre 1819, dans le Supplément de l'Encyclopédie Britannique.

"On ne doit donc douter que les découvertes de M. Champollion ne soient entées sur celles du Docteur Young, auquel appartient le mérite d'avoir le premier démontré qu'on s'est servi en Egypte de signes hiéroglyphiques pour exprimer alphabétiquement les sons des noms propres." There is a copy of Champollion's Memoir in the British Museum, and another, that which the author had presented to Baron de Sacy, in the possession of the Duke of Manchester.—*Ed.*

BEREZOUTS is used for another vehicle. The enchorial N may possibly have been derived from a horizontal line, turned up at one end; we have then the three dashes for the I, and the two angles seem to have answered to the KE, for a bird is not uncommonly scribbled in some such manner; so that we have either BARINICE or BERENICE, by a combination somewhat different from the former.

59..65. The temple at Ombos was dedicated, as we find from the Greek inscription copied by Mr. Hamilton, "in the name of the divine Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra, and their children, to Arueris Apollo, and the other gods of the temple, by the infantry and cavalry of the nome." We may, therefore, expect to find in it the names of these sovereigns, together with those of some or all of the earlier Ptolemies; and accordingly we are able to determine, without difficulty, some epithets which seem to be characteristic of this and the two preceding reigns; but hitherto nothing has been observed that can be considered as so clearly denoting either Philadelphus and his queen Arsinoe, or Euergetes and his Berenice, although some assistance might have been derived, in identifying them, from the enchorial text of Rosetta. We have, however, in the same temple, a name, evidently compound, in which a basilisc is followed by two feathers and a bent line; and, to judge from a comparison of the enchorial text with the manuscripts, a basilisc ought to be the emblem of EUERGETES; the part of the name preceding it is, however, not Berenice, and must therefore, in all probability, be ARSINOE, the daughter of Euergetes. But it seems impossible to attempt to compare the characters employed with the sounds, since they sometimes occur in an inverted order, which the sounds could not do. Indeed, the name seems to be very often repeated in situations where its most essential parts seem to be a quadrant of a circle, two feathers, and a bent or broken line; in other places, as at Dendera, the bird, the hand, and the oval are added; and it is not impossible that the quadrant may have been meant as a representation of a lentil, which in Coptic is ARSHIN, and which alone may have been sufficient to identify the name. It occurs in the celebrated zodiac at Dendera, and very frequently at Philae, and it

may possibly, hereafter, lead us very readily to discover the hieroglyphical name of *Philadelphus*. That of PHILOPATOR is satisfactorily ascertained by the assistance of the character employed for "father" in the Rosetta stone, though that character is much mutilated, and could not have been positively determined without this coincidence. The name is found in the *great* temple at Edfou still more distinctly than at Ombos, and it occurs several times at Karnak. EPIPHANES is never distinguished in any other inscription by the characters appropriated to him in that of Rosetta (N. 121); but we continually find a synonymous emblem, which is employed in the Rosetta stone to signify "enlightening," where the Greek translation has EPIPHANES; and this character, placed between two hatchets facing each other, can only have meant the "illustrious deity," or deities. In this form the name occurs very frequently at Philae, and in the great temple at Edfou, where it seems to be the latest name. For the PHILOMETORES, we have a character which occurs in some other monuments, and means apparently "mother," the name containing it being found several times in the temple at Ombos. At Kous, or Apollinopolis Parva, there is another Greek inscription of the Philometores and their children; but in the hieroglyphics copied by Denon, the names of the sovereigns seem to be wanting, and that of a young prince only remains, a colossal statue of whom is figured by Montfaucon in his *Supplement*, having the same name in the belt, with the addition of "the son of King Ptolemy:" it will, therefore, be justifiable to distinguish this personage by calling him *Cleopatrides*. The divine honours, which are so often attributed in these inscriptions to the reigning sovereigns, afford us an explanation of the Greek inscriptions to the "Synthronous gods of Egypt," which repeatedly occur; and of the description "Fraternal gods," as, indeed, Philadelphus and his queen are called in the Greek inscription of Rosetta.

C. PRIVATE PERSONS.

66..71. We find the names of six individuals expressed in the enchorial text of the inscription of Rosetta, though they are

wanting in the distinct hieroglyphics; but, as they are clearly ascertained by the context, they are of considerable value in tracing the approach of the hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing. These are AËTUS, PHILINUS, DIOGENES, PYRRHA, AREIA, and IRENE. In Diogenes and Areia we discover no traces of the ring which is the usual characteristic of proper names; and on the other hand we find occasionally, in some of the manuscripts, the parts of the ring applied to a title of Osiris, which is more regularly written without any such distinction.

72. A name of a private individual is inserted from a sarcophagus in the British Museum, engraved by Alexander, in his *Egyptian Monuments*. Its form is not that of a parallelopiped, but more accommodated to the shape of the body. The pseudonymous appellation *Ramuneus* has been derived from the elementary characters already observed in the names of RE and AMUN.

D. ANIMALS.

73. A figure sitting on the ground and stretching out one hand, seems to imply simply a MAN or person; which is certainly the sense of the enchorial character that commonly answers to it in the manuscripts, but in composition the figure often appears to lose this sense.

74. The horned snake, creeping along, is clearly meant, in some parts of the inscription of Rosetta, for HIM or IT, although it has other senses in composition. It is very remarkable that the enchorial character, and that of the manuscripts, resembling a *y*, approaches extremely near to the Coptic F, which also means "him," and HOF or HFO is the Coptic term for a snake; so that this coincidence seems to afford us another trace of the origin of the alphabet.

75..78. The BULLOCK, the RAM, the ANTELOPE, and the TORTOISE are proved to be sometimes representations of the things which they resemble, by their occurrence in inscriptions accompanied by tablets; though some of them have probably, elsewhere, a metaphorical sense. The ram is often represented with two pairs of horns; the one natural, the other imaginary.

78*. The CROCODILE is identified by a very distinct drawing in a manuscript sent home by Mr. Bankes, and is repeatedly designated in the text by a figure representing it. (a) The deity with a crocodile's head is a separate personage, and is denoted by a figure of the same animal with the tail turned under it. (b) Plate V. (L)

79. The asp or BASILISC is so coarsely represented in the stone of Rosetta, that the object intended by it could not have been conjectured without a comparison with other inscriptions; the context was, however, sufficient to determine its meaning from the examination of this monument alone.

E. INANIMATE OBJECTS.

80. The essential parts of the name of EGYPT seem to be the square and the wheel, signifying "splendid land." In addition to these, or their rudiments, the enchorial word has at the beginning a character which generally answers to an arm holding a feather, or to the flame of a lamp, an emblem which seems also to relate to Egypt in one of the lines of the inscription of Rosetta. A flame and a heart are mentioned by Horapollo and by Plutarch, as employed in the name of Egypt; but a word occurring so frequently is very likely to have been expressed in a variety of ways. The exact combination of characters generally used on the stone has not been observed in any other inscription.

81. The name of MEMPHIS cannot be determined without some uncertainty; the line of hieroglyphics, in which it is contained, being in several respects obscure.

82. The character, supposed to denote the Nile, as a deity, must also sometimes be understood as merely meaning a RIVER; and there is reason to think that the Nile itself was generally called by the Egyptians "the river" only. The enchorial character, used to denote both the Nile and a river, or canal, sufficiently resembles the hieroglyphic to favour this interpretation; and it is in some degree confirmed by the occurrence of the character alone on a water-jar of Peiresc, delineated in Kircher's *Oedipus;* and, together with other characters, on the

five vases found by Paul Lucas at Abousir. By accident, Kircher appears, in this single instance, to have been right in one of his conjectures; for he calls this character a Nilometer, and considers it as emblematic of the Nile.

83. The word GREEK, in Coptic UININ or OUEININ, in Thebaic OUEEIENIN, supposed to have been derived from *Ionian*, seems to exhibit in its form something like an imitation of the sound. The curl on a stem is sometimes exchanged for the term *divine*, and appears to mean "glory," in Coptic OOU or OŬ, which is nearly the sound attributed by Akerblad to the enchorial character, a little like the Hebrew U; the feather, as in Ptolemy and Berenice, may be read I or EI, having the three dashes to express them, as usual, in the enchorial text; the serpent is ENEH, "ever;" and the hat [helmet], which looks a little like a plough, is equivalent to the waved line (N. 77), and must be read N;* so that we have very accurately OUIENEHN, which seems to be near enough to OUEININ to justify us in considering these characters as phonetic.

84. The ladder is well marked as meaning COUNTRY; it may perhaps be intended to represent a field with its divisions; but it is uncertain whether or no it is the same symbol that enters into one of the names of Arueris (N. 13), the sculptures of the Rosetta stone being by no means highly finished.

85. It is remarkable that the wheel, signifying LAND, had been noticed by the Jesuits, as resembling the old Chinese character for the word *field;* but this is the only one, of a multitude of similar conjectures, that has been justified by more complete evidence. (*Phil. Trans.* 1769. Pl. 28.)

86. The star is shown to relate to a real STAR, by inscriptions

* Champollion says, *Précis*, p. 34 (1828), that Dr. Young considered this sign *ideographic*, and that he had no right therefore to claim it as one of the phonetic characters discovered by him. Notwithstanding this assertion, it is here undoubtedly regarded as alphabetic; and it is evident from this as well as several other passages in his works that Dr. Young was not, as Chevalier Bunsen asserts, "unconscious of the existence of several signs for one sound, the so called homophone signs." Schwarze (Das Alte Ægypten, p. 188) takes it for granted that Champollion fairly represents Dr. Young in reference to this sign; and without having consulted this article, he maintains that the author had no idea of the waved line and the plough-like hat being homophones of N, although Dr. Young says expressly that the one is the equivalent of the other, while he distinctly states at p. 159 that the former represents that letter in Berenice, and shows with equal clearness above that the latter stands for it in the Egyptian word for *Greek.—Ed.*

accompanying the zodiacs. It has also elsewhere a figurative sense, meaning an attendant or *ministering spirit.*

87. The open square is found in both the combinations of characters, which are most commonly used for expressing a TEMPLE; the feather signifies ornament or consecration; the oblong figure, either the sacred enclosure or a sacred seat, the character for a god being sometimes placed within it. The feather is occasionally converted into an inclined oval, the square being at the same time a little altered; a difference which may be observed in other inscriptions, as well as in the Rosetta stone.

88. The character representing a SHRINE so much resembles the object which it denotes, that it was the most readily identified of all that are found on the stone of Rosetta. The character signifying a priest was the second; and the combination of both afforded a full confirmation of the truth of the explanation. The enchorial character for a shrine is derived from the sitting statue which always accompanies it.

89. The open square, occurring in HABITATION as well as in temple, must probably have meant *house* or building, or possibly stone only.

90. The THRONE, or chair of state, occurs in a great variety of tablets. It evidently bears its most natural signification in the character denoting statue n. 102, and in some other instances; but it appears to bear, in some inscriptions, the metaphorical sense of a residence or habitation.

91. The COLUMN, or pillar, is too much like the object it denotes, to allow us to doubt respecting its meaning, considering the sense of that part of the inscription of Rosetta in which it occurs.

92. The characters denoting a DIADEM are sufficiently determined by the first inscription of the stone; and they so much resemble the corresponding passages of the enchorial text, that we can scarcely hesitate to admit the intimate connexion of the two modes of writing, without seeking for any further proofs.

93. The sacred ORNAMENTS are expressed by three feathers, fixed to a bar, which appears to be held by two arms. The

remaining part of the character occurs very frequently as a sort of termination, and seems to answer to..*ments*.

94..99. The boat or SHIP, the SPEAR, the BOW, the ARROW, the CENSER, and the BIER, are sufficiently identified by the comparison of various tablets with their inscriptions. The ship occurs frequently as denoting the sacred boats, in which the representations of the deities are conveyed; though they are not always accompanied by water. But it has been observed, that the Egyptians attributed ships rather than chariots to the sun and moon, as gliding smoothly through the skies. The first part of the enchorial word, which has been supposed to be a B, is evidently identical with the character always found in the manuscripts written in the running hieroglyphics, as the first part of the delineation of a ship. It is remarkable that, in the inscription at Esne, as copied by the French, the point of the arrow is turned towards the back of the bowman, instead of being directed towards the enemy.

100. The TEAR, in some of its representations, is very clearly expressive of the thing intended; and this resemblance, together with its frequent attendance on a corpse and a bier, is sufficient to explain its sense. It occurs also sometimes within a border, as a peculiar deity; but it seems to be much more commonly emblematical of Osiris, of Apis, or of Mneuis. It is not unfrequently found as a detached figure, in a kind of pottery, with a green glazing; and may perhaps have been worn, instead of a mourning ring, as a memorial of a departed friend. It has most commonly been called the *equi sectio*, and supposed to represent a horse's head, or the rostrum of a ship while the ingenious Kircher has made it a *phallus oculatus*. Among the antiquities collected by Lord Mountnorris in Egypt, is an eye seen in front, and apparently shedding a tear.

101. The character for an IMAGE seems to mean *a wrought man;* the hands connected with an eye, appear to be holding an oar, as an emblem of *labour*. The same character, with a slight variation in the form of the eye, means a rower (n. 136).

102. The sitting STATUE has no character to imply wrought; but it is followed by a bent line, which seems to be a term of respect, and may possibly answer to OSH, or "great." The

same bent line occurs on the great sarcophagus of green breccia, as a personification of one of the qualities of Osiris, probably his *magnificence*. It is often exchanged in the manuscripts for the divided staff; and both are represented in the running hand by a figure like a 9 or a 4. In the enchorial text this character seems sometimes to be expressed by a single line, either straight, or bent sideways into an angle, like part of a K. A similar "divine statue" is decreed to "King Nuncoreus, the son of Sesostris," on Mr. Montagu's frize. Hierogl. 7 S l.

103. LETTERS are denoted by a character which seems to represent some of the materials employed in writing, and which is indeed not extremely unlike an inkstand figured in Caylus's Recueil, and consisting of two parallel tubes at some distance from each other, with a cover connected by a chain instead of a hinge. Besides the very well marked passage in the Rosetta stone, the character occurs in many manuscripts near the representation of a Thoth employed in writing; and the enchorial character, corresponding to it, is also found in the term *sacred scribes* at the beginning of the inscription.

104. In the numerical tablet of the great French work, believed to have been found at Karnak, a character may be observed which frequently precedes a numeral, and which resembles a weight with its handle. Hence we may conjecture, with considerable probability, that it represents some *weight* of unknown value.

105. The enchorial character for GOLD is perfectly well determined, and its resemblance to a little vase under a sort of arch is so strong, that we may safely attribute the same sense to this hieroglyphic, although it appears to be wanting in one or two passages of the sacred inscription of Rosetta, where it ought to be found. In the great ritual we observe this character immediately preceding a shrine, as if a "golden shrine" were intended; and, in several other places, it is connected with a number, as if it meant *pieces of gold*; for instance, in the green sarcophagus, with the number 360. Sometimes also it appears to be used in a metaphorical sense, as a complimentary epithet of a monarch, or perhaps in allusion to his riches. Thus, on

the black frize of Nuncoreus, we have, over the king's figure, the characters, "Joy, Life, Stability, Power, *Riches*, Like the Sun, for ever." Hier. 7 p.

106. Near to the character for gold, in the margin of the great ritual, is a sort of open box, supported on a flagstaff; and a similar box, with a semicircle under it, seems to mean SILVER; at least it considerably resembles the enchorial character for silver, which is perfectly well ascertained.

107. We find, in several inscriptions, representations of objects which are also observable in the tablets accompanying them, although it is difficult to say for what they are intended. Two of these are copied from the frize of Ficoroni and Montagu, Hier. 9 okl, RSKL, 7 LMQ. The former seems to be a sort of cloak, with a fringe at the bottom; the latter is a little like a pear; but this character does not occur so clearly in the inscription.

F. ATTRIBUTES AND ACTIONS. (Plate III.)

108. The *crux ansata*, sometimes called the Key of the Nile, is usually employed as a symbol of divinity; but its correct meaning is LIFE, as Lacroze rightly conjectured, although his opinion respecting the origin of the character is inconsistent with the form of its oldest and most accurate delineations; and there is no one instance in which it is so represented as to stand in any relation to a sluice or a watercock. According to Socrates and Rufinus, the Egyptian priests declared to their Christian conquerors under Theodosius, who were going to destroy the Serapeum at Alexandria, that the cross, so often sculptured on their temples, was an emblem of the life to come. This passage has been understood by some authors as relating rather to the cross without a handle, which is observable in some rare instances, and indeed twice on the stone of Rosetta; but this symbol appears rather to denote a protecting power, than an immortal existence. It happens, perhaps altogether accidentally, that one of the contractions for the word *God*, which are commonly used in Coptic, approaches very near to this character, except that the arms of the cross are within the circle.

109. ETERNITY is represented simply by a serpent rising in an oblique arch, and without horns; the serpent devouring its tail, and making a ring, is never found as an Egyptian emblem. Horapollo says that eternity was denoted by a serpent having its tail hidden under its body; and that such serpents were called URAEI, meaning in Greek BASILISCS, which agrees very well with the sense of the Coptic URO, "king;" but this description answers better to the *asp* of the inscription of Rosetta, which has also some relation to the representations of the deities, though it does not exactly mean immortality.

110. The cross with the serpent is a very common epithet in the sense of everliving, or IMMORTAL, AEONOBIUS; the waved line is in general a preposition, or a termination, meaning *of*, *to*, or *for;* and it appears to be synonymous with the hat (n. 177). Almost all authors have very hastily taken for granted, that this character must relate immediately to water wherever it occurs, although we find it repeatedly in every line of the inscription of Rosetta, where water is not once mentioned. The fact, however, is, that its prototype seems to have been a stream of water or of any other liquid flowing *from* a vessel, and poured *on* some other object; and that the idea of the liquid was completely dropped in the general employment of the character, while that of the *connexion* only was retained; and the hat or cap being also similarly forgotten, while its connexion with the head of the wearer only was suggested by its figure. In this compound character we have two particles nearly alike, the semicircle and the line; for that they cannot be very different is shown by the occasional substitution of two semicircles for the combination. One of them seems to serve for the connexion between life and eternity, "life *for* ever;" and the other to make the new compound an adjective, "liv*ing* for ever."

111. The triangle or pyramid occurs very commonly among other emblems of prosperity and happiness, and it is found in the frize of Montagu and Ficoroni in the decided sense of an offering or a present in general, while, in another place, it is made an offering in its own form; so that we can only interpret it as signifying JOY, or pleasure, or prosperity. (Hierogl. 7 Mqr, Uqr; 9 Re, Rl; 7 Uq, Urs.)

112. POWER appears to be indicated by a sceptre having the head of an animal, which is often placed in the hands of the deities, and often stands with the cross, the pyramid, and the altar, as an emblem of the blessings attendant on the favourites of the gods. It is seldom used in the text of inscriptions, but it occurs once in that of Rosetta.

113, 114. STABILITY is denoted, on the Rosetta stone and elsewhere, by the altar, which seems to have been fixed in the ground as a column. When repeated, it makes the verb ESTABLISH; but it often occurs singly, and not uncommonly as an unconnected emblem, accompanied by other characters of similar import; and it is sometimes found as a detached figure, formed of glazed porcelain. The two altars are very conspicuous objects in some of the epistolographic manuscripts, and are very useful in comparing them with the hieratic; but the word employed in the enchorial inscription of Rosetta seems to be derived from a different origin.

115. A drop or club over a basin, followed by a bent line, seems to mean GREAT STRENGTH; though it is difficult to say what the character is meant to depict. In some other places, it seems somewhat to resemble a kind of head-dress.

116. The bullock and the arm, which generally occur at the beginning of the inscriptions on the obeliscs, agree very well with the epithet MIGHTY in the translation of Hermapion. The arm is, in many other instances, used in compound characters.

117. VICTORY is denoted by a branch, perhaps a palm-branch, with a semicircle and a circle, sometimes preceded by the waved line.

118. The character signifying FORTUNE somewhat resembles that which denotes "gold" (n. 105), but, instead of the arch, we have an angular line, which seems to be intended for a pair of arms grasping the vase. The whole assemblage approaches, also, a little to the form of a pocket, or purse, as it is frequently delineated.

119. The open square, bent inwards, clearly means SPLENDOUR or glory, though it is uncertain what object it is intended to represent. In some cases a crescent seems to be substituted

for it, as if it bore some relation to the sun, and the moon afforded a parallel sense.

120, 121. ILLUSTRIOUS is expressed, in the inscription of Rosetta, by the open square, for "splendour," the oval, which signifies addition or respect, making it a kind of superlative, and the pair of legs, which very naturally convey the idea of BEARING, or possessing; so that the whole makes the epithet EPIPHANES. This assemblage is, in some of the manuscripts, very commonly followed by a bird, or its equivalent, a half arch, apparently serving as an intensitive.

122..124. The feather, when alone, seems to imply HONOUR, as well as when accompanied by a man stretching out his arm, or by a bird. The bird, also, frequently stands alone in similar passages, and must be translated respect, or RESPECTABLE. The block with the bird has also manifestly the same sense in the great ritual, and the vase with the bowl is so nearly synonymous with it, that we can only translate it VENERABLE; and these characters are frequently exchanged for a sort of bench, with a dash under it; a symbol which may, however, possibly have been deduced from some different origin. The sense of the feather is peculiarly illustrated by its occurrence with a drop or club, a serpent, and a line, at the beginning of a great variety of inscriptions, apparently signifying *immortal honour to.* See n. 172.

125. The eye, either with or without the pupil, and either preceded or followed by the undulated line, has a sense somewhat similar to all these, and is often employed at the beginning of the honorary inscriptions. On the Rosetta stone, it means distinctly RITE, or adoration. The enchorial character, corresponding to it, expresses also simply *doing;* as in Greek the same word signifies to "do" and to "sacrifice."

126. WORSHIP, or the Greek THERAPIA, is denoted by a very unintelligible character, resembling a kind of capstan, which is frequently delineated in the boats of the tablets; if it is not intended for some emblematical figure erected in the boats. On the great green sarcophagus, the long bent line is a snake, and the point projecting upwards from the middle is a sword. But these resemblances afford us little or no assistance

in tracing the connexion between the whole emblem and its sense.

127, 128. The character denoting FATHER is found in some of the inscriptions of the Ptolemies, in such circumstances that it might as easily be supposed to mean mother; but, by means of Mr. Bullock's scarabæus, compared with some other monuments, another character having been determined for MOTHER, it became easy to identify the symbol for father on the Rosetta stone, where it had been a little injured, and imperfectly copied in the engravings.

129. The frequent occurrence of the Egyptian goose, or sheldrake, with a circle over it, between two proper names, sufficiently points out the meaning of these characters, which can only relate to the connexion between them, and which must naturally mean SON;* the circle may perhaps be intended for an egg; but in the painted sculptures the disc is red, and the circumference light. The enchorial character nearly resembles the form in which some kinds of birds are usually expressed in the manuscripts (n. 22, 130). Mr. Bailey has also observed the occurrence of the bird between two proper names, and has identified it with the CHENALOPEX mentioned by Horapollo, as employed to signify son, on account of its courage in defending its offspring. This quality might rather have been expected to lead to its adoption as a symbol for a parent; but its existence in the bird in question is confirmed by the observations of modern naturalists respecting the sheldrake, the *tadorne* of Buffon, which has generally been considered as the chenalopex, and resembles very accurately the best of the hieroglyphic delineations of the bird, although the colours, as exhibited in the *Description de l'Egypte*, are not correctly natural.

130. The same bird, with a leg or a dash instead of a circle, seems to mean a minister or ATTENDANT, especially in several parts of the inscriptions on the Lover's Fountain. There are also some other characters which seem to be nearly synonymous with these; one of them may possibly be meant for a *tail*, implying a follower, as SAT and SA are nearly alike in Coptic;

* The goose and the circle have, with greater probability, been interpreted by Champollion and Rosellini as "son of the sun." (Infra, p. 244, 446.)—*Ed.*

another is sometimes worn as a collar, perhaps implying subjection, and meaning servant.

131, 132. Instead of the usual character for son, we sometimes find, between two names, a serpent with a globe substituted for the bird, and an oval for the circle; and the context seems to require that the meaning of these symbols should be a DAUGHTER, but probably with some particular character of royalty or divinity; and at Philae we find a dual, meaning SONS or descendants, as a son and a daughter, expressed apparently by two circles only.

133. A CHILD, or *infant*, is represented by a figure bent as if sitting, and putting his finger on his lip. This is sufficiently established by the triple inscription; but it is still further confirmed by a plate of the *Description de l'Egypte* (Antiq. II. pl. 86, f. 1); in which a figure of this kind is represented as immediately derived from the father, who seems to be inspired by a beetle entering his mouth. The manuscripts afford us here some valuable steps, by which the enchorial character is connected with the distinct hieroglyphics. Another figure, which is elsewhere used as corresponding to a beetle, is also found in the enchorial text in the sense of son or offspring.

134, 135. A circle, with an arm holding an angular line, means a DIRECTOR; the angular line is intended for part of a rudder; and the same character, with the addition of the figure of a boat, denotes the pilot or HELMSMAN, as is obvious from many parts of the green sarcophagus. The circle and arm are also found in the character denoting *dedicate*. (N. 150.)

136. A pair of arms holding an oar, and connected by a sort of sector, signifies a ROWER; and possibly also a labourer, or workman in general, as in *image*. (N. 101.)

137. A stem of a plant, perhaps a reed, followed by an insect like a wasp or ichneumon, but probably intended for a bee, and by two semicircles, is the complete emblem for a KING; but the reed is often used alone in the same sense, and the insect sometimes occurs without the reed. Plutarch says, that a king was denoted by a leaf, THRION; and Horapollo tells us, that a bee signified a people obedient to a king; hence this symbol might be interpreted *king of men*. Ammianus Marcellinus, however, asserts, more simply, that a king was

denoted by a bee. It appears from the manuscripts, that the beginning of the enchorial character, which Mr. Akerblad reads PHU, is derived from the elementary traces representing the reed, the semicircle, a waved line, and a sitting deity, meaning *the divine king*, an assemblage which often occurs on the green sarcophagus, and elsewhere, as applied to a royal person. The remainder of the enchorial character seems to represent a termination consisting of a semicircle and a vessel, which is often added to a name, apparently as a demonstration of respect, like the vessel and the spiral in the case of the god Nilus. (N. 19.)

138. CONDITION, or subjection, is denoted by a character which somewhat resembles an altar with an offering of flowers; but which might also be intended for the cup of a flower, with an insect hovering over it.

139. In the term KINGDOM, the crown is figuratively employed for its wearer; a metaphor common in many modern languages.

140. The character denoting a LIBATION is very indistinctly traced in the sacred inscription of Rosetta, so that it would have been impossible to explain its original form without the assistance of other hieroglyphical monuments. The long water jar, out of which the kneeling figure is pouring a divided stream, somewhat resembles those which a modern Egyptian woman is seen carrying, in a plate of Mr. Legh's second edition.

141, 142. The vase with the stream, which frequently occurs in the character for PRIEST, is sometimes found alone, and must therefore probably relate to some particular CEREMONY performed by the priests, approaching to the nature of a libation. On the stone of Rosetta, the line is a simple curve, not waved; nor is the vase more distinctly represented. Instead of the sitting figure, a foot is sometimes substituted, as in the word *attendant* (n. 130): and the enchorial character is a more tolerable approximation to this form than to the complete figure.

143. PRIESTHOOD is simply the *condition* of a *priest;* the character prefixed answering to the Coptic prefix MET, and to the Greek termination EIA.

144. The ornaments of the head are very generally used as

indicating the person by whom they are worn, and flowers, probably those of the lotus, are frequently found on the heads of the priests, as well as in the inscriptions which accompany them. In the inscription of Rosetta, the sense SACERDOTAL agrees very well with the context, where this character occurs; though it cannot be deduced with absolute certainty from the comparison with the Greek.

145. It is by no means easy to explain why the figure like a buckle should clearly mean an ASSEMBLY: perhaps, however, the upper part may originally have been a crescent, implying monthly; and the scale or basin below is occasionally found supporting some offerings, which are set upright in it; so that the whole may have meant *a monthly exhibition.*

146. The character *god* is made an adjective by the addition of the waved line, and of the long drop, which seem simply to convert it into the term SACRED; or, if the drop has any other meaning, it can only relate to worshipping or honouring; as the character prefixed in the enchorial text, which is equivalent to the scale or basin, is elsewhere employed to signify *honour* or *attention.* In some other instances, a circle and a waved line seem to be employed in a similar manner, for connecting one character with another like substantive and adjective.

147. An epithet implying CONSECRATED, or dedicated, is composed of a trident, or triple branch or root, followed by a bent line. It occurs very commonly near the beginning of inscriptions, on obeliscs, and elsewhere.

148. A little oblique cross, over an arm with a feather, seems to mean to GIVE, and perhaps to fight and to defend; as, in Coptic, the word TI has both these senses. It is often preceded by a circle and a semicircle.

149. The hand bearing the triangle or pyramid (n. 111) manifestly means, in the frize of Montagu and Ficoroni, to OFFER, as an oblation to a deity.

150. In the inscription of Rosetta, we find the word DEDICATE expressed by a bent line and a sitting figure, with the circle and the arm holding the rudder, n. 134; the character already interpreted *consecrated* precedes, but it is not absolutely certain that it belongs to the same phrase.

151. The term LAWFUL is naturally enough derived from a deity in his judicial capacity; the figure is preceded by a bird, placed between two semicircles, which must here mean *according to*, answering to the termination *ful*. Sometimes a curved line, supported by a stem, is substituted as a synonym for the figure of the judge.

152 .154. The character representing GOOD strongly resembles the figure of a lute, depicted in the chamber of the harps, among the catacombs, and may have alluded to the pleasing sound of music. The plural, with the scale or basin, which implies BESTOWING, makes the epithet EUCHARISTUS, which in Greek is somewhat ambiguous, meaning either grateful or MUNIFICENT; the latter, however, must be its sense in this inscription, because *good gifts* or *delights* may be plural, but *gratitude* not so easily. The lute is also found denoting good in other parts of the inscription. The enchorial character for the scale could scarcely have been suspected to be derived from it, without the assistance of the manuscripts, which constantly exhibit an intermediate form, intended, perhaps, to comprehend one of the lines supporting the scale.

155. The semicircle, with two oblique dashes, seems to mean GREAT in the name of Thoth, who is called, in the Greek inscription of Rosetta, Hermes the *great and great*: while, in other places, this character seems almost always to convey the sense of a dual. The enchorial epithet of Thoth is a little like the crown with two semicircles, which is most frequently found among the titles of Osiris, especially when he sits in judgment.

155*. The two kinds of hats, worn by the different deities, seem to be intended by the characters of the Rosetta stone, which express the UPPER and LOWER regions or countries. These two characters are also found together in the green sarcophagus as the names of two goddesses; and they occur together in one or two passages of some of the manuscripts, and in an inscription at Philae, so that, although the representation is very indistinct in the particular case of the Rosetta stone, there is little doubt that the cap of Osiris meant, in this case, *superior*, and that of Hyperion and other personages *inferior*. (Pl. V., L.)

156. A circle and a semicircle stand, in several passages of the inscription of Rosetta, for OTHERS, or remaining.

157. Possibly the bowl and the bird together mean *say* or *call*, and the figure of a man may serve to make the passive CALLED.

158. The second bowl, substituted for the bird, does not appear very essentially to alter the sense, which is still a thing *said* or proclaimed; a DECLARATION, or a decree.

159. The characters denoting MANIFEST seem to have some analogy to *called*, though their derivation is obscure. The first character may either be intended for the country (n. 84), or for a kind of flag or banner.

160. The ring, which implies a NAME, and which, elsewhere, distinguishes proper names, seems to be an imitation of the label, called a "phylactery" in the Greek inscription of Rosetta, on which the name of a figure was usually distinguished.

161. A disc, with rays descending from it, is one of the few characters in which the form gives us some assistance towards determining the sense, which is found to be ENLIGHTENING; though the Egyptians do not seem to have been very correct in their delineation of the motion of light, which they make to diverge in curved lines, like those described by a common projectile. See n. 8, n. 63.

162. The square block, the semicircle, and the chain, are employed very clearly in the sense of LOVING or beloved; the Coptic MAI. In the enchorial character the square and semicircle seem to be sometimes transposed, and sometimes changed into an oval.

163. PRESERVER, or saviour, is represented by a sort of trefoil, with a long stem, which answers to a cross or obelisc in the enchorial text; but, in other passages, the character takes the form of a still simpler club: and, in others again, it has something like a bulbous root.

164, 165. (Pl. IV.) A frame like a ladder, supported by a stem, occurs sometimes as a part of a head-dress, but it is difficult to say if it represents any other object. Followed by an arm, and a pair of legs, it signifies SET UP, and this combination of characters is of very frequent occurrence; sometimes

also the bent line or divided shaft forms a part of it. In Coptic, *set up* is expressed by *set on foot*, which seems to retain the analogy of the hieroglyphical character. The substitution of a pair of feathers for the legs, however, does not appear materially to alter the sense—the context, where it occurs, requiring the word PREPARE or construct.

G. Relations.

166. Two ovals, with a semicircle and an arm, very clearly signify IN ORDER THAT. The ovals seem to mean to or *for*, and the arm action or *doing*—as our own *that* seems to be allied to the German *that*, which means *deed*. The same combination of characters appears to denote, in another passage, *to add to;* and one of the ovals is sometimes omitted. The Coptic may be either HINA or ETHBE..

167. The symbols, employed in the sense WHEREVER, seem to mean separately, *at*, *in*, *one*, or *in*, *place*, *one;* and, transposing the two last, we may make a very good Coptic word, E-U-MA.

168, 169. The arm and chain signify AND or ALSO; and the oval sometimes takes place of the arm, without much variation of the sense: this combination is also found in the sense of *with* or *together with*. The elementary ideas seem to be *put*, *with*, or *add*, *with*. Between the names of Ptolemy and Berenice at Karnak, the arm and chain are separate.

170. The half arch, or the fork, which is perfectly equivalent to it, followed by two curls and two semicircles mean MOREOVER: the reduplication probably resembling that of many of the Coptic verbs, which generally imply a continued action.

171. The combination of the loop or sling, with two semicircles and three ovals, means very clearly LIKEWISE. The loop seems to represent a bucket, intended for one of a pair, to be carried on a pole, as they are frequently delineated in the tablets: so that it must mean *a companion;* and accordingly we find it in a very common epithet of a king, on obeliscs and elsewhere, with a circle and a bar, denoting *the companion of the sun*, or simply *resembling the sun*. In the enchorial character

for *likewise*, the symbols seem to be transposed, and the loop is doubled.

172. An owl, signifying IN, seems to be nearly synonymous with the half arch, which is also sometimes to be understood in the sense of *all:* both these characters occur also in many instances where they can only be considered as marks of respect, and not very essential to the sense; and in this they resemble the Coptic prefix M, which is a particle not very distinctly intelligible, nor capable of being translated: it is also not a little remarkable, that the M of Akerblad's alphabet is the enchorial character which answers to both of these symbols. (See n. 123.)*

173, 174. A hare over two waved lines is employed, either alone, or together with a head, dash, circle, and dash, which have separately a similar sense, for UPON, OVER, or *at;* and it is remarkable, that a similar relation exists in Coptic between EHREÏ, and EJO—JO or DCHO also meaning a head. The enchorial character, in some of its forms, is manifestly a coarse imitation of an animal. The head is always represented in the manuscripts by a character nearly like a Greek Σ; and this may possibly have been the origin of the Coptic letter JANJIA, if it was derived from a hieroglyphic; but it is equally probable that it may have been intended for a combination of a *delta* and a *chi*.

175. A semicircle and an oval mean FOR, as relating to time.

176. A ball, with two short appendages, one narrower than the other, occurs several times on the Rosetta stone, and seems to have been intended for a head seen in profile, which is often found on other monuments. This character, together with a dash, seems to signify BY THE, or *each;* for instance *every* year, or *every* month.

* In his *Précis*, p. 35 (2nd ed.), Champollion disputes Dr. Young's claim to the owl as a homophone of the letter M, because the latter "has nowhere said that it is a phonetic character;" but the reference to the above No. (172) at p. 182, under the head of SOUNDS, shows distinctly enough that Dr. Young considered it alphabetic. Schwarze ('Das Alte Ægypten,' p. 188) echoes Champollion's objection; but as he undertook to decide in the *grosse Process*, as he calls it, without having seen the article *Egypt*, the most important document in the whole case, and was therefore obliged to rely entirely on Champollion's garbled extracts and misrepresentations, his judgment is of no value whatever.—*Ed.*

177. The hat, interposed between "an image" and "the king," can only mean OF or FOR: it is often substituted, in passages which are frequently repeated, for the waved line; each being probably equivalent to the Coptic NTE, or rather N; which also sometimes makes an adjective of a substantive, as NNUB, golden, from NUB, gold. See n. 58, 83, 140.

H. TIME.

178. A DAY seems to be very naturally expressed by *splendour* of the *sun*, or sunshine. See n. 119, n. 8.

179. A crescent turned downwards, with a star and the sun, makes up the character signifying a MONTH; to which a semicircle and a scale or basin are sometimes added. Horapollo says, that a month is denoted by a palm-branch, or by an inverted crescent; but the crescent is too indistinct, on the stone of Rosetta, to have allowed us to recognise it, without the assistance of the collateral inscriptions.

180. A YEAR is denoted by a bent line with a little projection from the middle, which seems to represent a plant with an annual shoot or bud; it is commonly followed by a semicircle and a block or dash.

181. There is some little uncertainty respecting the exact limits of the characters denoting the first month THOYTH. The name seems to have some relation to gathering the harvest, and the emblem is probably intended for a field of corn: and perhaps, as the year is said to have begun originally with the dogdays, the appropriation of this character to the first month may have been contemporaneous with the origin of the calendar.

182, 183. The sixth month, MECHIR, is remarkable for having half as many crescents as the twelfth MESORE: this relation would without doubt be further illustrated, if we could discover anything like a calendar, among the immense mass of Egyptian literature which is still in existence. The manuscript which Montfaucon calls a calendar, merely because it is divided into twelve columns, has no pretensions to the name.

184, 185. The symbol for the sun seems to be employed in the designation both of the FIRST DAY of the month, the NEO-

MENIA of the Greek inscription, and of the last, or THIRTIETH DAY. Of the characters following the sun, the one seems to mean good, or rather *new*, as in Thoyth, the month of the new year: the other *old* or *last*. This character might be taken for a serpent, or for a branch of a tree; but it seems more probable that it is intended for the *tail* of an animal, since it occurs in several passages of the manuscripts as representing a tail; and the tail of the month is sufficiently expressive of the sense. See n. 130.

I. NUMBERS.

186. UNITS are denoted by short lines, like the Roman I. Mr. Akerblad first noticed the first three numerals in the last line of the sacred characters of Rosetta, where the Greek text is deficient, and the words "first and second" only remain; and this observation alone was sufficient to prove, that the hieroglyphical characters related to a real language, and were not simply ornamental decorations, as some persons have imagined.

187..196. The twisted line, distinguishing the ORDINAL NUMBERS, answers to the Coptic MAH, which is prefixed to the cardinals in the same sense; in the enchorial text the corresponding character follows the number. The THREE points are more commonly employed, when they follow a word, to make it plural; but when they signify a numeral, they are generally placed immediately above some other character; and, in the enchorial inscription, this numeral is distinguished by making the lines oblique and joining them.

197. For the number TEN we have a Greek *pi*, either square or rounded, not only in the inscription of Rosetta, but in many other places.

198. We find the number SEVENTEEN recurring twice as a date in the inscription of Rosetta; the Greek text in another part, alluding to the same period, has 18; and the enchorial words are too indistinctly marked to allow us to judge of the identity or diversity of the two numbers; but the difference of a day is of no consequence, since the festival of the "assumption of the kingdom" may easily have begun on the 17th of

Mechir, and have continued to the next day, which is the date of the decree.

199, 200. The enchorial character for THIRTY, applied to years, seems to be the same as is elsewhere used in the sense of the *thirtieth day;* but the numbers are almost always confused in the running-hand, and exhibit several deviations from the regular system of the sacred characters; the number FORTY, for example, in the remarkable passage relating to the 42 assessors of Osiris, seems to be denoted by a single line with a dash on it.

201..203. The curl, like the figure 9, meaning A HUNDRED, and the notched circle, supported by a cross, denoting A THOUSAND, occur, in several inscriptions, so combined with units and tens, as to leave no doubt respecting the numbers that they represent. This is particularly evident from the consideration of an inscription "believed to have been found at Karnak." (*Descr. de l'Egypte. Ant.* III. Pl. 38. F. 26..30.)

204. PLURALS are distinguished by writing a character three times, or by putting three dashes after it; and sometimes, perhaps, though very rarely, before it; occasionally also by repeating a part of a collection of symbols once only. In the manuscripts, the three dashes are generally joined into a crooked stroke; which, in the enchorial inscription, sometimes both precedes and follows the word; while, in other cases, the second stroke is converted into a single vertical line, which serves to limit the extent of the characters meant to be made plural; the representation being so imperfect, that this assistance is more required than in the sacred characters: and it may be observed, that this second mark is never wanting in the enchorial inscription, as it must frequently have been, if the character had been alphabetical; since many of the Egyptian plurals end precisely as their singulars do, and even when they differ from them, it is not by the addition of any one uniform termination.

K. SOUNDS.

205..218. The *phonetic characters*, according to the traces which may be discovered in the words Berenice, Ptolemy, Greek, and some others (n. 56, 58, 74, 83, 123, 172), will afford something like a hieroglyphic alphabet, which, however,

is merely collected as a specimen of the mode of expressing sounds in some particular cases, and not as having been universally employed where sounds were required.* The *supposed*

* This was the first announcement of the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet. The volume of the Encyclopædia containing it appeared in 1819. In the year 1821 Champollion published his memoir 'De l'Ecriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens,' in which he asserts that the hieroglyphics are "signs of *things*, not of *sounds*" (*supra*, p. 157, note), from which it is evident that he did not yet suspect the existence of phonetic signs among the hieroglyphic characters. In the following year, after having read the article Egypt, he published the discovery as his own in his celebrated 'Lettre à M. Dacier,' which contained an alphabet consisting of various characters discovered by himself as well as those whose value had been ascertained by Dr. Young. Several signs also which the latter supposed to be syllabic were shown by M. Champollion to be purely alphabetic. In short it was Young's alphabet corrected and extended. Chevalier Bunsen, however, although he admits that Young is entitled to the priority, that he demonstrated his discovery to some extent, and that Champollion was led to *his* discovery by the impression which Dr. Young's analysis of the names of Ptolemy and Berenice produced on his mind, denies that Champollion merely improved on Young, and awards to the former the merit of having found "the alphabet of the Egyptian language and characters—the greatest discovery of the century"—because he employed "a very different method, and one peculiar to himself." (Egypt's Place, p. 325.) It would scarcely be more absurd to say that the patentee of an improved musket should be regarded as the inventor of fire-arms, because he introduced a different method of loading or priming. Champollion appropriated Young's discovery, and thus far his system was certainly peculiar; but in carrying it out, he only departed from Young's method in so far as was prescribed by an advanced stage of the investigation. In making the first step, which was of course the most difficult, Young was obliged to seek for analogies in the enchorial character. Champollion on the other hand had merely to compare the signs he attempted to decipher with Dr. Young's alphabet; and it so happened that the two hieroglyphic names of Ptolemy and Berenice analysed by Young contained most of the characters in that of Cleopatra, the word on which all Champollion's discoveries hinged. The merit of the latter is still further diminished by the fact, that his attention was drawn by Mr. Bankes to the hieroglyphic name of Cleopatra on the obelisk of Philæ; and it is worthy of remark that although Salt (Essay, p. 7—10) and Schwarze (Das Alte Ægypten, p. 201) describe at length the difficult process by which Bankes arrived at the identification of this group, and comment on Champollion's characteristic silence regarding his obligations to him, Chevalier Bunsen not only ignores the fact that Champollion was indebted to the English traveller for this important element in the discovery, but even asserts that after recognising on the obelisk the ring of Ptolemy corresponding with that on the Rosetta Stone discovered by Dr. Young, Champollion "assumed that *the other* would correspond likewise with the name of Cleopatra," as if there were only one other ring in the inscription, and such an assumption were perfectly natural and obvious. (See note, p. 293.) In these circumstances the verification of some of Dr. Young's results and the rectification of others certainly did not seem to require any extraordinary ingenuity. But it may be asked why was not this done by Dr. Young himself? He tells us (see p. 296) that he was misled by a mistake in his copy of the lithographic sketch of the obelisk, and that he had not "leisure at the time to enter into a very minute comparison of the name with other authorities." Chevalier Bunsen, without taking any notice whatever of this, asserts that "Young failed to perceive the use or value of this monument." It must be admitted that he was too easily discouraged, and that, as Peyron remarks (*infra*, p. 423), the vast variety of his pursuits prevented him in this instance from perfecting his own discovery, which was from that moment transferred to Champollion's hands. This, however, does not invalidate his claim to the merit of the original discovery, which has indeed been hitherto awarded to him by impartial persons of all nations. Although Chevalier Bunsen confidently predicts that those who have dared to oppose Champollion will be unknown to posterity (Egypt's Place, p. 244), we have no doubt that the following judgment of Klaproth will have at least as much weight with future ages

enchorial alphabet, which is subjoined, is applicable to most of the proper names in the inscription of Rosetta, and probably also to some other symbols which have been the prototypes of

as that of his countryman, although it was elicited in the course of a controversy with Champollion:—"M. Champollion a l'air de croire que c'est attaquer l'honneur Français que de supposer qu'un autre que lui eût pu le devancer dans cette partie de sa carrière littéraire. Qu'il se souvienne que rien ne peut porter honneur que ce qui est vrai. Il ne persuadera jamais aux personnes impartiales et en état de juger d'après les faits, que ses travaux sur l'alphabet des hiéroglyphes phonétiques puissent ravir à M. Young le droit de réclamer pour lui l'honneur de la découverte de cet alphabet, selon la maxime universellement adoptée: *Prior in tempore, potior in jure.*" (*Seconde Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes*, p. 6. 1827.) When Champollion, however, found that Young's claim to priority could not be controverted, he attempted to show that there ought to be no question of priority at all, because his system was widely different from Young's. (*Infra*, p. 451.) His mystification on this point, as well as on the process by which he obtained his alphabet, is reproduced and exaggerated by his German disciple, whose vague and confused conception of the whole subject, together with his obscure and inflated language, render him sometimes quite unintelligible. (See, for instance, Egypt's Place, p. 327; *Infra*, p. 362, *note*.) The latter says that Young had no notion of "a purely phonetic alphabet, although he suspected 'a certain kind of syllabic system'—in itself a very obscure and uncritical expression." Dr. Young has nowhere used that expression, but he has repeatedly asserted that foreign proper names were formed in the Egyptian language by syllabic as well as alphabetic characters, an opinion which was afterwards embraced by Champollion, who in his *Lettre à M. Dacier*, speaks of the "valeur syllabico-alphabétique" (p. 2), of the signs employed for expressing foreign names and again refers to them (p. 40), as the "écriture semi-alphabétique Égyptienne." In his *Précis*, however, published two years after, where he endeavoured to show that his system had peculiar features which distinguished it from that of Young, he says "D'après moi les Egyptiens transcrivirent les noms propres étrangers par une méthode toute alphabétique." But Dr. Young's opinion has been fully confirmed by more recent discoveries: see, for instance, Lepsius, Lettre à Rosellini, p. 34, where he gives several foreign names composed on the syllabic principle. But both Champollion and Bunsen sometimes speak of Dr. Young's alphabet as if it were entirely syllabic, although the majority of the characters discovered by him are purely alphabetical, and have precisely the same value in Champollion's alphabet. Chevalier Bunsen, contrasting the narrowness of Young's views with those of Champollion, states that the former had no idea of homophone signs, and that his "hieroglyphic alphabet as conceived by him was no alphabet for the language, but only for foreign names;" but there is abundant evidence in this work (see pp. 164, 179, 296) that Champollion was also indebted to Young for the idea of the interchange of various characters for the same sound; and it is scarcely conceivable that the author of 'Egypt's Place' should have formed a different opinion if he had perused the article 'Egypt' with attention. As to the second point, Champollion most assuredly did not set out with more enlarged views than Young, as is implied by Chevalier Bunsen's language. He had no notion that the alphabet was a key to Egyptian names and words until he was forced, by repeated application of it to unknown groups, to relinquish his former opinion, which he had adopted from Young, together with his phonetic discovery, as is evident from his *Lettre à M. Dacier* (p. 3), where he merely speaks of the phonetic characters being used for "inscribing on the monuments of Egypt the titles, names, and surnames of the Greek and Roman sovereigns who governed it in succession." But if Young did not know the full value of his discovery, Champollion, on the other hand, after improving on it, exaggerated its importance, as is clearly shown by Klaproth in his *Examen Critique* (pp. 23, 24). Chevalier Bunsen also asserts that "Young was led to an approach to the truth merely by an assumption foreign to his own system, and one from the first inseparably clogged with error." On the contrary Young had from the outset recognized a phonetic element in the enchorial character, and even made some additions to Akerblad's alphabet. When he discovered therefore that that character was derived from the hieroglyphic, it naturally occurred to him that proper names would be formed in an analogous

the characters: it is taken from the alphabet of Akerblad, but considerably modified by the conjectures which have been published in the *Museum Criticum*.

manner in the sacred writings; and with regard to the errors he committed, it is sufficient to remark that Champollion corrected them by comparing Young's alphabet with one or two words, and but for an accident Dr. Young himself would have done the same. Indeed any person of ordinary ingenuity might have done what, according to Chevalier Bunsen, Champollion is to be immortalised for having accomplished. Champollion's true claims to admiration rest on the skill, perseverance, and success with which he applied the hieroglyphic alphabet to the monuments of Egypt. Chevalier Bunsen adds, that Young's errors in the analysis of the names of Ptolemy and Berenice were the natural result of his system, "because his speculations were based on no certain or definite value of the individual hieroglyphics" (Egypt's Place, p. 321); but it is surely too much to expect that his speculations should be based on that which they only aimed at discovering. On the other hand, according to Bunsen, "The denial of any phonetic element in the hieroglyphic characters was a natural conclusion from false premises, which Champollion shared in common with the rest." (*Ibid.* p. 325.) Now, Champollion at a very early period adopted, of course without acknowledgment, the enchorial discoveries of Akerblad, who showed that that mode of writing contained an alphabet; and when he afterwards similarly appropriated Dr. Young's discovery that the enchorial character was derived from the hieroglyphics, he ought to have concluded that the latter also possessed phonetic signs. But the circumstance which led Young to the truth led Champollion further astray; for, having assumed that the hieroglyphics were exclusively symbolic, he inferred that the hieratic characters (the derivation of which from the former was also demonstrated by Young in 1816, and published by Champollion as a discovery of his own in 1821) were in like manner destitute of alphabetic signs.

Those who read the history of hieroglyphical discovery in 'Egypt's Place in Universal History,' unless previously acquainted with the facts, might suppose that Champollion's career was, from the outset, one of rapid and triumphant discovery and that Young was in comparison a miserable bungler, although the author patronisingly bestows on him an occasional compliment; but amid all the inaccuracies, inconsistencies, misrepresentations, and confusion of thought which prevail throughout this section of Chevalier Bunsen's work, there are to be found certain facts which could not be withheld, and which are perfectly sufficient to show that until Champollion adopted Young's discoveries the case was directly the reverse. The author says that his hero "appeared, from his earliest years, to be the destined instrument of forwarding Egyptian research;" but although Champollion began his Egyptian studies before 1807 and made them the sole business of his life, he really discovered nothing till 1822. In his letter to the President of the Royal Society, in 1814 (*supra*, p. 62), he states that his study of the Rosetta Inscription had been *constante et suivie;* but it had produced no important result, and it was prosecuted eight years longer with equal fruitlessness. When forced to descend to facts, the utmost Chevalier Bunsen can say is that Champollion almost discovered something. (Egypt's Place, p. 324, *supra*, p. 54, *note*.) Now Dr. Young, who commenced his Egyptian researches in 1814, published near the close of that year his conjectural translation of the Rosetta Inscription, discovered the following year that there were symbolic signs in the enchorial character, demonstrated in 1816 that the cursive characters of the sacred papyri were derived from the hieroglyphics, and in 1818 discovered the hieroglyphic alphabet; besides these, he made various minor discoveries, some of which are enumerated at p. 274. Champollion's discoveries were founded entirely on Young's, and but for the latter Champollion, with all his industry and ingenuity, would in all probability have continued to grope on in the Egyptian darkness helplessly and hopelessly to the end, although Chevalier Bunsen believes that he was sent upon earth for the express purpose of dispelling it. The partiality of the learned German to his friend and master is too strong to be concealed, and he frankly avows, at the close of an enthusiastic eulogium, that his praise is "dictated by a no less powerful sense of conviction than of heartfelt gratitude, because we enjoyed the happiness of his personal acquaintance, and of learning from him the first rudiments of hieroglyphic

L. Additions. Pl. V. See n. 21, 78, 155.

M. Specimens of Phrases.

The last line of the inscription of Rosetta will serve as a specimen of the way in which the hieroglyphical characters were

lore at the foot of the obelisks at Rome." (Egypt's Place, p. 244.) Notwithstanding this, however, Chevalier Bunsen affects a lofty disregard of whatever is personal in the history of this great discovery, and he certainly does most carefully avoid hinting that there was anything censurable in Champollion's conduct towards Young; but when he goes out of his way to commend the former for his candour in acknowledging the merits of the latter (*ibid.* p. 327), and to charge Young with claiming Champollion's discoveries (*ibid.* p. 322; *infra*, p. 265), he does enter upon the personal element involved in the question, and his misrepresentations on these points, as well as on various others, manifest not only a profound reliance on the ignorance of his readers, but afford, we are constrained to add, signal proof that the force of his gratitude can only be equalled by the facility of his conviction.

The French, unlike Chevalier Bunsen, did not espouse Champollion's cause from personal feeling, for he was not esteemed by his countrymen, and some of the most distinguished of those who advocated his claims have recorded their contempt for his character. (*Supra*, pp. 51, 59, 75, *note*; *infra*, p. 252). National vanity was the sole motive which prompted the French to lay claim to this great discovery, and they entered into the controversy as a national question. M. Arago, as far as regards himself, does not attempt to conceal this in his *Éloge* of Dr. Young, where, after disclaiming all cosmopolitism, a quality which one is not apt to look for in his countrymen, he proceeds to evince his patriotism by asserting that the discovery of the Royal Rings in the monuments of Egypt (see p. 274) is due to De Guignes, and that of the hieroglyphic alphabet to Champollion; as he had already, in the same memoir, claimed for Papin the invention of the steam-engine. His reason for denying to Dr. Young the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet is entirely different from that alleged by Chevalier Bunsen for the same purpose. He asserts that Young did not demonstrate his discovery; but any one who reads carefully the article 'Egypt' can satisfy himself of the contrary, and even Chevalier Bunsen, notwithstanding his glaring partiality, admits that he did demonstrate it to some extent. Klaproth also says, in his preface to the 'Collection des Monumens Egyptiens de M. Palin,' that "le célèbre Zoëga avait déjà *soupçonné* qu'une partie des signes hiéroglyphiques pouvaient être employée alphabétiquement, mais l'honneur d'avoir *démontré* ce fait appartient au Docteur Young." Even among Champollion's countrymen, however, there are some whose conscientious convictions have proved stronger than their feelings of nationality: for example, the Chevalier de Paravey, than whom no man in France is better qualified to form an opinion on the subject. That distinguished savant admits that "Dr. Young was the first who showed that the hieroglyphic characters have, in many cases, an alphabetic value, and thus furnished M. Champollion with a key, without which the latter could never have arrived at the important and curious results which he has since obtained." (*Infra*, p. 405.)

Besides Chevalier Bunsen, two of his friends, Lepsius and Schwarze (whose contributions to 'Egypt's Place,' together with those of Mr. Birch, render it on the whole a valuable work), have published, the former a brief account of the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, in a letter to his early patron Rosellini, the friend and coadjutor of Champollion, in which he does not even hint at Champollion's obligations to Young; and the latter, a very learned and voluminous work, entitled 'Das Alte Ægypten' (4to. Th. I. Abth. I. II. pp. 2183), in which he gives a detailed history of all that has been done towards the discovery and decypherment of the Egyptian language and methods of writing. It contains certainly the fullest, and as Chevalier Bunsen asserts, the best, history of hieroglyphical discovery in existence. In Schwarze's account of Dr. Young's researches he did the latter great injustice; not so much, however, from partiality, although he also betrays a certain degree of bias towards Champollion, the head of the school to which he belongs, but because he was

combined, so as to form a language; and will show at the same time the relation between the sacred and the enchorial texts. At the beginning of the line we find some obscurity, and a want of perfect correspondence in the two inscriptions; but it is clear that the fork or ladder, the arm and the feathers, mean to *prepare* or procure (n. 165); then follows *a column* (n. 91); the wavy line *of* (n. 177); the semicircle and two dashes, with the arm, probably *strong* or hard; the block or square below, with its semicircle, *stone;* the loop or knot *wrought* or engraven; the half arch *in* or with; the instrument or case, *writing*, or letters (n. 103); the wavy line, the hatchet, and drop, with the three dashes making a plural, *appropriate to the gods*, that is, sacred (n. 146); the case again, *letters;* the hat, *of* (n. 177); the ladder, arm, and feathers, *the country;* the serpent and bent line, approaching to the sense of perpetuity and greatness, seem to be a mark of respect to the country, though it is barely possible that they may be substituted for the repetition of the instrument or case, and may mean the language, and belong to the following curl on the stem, the feathers, the serpent, and the hat, which signify *Greek* (n. 83). The head dress of flowers meaning probably a priest, the following curl with the dashes probably ornamental or honorary, or perhaps collective, and the two bowls, with the man in the plural, a publication (n. 158), the whole of these symbols must express *the honorary decree of the priests, or the decree of the assembled priests;* but the enchorial text seems to include the symbol for honour. The oval, with the semicircle and arm, implies in order that, or *in order to;* the fork with cross bars, the arm, the legs, and the snake, *set it up* (n. 164); the bird, *in*

unable to procure a copy of the article 'Egypt,' by far the most important of all Dr. Young's memoirs on the Egyptian writings. He certainly did not go so far as to assert, like his countryman (Egypt's Place, p. 322), that Young "actually discovered and deciphered nothing at all,"— an opinion quoted with approbation by a writer in one of our most eminent literary journals (*infra*, p. 255), in blind reliance on Chevalier Bunsen, the real value of whose authority he could have ascertained if he chose without much difficulty—but he adopted the same view in regard to Dr. Young's ignorance of homophone signs, and several other points, where he was obliged to rely on Champollion's misrepresentations. In a subsequent part of his work (p. 445), however, he states that he had at length obtained from the Berlin Library, Baron von Humboldt's copy of the article, the perusal of which greatly increased his admiration of the author's powers of investigation, and showed him that much, especially in the interpretation of symbolical hieroglyphics, which is usually regarded as the property of Champollion, belongs in reality to Dr. Young.—*Ed.*

(n. 172); the three broad feathers over as many open squares, *the temples*, as a plural; the half arch and oval with the plural dashes, *all*, or *of all kinds;* the open square, wheel, scale, head, dash, and ring, *Egypt* (n. 80); the figure with a vase on his head, *subjection* or *power*, as in n. 139—making the whole, *belonging to Egypt*, or *throughout Egypt;* the fork and dash are *in*, or *in all;* the knots or chains, followed by the numbers *of the first, the second, and the third order* (n. 187, 189, 191); the oval, half arch, and dash, *wherever*, or *in which*, leaving out "shall be;" the tool and standing figure, with the intervening characters, *the image* (n. 101); the hat, *of;* the reed and bee, with the semicircles, *King;* the square, semicircle, lion, half arch, two feathers, and bent line, *Ptolemy* (n. 56); the handled cross and serpent with the two semicircles, *the everliving* (n. 110); the square block, semicircle, and chain, *dear to* (n. 162); the hieralpha and two feathers, *Phthah*, or Vulcan (n. 6)—all this being included within the ring or phylactery together with the name; the open square, the oval, and the pair of legs after the ring, *illustrious* or Epiphanes (n. 121); and lastly, the scale and the three lutes, *munificent* (n. 154)—the conjunctions being often omitted, as they also very commonly are in Coptic, and even in Greek.

The enchorial text agrees in many parts extremely well with the hieroglyphics, according to the general style of imitation which has been already explained and exemplified, although in some passages there is a greater difference than might have been expected. The beginning of the enchorial line seems to contain the word decree, which cannot be found in this part of the hieroglyphics; the character for letters occurs three times in it, as if the sacred character used in the third place meant language; the "sacerdotal decree" of the sacred characters is omitted in the corresponding part of the enchorial; the word temples is repeated before each numeral; the term wherever is amplified; the image is a very coarse imitation, and is followed by the character for a deity, meaning sacred or divine; and, lastly, the name of Ptolemy is omitted, the word king being only followed by "whose life shall be for ever," or a phrase of similar import.

N. Comparison of Manuscripts.

The subjoined specimens of a comparison of the different manuscripts, which deviate more or less from the form of distinct hieroglyphics, with others in which those characters are preserved almost entire, though slightly traced, will serve to show the complete identity of the different systems in their original form; the first and fourth lines being taken from the great hieratic manuscript of Strasburg, and the rest from other copies of the same text, which are universally considered as written in the epistolographic character. We cannot discover the entire connected sense of the whole passages, but we may easily observe the symbols for *gods*, *established*, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Nephthe*, "*Hieracion*," *to set up*, *four*, *priests*, and *child* or *prince*. (*Descr. de l'Eg. Ant.* II. Plate LXXIV. col. 106; LX. col. 3; LXII. col. 2; Plate LXXII. col. 38; LXVII. col. 2.)

Section VIII.—*General Character and Subjects of the Egyptian Monuments.*

By means of the knowledge of the hieroglyphic characters, which has been already obtained, we are fully competent to form a general idea of the nature of the inscriptions on the principal Egyptian monuments that are extant. Numerous as they are, there is scarcely one of them which we are not able to refer to the class either of sepulchral or of votive inscriptions; astronomical and chronological there seem to be none, since the numerical characters, which have been perfectly ascertained, have not yet been found to occur in such a form as they necessarily must have assumed in the records of this description: of a historical nature, we can only find the triumphal, which are often sufficiently distinguishable, but they may also always be referred to the votive; since whoever related his own exploits thought it wisest to attribute the glory of them to some deity, and whoever recorded those of another, was generally disposed to intermix divine honours with his panegyric. It has, indeed, been asserted, that the Egyptians were not in the habit of deifying any mortal persons; but the inscription of Rosetta is

by no means the only one in which the sovereigns of Egypt are inserted in the number of its deities—the custom is observable in monuments of a much earlier age; indeed, in such a country it might be considered as a kind of dilemma of degradation, whether it was most ridiculous to be made a divinity, or to be excluded from so plebeian an assemblage; but flattery is more prone to err by commission than by omission, and, consequently, we find the terms king and god very generally inseparable. The sepulchral inscriptions, from the attention that was paid in Egypt to the obsequies of the dead, appear, on the whole, to constitute the most considerable part of the Egyptian literature which remains, and they afford us, upon a comparative examination, some very remarkable peculiarities. The general tenor of all these inscriptions appears to be, as might be expected from the testimony of Herodotus, the identification of the deceased with the god Osiris, and probably, if a female, with Isis; and the subject of the most usual representations seems to be the reception of this new personage by the principal deities, to whom he now stands in a relation expressed in the respective inscriptions; the honour of an apotheosis, reserved by the ancient Romans for emperors, and by the modern for saints, having been apparently extended by the old Egyptians to private individuals of all descriptions. It required an extensive comparison of these inscriptions to recognise their precise nature, since they seldom contain a name surrounded by a ring in its usual form: sometimes, however, as on the green sarcophagus of the British Museum, a distinct name is very often repeated, and preceded by that of Osiris; while in most other instances, there is a certain combination of characters, bearing evident relation to the personage delineated, which occurs, after the symbols of Osiris, instead of the name; so that either the ring was simply omitted on this occasion, or a new and perhaps a mysterious name was employed, consisting frequently of the appellations of several distinct deities, and probably analogous to the real name. That the characteristic phrase, so repeated, must have had some relation to the deceased, is proved by its scarcely ever being alike, in any two monuments that have been compared, while almost every other

part of the manuscripts and inscriptions are the same in many different instances, and some of them in almost all; and this same phrase may be observed in Lord Mountnorris's and Mr. Bankes's manuscripts, placed over the head of the person who is brought up between the two goddesses, to make his appearance before the true Osiris, in his own person, and in his judicial capacity, with his counsellors about him, and the balance of justice before him. (Hierogl. 5. E F G e f.) In this instance the phrase consists of the names of "Hyperion" and the Sun, preceded by a block and an arm with an offering (Plate V., O), and it may be interpreted, without any violence, "the votary of Hyperion and of Phre." In a small manuscript, engraved by Denon, the part, which resembles the characteristic phrase of other manuscripts, is followed by the name of a king (P), which is nearly identical with that of the father of the Pseudomemnon in the British Museum (Q), the one having the hieralpha laid flat, the other the traces of the pedestal, which is equivalent to it. (N. 6.)

The tablet of the last judgment, which is so well illustrated by the testimony of Diodorus concerning the funerals of the Egyptians (Sect. 5), is found near the end of almost all the manuscripts upon papyrus, that are so frequently discovered in the coffins of the mummies, and among others in Lord Mountnorris's hieratic manuscript, printed in the Collection of the Egyptian Society. The great deity sits on the left, holding the hook and the whip or fan; his name and titles are generally placed over him; but this part of the present manuscript is a little injured. Before him is a kind of mace, supporting something like the skin of a leopard; then a female Cerberus, and on a shelf over her head, the tetrad of termini, which have been already distinguished by the names "Tetrarcha," Anubis, Macedo, and "Hieracion," each having had his appropriate denomination written over his head. Behind the Cerberus stands Thoth, with his style and tablet, having just begun to write. Over his head, in two columns, we find his name and titles, including his designation as a scribe. The balance follows, with a little baboon, as a kind of genius, sitting on it. Under the beam stand "Cteristes" and "Hyperion," who are employed

in adjusting the equipoise; but their names in this manuscript are omitted. The five columns over the balance are only remarkable as containing, in this instance, the characteristic phrase, or the name of the deceased, intermixed with other characters. Beyond the balance stands a female, holding the sceptre of Isis, who seems to be called Rhea, the wife of the sun. She is looking back at the personage who holds up his hand as a mark of respect, and who is identified as the deceased by the name simply placed over him, without any exordium. He is followed by a second goddess, who is also holding up her hands, in token of respect; and whose name looks like a personification of honour or glory, unless it is simply intended to signify "a divine priestess" belonging to the order of the Pterophori mentioned on the Rosetta stone. The forty-two assessors are wanting in this tablet; and, in many other manuscripts, their number is curtailed, to make room for other subjects; but, in several of those which are engraved in the *Description de l'Egypte*, they are all represented, sometimes as sitting figures, and sometimes standing as termini, with their feet united.

The principal part of the text of all these manuscripts appears to consist of a collection of hymns, or rather homages to certain deities, generally expressed in the name of the deceased, with his title of Osiris, although the true Osiris is not excluded from the groups that are introduced. The upper part of each manuscript is occupied by a series of pictural tablets; under them are vertical columns of distinct hieroglyphics, or, in the epistolographic manuscripts, pages of the text, which are commonly divided into paragraphs, with a tablet at the head of each, the first words being constantly written with red ink, made of a kind of ochre, as the black is of a carbonaceous substance. The beginning of the manuscript is seldom entire, being always at the outside of the roll; as the "umbilicus" of the Romans was synonymous with the end. Not far from the beginning, we always find a large tablet, occupying the whole depth of the paper, representing the sun adored by his ministering spirits. In the large hieratic manuscript, which occupies four plates of the *Description de l'Egypte*,

and which may be considered as a fine specimen of the most highly finished copies, there are at present only four columns remaining before this tablet. It is followed by a short section, with a rubric, which is not very distinctly expressed; after this are 35 others, beginning with a long rubric (Plate V., R.), which is usually followed by the name of a divinity, represented in a neighbouring part of the margin, and which may be supposed to mean something like "Respect and reverence be paid to each of the sacred powers." The next ten sections begin with the rubric of a feather, and a sitting figure raising his hand to his head, as if holding a vase on it (S), meaning probably "Honour is due," or belonging to; then follow the name and titles of Thoth or Hermes, and the phrase describing the deceased in the character of Osiris; and afterwards, the names of each of a group of deities, which is represented in the corresponding tablet with an altar and a suppliant before them. These groups are different in the different sections, but they correspond pretty accurately with each other in the various manuscripts, and this hermetic decad is the most constant part of the manuscripts found with the mummies, though a little more extended in some than in others. (Hierogl. 4.) After these we find 35 sections, beginning with a drop, a feather, a serpent, and a line (T); the rubric being immediately followed by the deified name peculiar to the manuscript. This exordium, from the analogy of the term sacred (n. 146), we can have no hesitation in understanding as a derivative of the feather, signifying honour or ornament, and the serpent signifying perpetuity, and in translating it, "Eternal honour" or respect. A similar sense seems, in other places, to be expressed by the open square or the pyramid, instead of the feather (U, V); and not uncommonly the hat is substituted for the line, without any variation of the meaning (W). After these 35 sections, we have two others, of which the rubrics are less intelligible, followed by 42 short ones, which evidently contain the names and titles of as many separate deities, whose figures are commonly represented in the great tablet, near that of Osiris. We may generally observe, among the epithets of each, the term "illustrious" (n. 121); and each section has a second paragraph,

beginning with a pair of arms extended—a character which seems occasionally to be used in reference to the equal scales of justice, though on the stone of Rosetta it appears to signify a kind of temple, so that it may possibly relate to the honours to be paid to these divine judges. With a few additional columns, and with the great tablet of the judgment, the manuscript concludes. It does not contain the figure of the sacred cow, which is the termination of most other manuscripts; nor the agricultural representations, which are frequently found in many of them, especially in that of Lord Mountnorris (Hierogl. 3), with the three deities sitting in a grotto under it. The last of these, according to the inscriptions over the two boats, is meant for Arueris, the second apparently for the mother of the sun, and the first for Osiris; and one of the boats carries the steps, which seem to be emblematic of the solar power; the other the throne or chair of state, which is universally appropriated to Osiris.

The coffins of the mummies, and the large sarcophagi of stone, are generally covered with representations extremely similar to some of those which are found in the manuscripts. The judicial tablet is frequently delineated on the middle of the coffins; above it are Isis and Nephthe, at the sides; and apparently Rhea in the middle, with outspread wings. The space below is chiefly occupied by figures of twenty or thirty of the principal deities, to whom the deceased, in his mystical character, is doing homage; each of them being probably designated by the relationship in which he stands to the new representative of Osiris. In the sculptures, the figures are generally less numerous; the same deities are commonly represented as on the painted coffins, but without the repetition of the suppliant, and in an order subject to some little variation. The large sarcophagus of granite, in the British Museum, brought from Cairo, and formerly called the Lover's Fountain, has the name of Apis, as a part of the characteristic denomination. This circumstance, at first sight, seemed to make it evident that it must have been intended to contain the mummy of an Apis, for which its magnitude renders it well calculated; but, when the symbols of other deities were found in the mystic

names upon various other monuments, this inference could no longer be considered as absolutely conclusive.

Of the votive or dedicatory inscriptions we find an interesting example, on a small scale, in the engraving on the bottom of a scarabaeus, very neatly sculptured in a softish steatite, or lapis ollaris, brought from Egypt by Mr. Legh, and now in the possession of Dr. Macmichael. (Plate V., X.) It is remarkable for its simplicity, and for affording an intelligible sense in all its parts. The chain, the semicircle, and the square block, mean clearly [*To*] *the beloved;* the loop supporting a wreath or crown, and the imperfect sitting figure, resemble some of the titles often given to Osiris, and, with the following oval, pretty certainly signify *of the great god;* the throne, the semicircle, and the oval, *Isis;* the sitting figure, *the goddess;* the looped wreath, perhaps *the great;* the bird and circle, *offspring of;* the hieralpha or lough, and the two feathers, *Phthah;* the pillar perhaps *the powerful,* but it is not distinctly formed; the beetle seems to be here a synonym or epithet of Phthah, as if *the father of all;* the handled cross, *the living;* the lute, *the good;* the pyramid, *the prosperous* or glorious; the ring with the handle seems to be nearly synonymous with the chain, and may be rendered, in conjunction with the line and the hieralpha, *the approved of Phthah,* an epithet found in the inscription of Rosetta; the hatchet is *the deity;* the ring and handle, with the two lutes, approaches near to the symbol for munificent (n. 154), and may be called *delighting in good gifts;* and the concluding ring and staff or hatchet may either mean, this is dedicated; or may, with rather more probability, be considered as a reduplication of the beginning of the line, in an inverted position. It may be remarked, that all the inscriptions on the scarabaei run from right to left, as is most commonly observed wherever the direction was indifferent; so that if they were used as seals, the impression must have assumed the from which is somewhat less usual in other cases.

We have a most valuable example of a dedicatory inscription on a larger scale in the decree preserved on the stone of Rosetta, which, besides its utility in affording the only existing clue for deciphering the hieroglyphic characters, gives us also

a very complete idea of the general style of the records of the Egyptian hierarchy. Of the triumphal monuments, the most magnificent are the obeliscs, which are reported by Pliny to have been dedicated to the Sun; and there is every reason to suppose, that the translation of one of these inscriptions, preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus, after Hermapion, contains a true representation of a part of its contents, more especially as "the mighty Apollo" of Hermapion agrees completely with the hawk, the bull, and the arm, which usually occupy the beginning of each inscription. These symbols are generally followed by a number of pompous titles, not always very intimately connected with each other, and among them we often find that of "Lord of the asp-bearing diadems," with some others, immediately preceding the name and parentage of the sovereign, who is the principal subject of the inscription. The obelisc at Heliopolis is without the bull; and the whole inscription may be supposed to have signified something of this kind. "This Apollinean trophy is consecrated to the honour of King 'Remesses,' crowned with an asp-bearing diadem; it is consecrated to the honour of the son of 'Heron,' the ornament of his country, beloved by Phthah, living for ever; it is consecrated to the honour of the revered and beneficent deity 'Remesses,' great in glory, superior to his enemies; by the decree of an assembly, to the powerful and flourishing, whose life shall be without end." It is true, that some parts of this interpretation are in great measure conjectural; but none of it is altogether arbitrary, or unsupported by some probable analogy: and the spirit and tenor of the inscription is probably unimpaired by the alterations, which this approximation to the sense may unavoidably have introduced.

Of the obeliscs still in existence there are perhaps about thirty larger and smaller, which may be considered as genuine. Several others are decidedly spurious, having been chiefly sculptured at Rome in imitation of the Egyptian style, but so negligently and unskilfully, as to have exhibited a striking difference even in the character of the workmanship. Such are the Pamphilian, in explanation of which the laborious Kircher has published a folio volume, and the Barberinian or Veranian:

EGYPT.

HIEROGLYPHICS.

PLATE I

A. DEITIES

	Sacred Ch.	Roc. Ench.	M.S.
1 GOD *powerful* ⲚⲞⲨϮ			
2 GOD *judge*			
3 GODDESS ϮⲚⲞⲨϮ			
4 GODS ϨⲀⲚⲚⲞⲨϮ			
5 Agathodaemon ⲓϧⲚⲞⲨϤⲒ?			
6 PHTHAH ⲠⲦⲀϨ			
7 AMMON ⲀⲘⲞⲨⲚ			
8 PHRE ⲪⲢⲎ			
9 RHEA ϮⲪⲈ?			
10 IOH ⲒⲞϨ			
11 THOTH ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲑ			
12 OSIRIS ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ			
13 ARUERIS			
14 ISIS ⲎⲤⲒ ⲐⲈⲤⲒ?			
15 NEPHTHE			
16 BUTO			
17 HORUS ϩⲱⲣⲥⲓⲏⲥⲓ?			

18 PAAMYLES	
19 NILUS ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ	
20 APIS	
21 MNEUIS	
22 Hyperion	
23 Cteristes	
24 Tetrarcha	
25 ANUBIS	
26 MACEDO	
27 Hieracion	
28 Cerexochus	
29 Bioxiphus	
30 Platypterus	
31 Mastigias	
32 Soraca	

B. KINGS.

33 Thuthmosis	
34 Mesphres	
35 Misphragmuthosis	
36 Tithous	
37 Eoa	
38 MEMNON ⲀⲘⲈⲚⲰⲚ	
39 Amenses	
40 Heron	
41 Remesses	
42 Sesostris	
43 Pheron	
44 Nuncoreus	
45 Proteus	
46 Amaenophthes	
47 Anysis	
48 Psammetius	
49 NECHAO	
50 PSAMMIS	
51 (Maenophthes)	
52 AMASIS	
53 Ptolcherius	
54 (Discozygus)	

Engd by G. Robinson, Edin.

HIEROGLYPHICS.

55. ALEXANDER
ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ

56. PTOLEMY
ⲡⲧⲟⲗⲉⲙⲉⲟⲥ

57. SOTERES

58. BERENICE

59. PHILADELPHUS
ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲇⲉⲗⲫⲟⲥ

60. ARSINOE

61. EUERGETES

62. PHILOPATOR
ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲁⲧⲟⲣ

63. EPIPHANES

64. PHILOMETOR
ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲙⲏⲧⲟⲣ

65. Cleopatrides

C. PRIVATE PERSONS.

66. AETUS

67. PHILINUS

68. DIOGENES

69. PYRRHA

70. AREIA

71. IRENE

72. Rammeus

D. ANIMALS

73. A MAN
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ

74. HIM
ϥ.ⲙⲙⲟϥ

75. BULLOCK
ⲉϩⲉ

76. RAM
ⲥⲱⲗⲓ

77. ANTELOPE

78. TORTOISE
ⲉⲫⲱⲧ

79. BASILISC
ⲟⲩⲣⲟ

E. INANIMATE OBJECTS.

80. EGYPT
ⲭⲏⲙⲓ

81. MEMPHIS
ⲙⲉϥⲓ

82. RIVER
ⲓⲁⲣⲟ.ⲓⲟⲣ

83. GREEK
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ

84. COUNTRY
ⲓⲟϩⲓ.ⲕⲟⲓ

85. LAND
ⲕⲁϩⲓ

86. STAR
ⲥⲓⲟⲩ

87. TEMPLE
ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ

88. SHRINE

89. HABITATION
ⲓⲏ

90. THRONE
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ

91. COLUMN
ϫⲏⲣⲓ.ⲑⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ

92. DIADEM
ϫⲗⲟⲙ

93. ORNAMENTS
ⲥⲉⲗⲉⲕⲟⲩ

94. SHIP
ϩⲁⲣⲓ

95. SPEAR
ⲛⲁϩⲓ.ⲙⲉⲣⲉϩ

96. BOW
ϯⲓⲧ

97. ARROW
ⲥⲟⲑⲛⲉϥ

98. CENSER
ⲙϣⲓⲣ

99. BIER
ⲥⲗⲓⲉ

100. TEAR
ⲉⲣⲙⲏ

101. IMAGE
ⲥⲙⲟⲧ.ⲙⲟⲛⲕ

102. STATUE
ⲓⲛⲓ? ϣⲏⲟⲩⲓ?

103. LETTERS
ⲥϩⲁⲓ

104. Weight
ϣⲓⲉ

105. GOLD
ⲛⲟⲩϩ

106. SILVER
ϩⲁⲧ

107. Offerings

HIEROGLYPHICS.

PLATE III.

ATTRIBUTES AND ACTIONS.

1. LIFE ⲱⲛϩ. ⲁϩⲓ
2. ETERNITY ⲉⲛⲉϩ
3. IMMORTAL ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲛⲉϩ
4. JOY ϩⲱⲟⲩ? ⲣⲁϣⲓ?
5. POWER ϫⲟⲙ
6. STABILITY ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ
7. ESTABLISHED ⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ
8. STRENGTH ⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ
9. MIGHTY ϫⲟⲣ
10. VICTORY ϭⲣⲟ
11. FORTUNE
12. SPLENDOUR ⲱⲟⲩ. ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
13. BEARING ϭⲁⲓ
14. ILLUSTRIOUS ⲫⲉⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ
15. HONOUR ⲧⲁⲓⲟ
16. RESPECTABLE ⲙ̀ⲙⲏϣⲁ?
17. VENERABLE ⲛⲓϣⲧ? ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧ?
18. RITE ⲡⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ
19. WORPSHIP ϣⲁⲙϣⲉ
20. FATHER ⲓⲱⲧ
21. MOTHER ⲙⲁⲩ
22. SON ϣⲏⲣⲓ
23. ATTENDANT ϩⲱⲕ? ϣⲏⲣⲓ?
24. DAUGHTER ϣⲉⲣⲓ
25. SONS ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ
26. CHILD ⲁⲗⲟⲩ
27. DIRECTOR ⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ?
28. STEERSMAN ⲣⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲓ
29. ROWER ⲣⲉϥϩⲟⲥⲉⲣ?
30. KING ⲟⲩⲣⲟ
31. CONDITION ⲙⲉⲧ...
32. KINGDOM ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ
33. LIBATION ⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲗ
34. CEREMONY ϣⲗⲏⲗ?
35. PRIEST ⲟⲩⲏϩ. ϩⲟⲛⲧ
36. PRIESTHOOD ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ
37. SACERDOTAL ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲛⲧ
38. ASSEMBLY ϣⲁⲓ
39. SACRED ⲟⲩⲁϩ
40. CONSECRATED ⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧ?
41. GIVE ⲧ
42. OFFER ⲉⲛ, ⲓⲛⲓ
43. DEDICATE ⲧⲁϩⲟ?
44. LAWFUL ⲑⲙⲏⲓ
45. GOOD ⲛⲁⲛⲉ
46. BESTOWING ⲉⲧⲧⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲧ
47. MUNIFICENT ⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ
48. GREAT ⲛⲓϣⲧ. ⲛⲁⲁ
49. OTHERS ⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ
50. CALLED ⲉⲧϫⲱ
51. DECLARATION ⲱϣ. ϩⲱⲡ
52. MANIFEST ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ
53. NAME ⲣⲁⲛ
54. ENLIGHTENING ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
55. LOVING ⲙⲁⲓ. ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲏⲧ
56. PRESERVER ⲉⲟⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ
57. SET UP ⲧⲁϩⲟ. ⲉⲣⲁⲧ
58. PREPARE ⲥⲉϩⲧⲉ

EGYPT.

HIEROGLYPHICS.

164. SET UP
ⲦⲀϨⲞ ⲈⲢⲀⲦ

165. PREPARE
ⲤⲈⲀⲦⲈ

G. RELATIONS

166. IN ORDER THAT
ϨⲒⲚⲀ

167. WHEREVER
ⲚⲒⲘⲀ, ⲈⲐⲨⲘⲀ

168. AND
ⲞⲨⲞϨ

169. ALSO, WITH
ⲚⲈⲘ

170. MOREOVER
ⲚϨⲞⲨⲞ?

171. LIKEWISE
ⲘⲠⲀⲒⲢⲎⲦ

172. IN
ϨⲈⲚ, ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ

173. UPON, AT
ϨⲒ, ⲈϨⲢⲎⲒ

174. OVER, ON
ⲈⲬⲰ

175. FOR
ϢⲀ

176. BY THE
(ⲔⲀⲦⲀ), ⲚⲦⲈ?

177. OF, TO
ⲚⲦⲈ, Ⲛ

H. TIME

178. DAY
ⲈϨⲞⲞⲨ, ⲘⲈⲢⲒ

179. MONTH
ⲀϨⲞⲦ

180. YEAR
ⲢⲞⲘⲠⲒ

181. THOYTH
ⲐⲰⲞⲨⲦ

182. MECHIR
ⲘⲈⲬⲒⲢ

183. MESORE
ⲘⲈⲤⲰⲢⲎ

184. FIRST DAY
ⲤⲞⲨⲀⲒ

185. THIRTIETH
ⲤⲞⲨ ⲘⲀⲚ

I. NUMBERS

186. ONE
ⲞⲨⲀⲒ, ⲞⲨⲒ

187. FIRST
ϨⲞⲨⲒⲦ

188. TWO
ⲤⲚⲀⲨ, ⲤⲚⲞⲨⲦ

189. SECOND
ⲘⲀϨⲤⲚⲀⲨ

190. THREE
ϢⲞⲘⲦ

191. THIRD
ⲘⲀϨ ϢⲞⲘⲦ

192. THRICE
ϢⲞⲘⲦ ⲚⲤⲞⲠ

193. FOUR
ϤⲦⲞ

194. FIVE
ⲦⲒⲞⲨ

195. SEVEN
ϢⲀϢϤ

196. EIGHTH
ⲘⲀϨϢⲘⲎⲚ

197. TEN
ⲘⲎⲦ, ⲘⲎⲦ

198. SEVENTEEN
ⲘⲈⲦϢⲀϢϤ

199. THIRTY
ⲘⲀⲚ

200. FORTY TWO
ϨⲘⲈⲤⲚⲀⲨ

201. A HUNDRED
ϢⲈ

202. A THOUSAND
ϢⲞ

203. MCDXXVIII
ϢⲞ ϤⲦⲞ ϢⲈ ⲬⲰⲦ
ϢⲘⲞⲨⲚ

204. SEVERAL
ϨⲀⲚ, ..ⲞⲨⲒ

K. SOUNDS?

205. ⲆⲈⲢⲈ

206. ⲆⲒⲢ

207. Ⲉ

208. ⲈⲚⲈ

209. Ⲓ

210. ⲔⲈ, ⲔⲎ

211. Ⲙ, ⲘⲀ

212. Ⲛ

213. ⲞⲖⲈ

214. ⲞϢ, ⲞⲤ

215. Ⲡ

216. Ϥ

217. Ⲧ

218. Ⲱ

SUPPOSED ENCHORIAL ALPHABET.

Ⲁ		Ⲟ	
Ⲃ		Ⲡ, Ⲫ	
Ⲅ, Ⲕ, Ⲋ		Ϥ	
Ⲇ		Ⲣ	
Ⲉ		Ⲥ, Ϣ	
Ⲏ		Ⲩ	
Ⲓ		Ⲭ	
Ⲗ		Ⲱ	
Ⲙ		Ϩ	
Ⲛ		Ϫ	

Engd by G. Jobson, Edin.

HIEROGLYPHICS.

L. *ADDITIONS* 21 * Damalis 78 * CROCODILE a , b 155 * UPPER, LOWER

M. *SPECIMENS OF PHRASES. ROS. INSCR. LAST LINE.*

ΣΤΕΡΕΟΥΛΙΘΟΥΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΓΧΩΡΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ

ΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΔΙΕΝΕΚΑΣΤΩΙΤΩΝΤΕΠΡΩΤΩΝΚΑΙΔΕΥΤΕΡΩΝ . . . . . .

N. *COMPARISON OF MANUSCRIPTS.*

O P Q R S T U V W X

Lith. of C. Schmidt, Edinr.

in both of these the emblems are put together in a manner wholly arbitrary; and where an attempt is made to imitate the appearance of a name, the characters are completely different at each repetition. The Sallustian obelisc has also been broken, and joined inaccurately, and some modern restitutions have been very awkwardly introduced, as becomes evident upon comparing with each other the figures of Kircher and of Zoega. Another very celebrated monument, the Isiac table, which has been the subject of much profound discussion, and has given birth to many refined mythological speculations, is equally incapable of supporting a minute examination upon solid grounds; for the inscriptions neither bear any relation to the figures near which they are placed, nor form any connected sense of their own; and the whole is undoubtedly the work of a Roman sculptor, imitating only the general style and the separate delineations of the Egyptian tablets, as indeed some of the most learned and acute of our critical antiquaries had already asserted, notwithstanding the contrary opinions of several foreigners, of the highest reputation for their intimate acquaintance with the works of Greek and Roman art. We may hope, however, that in future these unprofitable discussions and disputes will become less and less frequent, and that our knowledge of the antiquities of Egypt will gain as much in the solidity and sufficiency of its evidence, as it may probably lose in its hypothetical symmetry and its imaginary extent; and while we allow every latitude to legitimate reasoning and cautious conjecture, in the search after historical truth, we must peremptorily exclude from our investigations an attachment to fanciful systems and presupposed analogies on the one hand, and a too implicit deference to traditional authority on the other.

No. IV.

INSCRIPTION

ON

THE PAW OF THE GREAT SPHINX.

From the Quarterly Review, vol. xix. p. 411.*

ϟΟΝ ΔΕΜΑϹ ΕΠΙ ΑΓΥΟΝΓΕΥΣΑΝΟΙΟΝΙΕΝΕΟΝΤΕϹ
ΨΕΙϹΑΜΕΝΟΙΧΩΡΗϹΠΥΡΙΔΥΑΜΛΖΟΜΕΝΗϹ
ϹΜΕ ϹΟΝΕΥΘΥΝΑΝΤΕ ϹΑΡΟΥΘΑΙΟΙΟΤΡΑΠΕΖΗϹ
ΝΗϹΟΥΠΕΤΡΑΙΗϹΨΑΜΜΟΝΑΠΟϹΑΜΕΝΟΙ
ΓΕΙΤΟΝΑΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΩΝΤΟΙΗΝΘϹϹΑΝΕΙ ΟΡΑϹΘΑΙ
ΟΥΤΗΝ ΟΙΔΙΠΟΑΟ.ϐρ.ΟΤΟΚΤΟΝΟΝΩϹΕΙΠΙΘΗϹΛΙ
Ι Γ ' Ι ΙΛΕΟΕΛΛΗΤΟρΠΙΟϹΠΟΛΟΝΑΓΝΟΤΑ
Ϯ Ι ΥΙ Ιϯ ΙΤΗΡΟΥϹΑΝΠΕΠΟΕΗΜΗΝΟΝΕϹΕΛΟΝΟΙ Ι Ι Δ
ΓϹΙ Ι ΗϹΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟϹ ϹϹΕ .. ΑϹΜΙΟΝΗΓΗΤΗΡ
.....ΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΙ Ι..ΙΤΟΜΙΝ ΙΙΙΙΙ.....
...ΙΚΚΕΛΟΝΕΦΑΙϹΙΩΙ Ι.....Ι..ΤΟΙ ΙΝΙΟ'Υ
..ϹΙϹΟΤΑΝΟΚΕΜΟΚϹΙ·ΜΟΙΧΧΙΝΟΙΜΙΥΙ
..ΓΑΙΑΝΙϹΗΥΡΩ.ΟΛΙ....ΝΙΙΙ...
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟϹ.

Which has thus been restored by Dr. Young, with his usual skill and judgment in clearing away the difficulties of imperfect

* In consequence of the reputation which Dr. Young acquired by his skill in deciphering the Egyptian inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone, he had frequently sent to him inscriptions in all sorts of characters, known and unknown, in the expectation that he might be able to throw some light on them. Among others he restored and translated at the request of Mr., afterwards Sir John Barrow, several Greek inscriptions for an article on the Antiquities of Egypt in the 19th volume of the Quarterly Review. One of these, in verse, was from the second digit of the paw of the Great Sphinx excavated by Caviglia, on which it was sculptured in tolerably deep characters, of which the above is said to be as exact a copy as could be taken.—*Ed.*

inscriptions in ancient languages. The reader is also indebted to this gentleman for the translations that accompany the inscription, which, thus happily restored, seems neither deficient in courtliness nor ingenuity.

Σὸν δέμας ἔκπαγλον τεῦξαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες,
Φεισάμενοι χώρης πύριδα μαζομένης·
Εἰς μέσον εὐθυναντες ἀρουραίοιο τραπέζης,
Νήσου πετραίης ψάμμον ἀπωσάμενοι·
Γείτονα πυραμίδων τοίην θέσαν εἰσοράασθαι,
Οὐ τὴν Οἰδιπόδαο βροτοκτόνον, ὡς ἐπὶ Θήβαις,
Τῇ δὲ θεᾷ Λητοῖ πρόσπολον ἁγνοτάτην,
[Εὖ μάλα] τηροῦσαν πεποθημένον ἐσθλὸν ἄνακτα,
Γαίης Αἰγυπτίοιο σεβάσμιον ἡγήτηρα,
Οὐράνιον μέγαν αὐτομέδοντα, [θεοῖσιν ὅμαιμον,]
Εἴκελον Ἡφαίστῳ, μεγαλήτορα, [θυμολέοντα]
[Ἄλκιμον ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐράσμιον ἐν πολιήταις]
Γαῖαν ἀθυρῶσθαι [πάσαις θαλίαισι κέλοντα].

APPIANOΣ.

Tuum corpus stupendum struxerunt dii sempiterni,
Parcentes terræ triticum pinsenti.
In medium erigentes arvensis tabulæ,
Insulæ petrosæ arenam detrudentes.
Vicinam pyramidibus talem te posuerunt visu:
Non Œdipodis homicidam, sicut ad Thebas;
Sed deæ Latonæ famulam purissimam,
[Sedulo] observantem desideratum bonum regem,
Terræ Ægyptiæ venerandum ductorem,
Cœlestem magnum imperatorem [diis affinem]
Similem Vulcano, magnanimum [fortissimum]
[Validum in bello, et amabilem inter cives]
Terram lætari [omnigenis epulis jubentem].

ARRIANUS.

Thy form stupendous here the gods have placed,
  Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land;
And with this mighty work of art have graced
  A rocky isle, encumber'd once with sand;
And near the pyramids have bid thee stand:
Not that fierce Sphinx that Thebes erewhile laid waste,
  But great Latona's servant mild and bland;
Watching that prince beloved who fills the throne
Of Egypt's plains, and calls the Nile his own.
That heavenly monarch [who his foes defies],
Like Vulcan powerful [and like Pallas wise].
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

ARRIAN.

No. V.

OBSERVATIONS

ON A

GREEK MANUSCRIPT ON PAPYRUS,

AND SOME SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NUBIA.*

From the Archæologia, vol. xix. p. 156.

I.

THE fragment of Papyrus contains eight parallel and equidistant lines of the original manuscript, with five interlineations in a different hand, apparently unconnected with them, and consisting chiefly of numbers, with some abbreviated words. It is a sort of genealogy, perhaps the beginning of a deed; the characters are much like those of the manuscript deciphered by Schow, but more distinct; and there is every reason to think them at least as ancient: so that if Schow was right in considering the Borgian manuscript as of the second century, we must refer this fragment to the same period. It was sent over from Egypt by Mr. Salt, together with a variety of other remains of antiquity, many of them extremely interesting, but without any account of the exact place in which it was found. In modern characters it must stand nearly thus:

..,του πατρ αμενουφιως μητρος τιο...τια	Patris Amenuphis, matris Tiu..tia..
Θης, του πρς αιτναιωτοι μητρος Θινσατρ	..thes: patris Aetnaeuti, matris Thinsatir..
πατρ αμενουφιως του τινεσουηριως μητ..η	patris Amenuphis, filii Tinesueris, matris E..
τινεσουηριως του πατρς αμισιος μητρ	Tinesueris, patris Amisis, matris...
.....πατρ αμενουφιως	....patris Amenuphis...
.....ρου	.....ri
.....αυτων τον ιως	.....eorum istum ad
.....ων	.....um.

* These observations were communicated by Dr. Young in a letter to Mr. Taylor Combe, which was read at the Society of Antiquaries 11th June, 1818. The inscriptions to which they refer had been received a short time before by the Earl of Mountnorris, and a plate with fac-similes of them accompanied Dr. Young's contribution.—*Ed.*

The interlineations seem to be principally memorandums of weights: λυ appears to be meant for λίτρα, the ι and υ having been perpetually confounded by the Egyptians; the Λ turned, sideways, ≺, was the mark of a drachm, and probably the original of the modern 3, to which the character of the fragment approaches in a slight degree. The mark for ounces is wanting.

The sepulchral inscriptions are from Kalabshe or Calaptshi: they are very coarsely engraved on sandstones, and emulate in their orthography the accuracy of our own country churchyards.

II.

ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΔΕΣΠΟ	Jussu Dei domi-
ΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΖΩΝ	ni vivo-
ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΚΡ	rum et mortuor .
ΟΥΣ ΕΧΡΗΣΑΤΟ	um : Usa est
Η ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΑΙΔ	beata Aed
ΕΟΣΑ ΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΟΥ	eosa fine
ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΝ Μ	vitae hujus men-
Ν ΠΑΧΩΝ ΙΕ ΙΝ	sis Pachon seu Maii XV. In-
ΔΙ, Ϊ Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑ	dict. X. Deus tran
ΠΑΥΣΗ ΤΗΝ ΨΥ	quillet ani-
ΧΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝ	mam ejus in
ΟΚΤΙΝΙΑΙΣ ΑΓΙ	habitationibus sancto-
ΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ ☩	rum. Amen. ☩.

III.

ΕΝΘΑ ΚΑΤΑ	Hic ja-
ΚΗΤΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙ	cet bea-
ΟΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΕΤΕ	tus Abraam. Perfec-
ΛΕΟΘΗ ΤΥΒΙ ΪΗ ΙΝ	tus est Tybi seu Jan. XVIII. In-
ΔΕΚ, Ι, Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑ	dict. X. Deus tran-
ΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ Ψ	quilla ani-
ΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ..	mam servi tui
ΕΝ ΚΟΛΠΙΣ ΑΒ...	in sinubus Abra-
ΑΜ Κ, ΙΣΑΚ Κ...	am et Isaac et J
ΑΚΩΒ ΑΜ ...	acob. Amen.
ΕΙΣΚΥΝΗΥ...	.....
.... ΝΜΙ ...	.....

IV.

..ΝΘΑ ΚΑΤΑΚ..	Hic ja-
ΤΕ Ἡ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ	cet beata
ΘΙCΑΥΡΙΑ ΕΤΕΛΕΩ	Thisauria. Perfecta
ΘΗ Μ̄ ΑΘΥΡ Δ ΙΝ	est M. Athyr seu Nov. IV. In-
ΔΙ, Η: ῾Ο ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥ	dict. VIII. Deus tranquil-
CΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ	la animam
ΑΥΤΗC ΕΝ ΚΟΛΛΙ	ejus in sinu
ΠΙC ΑΒΡΑΑΜ Κ,	bus Abraam et
ΪCΑΑΚ Κ, ΪΑ	Isaac et Ja
ΚΩΒ ΓΕΝΙΤΟ	cob. Fiat.
ΑΜΗΝ ✠	Amen. ✠

V.

....Α ΚΑ...	Hic ja-
..ΗΤΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑ	cet bea-
ΡΙΟC CΑΜCΩΝ	tus Samson.
ΕΤΕΛΕΟΘΗ ΠΑ	Perfectus est Pa-
ΕΙΝ ΜΗ ΚΑ ΕΝ	yni mensis seu Jun. XXI. In-
ΤΕΚΔ ΙΔ CΙΟ	dict. XIV [anno xmo?]
Ο ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥ	Deus tranquil-
CΟΝ ΔΟΥ ΤΟΥΛ	la serv
ΟΥ CΟΥ CΑΜCΩ..	i tui Samson
ΕΝ ΚΟΛΠΙΙ..	in sinubus Ab-
ΡΑΑΜ Κ, Ι...	raam et Isaa
Κ Κ, ΙΑΚΩΒ	c et Jacob.
ΑΜΗΝ	Amen.

VI.

·|·· ΙΕΧ ··· Ι ·· ΒΙΟΥ	Fine vitae
ЄΧΡΗCΑΤΟ Ο ΜΑ	usus est bea-
ΚΑΡΙΟC ΜΗΝΑ	tus Mena.
ЄΤЄΛΙΩΘΗ Μ.	Perfectus est M.
ΦΑΜЄΝΩΘ Γ	Phamenoth seu Mart. III

ΙΝΔ ΙΔ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ	Indict. XIV. Domine Jesu Christe
ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ ΤΗΝ	tranquilla a-
ΨΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟ	nimam servi
CΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΩΤΙΝ	tui in splendor
Ω ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΝΑΨΥΧΕΥ	e, in revivificatione
. . . . ΛΠΟΝ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ	. . sinum Abraam.

VII.

✠ ✠ ✠ ·	
ΥΠΕΡ ΜΝΗΜΗC	Pro memoria
Κ, ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΕΩC	et requie
ΤΗC ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑC	beatae
ΝΙΚΕΑ ΕΤΕΛΕ	Niceae. Perfec-
ΩΘΗ ΠΑΫΝΙ	ta est Payni seu Jun.
ΙΘ: ΙΝΔ. Ε	XIX: Indict. V.
ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΗ ·	Tranquillet
Ο ΘC ΕΚ ΚΟΛΠΟ..	Deus in sinu
ΑΒΡΑΑΜ	Abraam.

The Christians of Africa seem invariably to have employed the Julian year, beginning however with September; the pagans of ancient Egypt probably never adopted it. The dates of these monuments affording us only the year of the Indiction, we cannot judge precisely of their antiquity: in the fifth inscription there seems to be something like the number of the Indiction itself, as if it were the tenth year of the fourteenth Indiction: but this inscription is extremely ill engraved, and it is scarcely probable that the antiquity can be so great as this date would make it. At the same time we have little reason to doubt the existence of Christianity in Nubia, from the time of Queen Candace, whose eunuch was baptized by Philip, until that of Sultan Selim, or even still later, notwithstanding the erroneous assertion of Bruce, that there had been no Christians in Nubia for 500 years before the visit of Brevedent and Poncet in 1700. In the tenth century we find a George king of Nubia mentioned in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexan-

dria; in the eleventh, a Solomon, who resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, and became a monk, is noticed in the history of the Arabians. According to Hartmann's Edrisi, Abulfeda in the 14th century, and Bakui in the 15th, speak of the Nubians as being still Christians: and Vansleb, who was at Cairo in 1673, tells us that the churches in Nubia were still entire, but shut up for want of pastors: and this account is rendered perfectly credible by the late observations of Captain Light. The metropolis of Nubia is said to have been formerly Nuabah, which some consider as synonymous with Meroe: but Dungola was certainly a part of it, and appears to have been latterly the residence of its kings, as well as of a patriarch whom D'Herbelot mentions, in the seventeenth century, as still appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria.

There can therefore be no question that the "Christian king John" mentioned in the Thebaic manuscripts, brought by Mr. Legh from the island Elephantine, and now deposited in the British Museum, must have been a king of Nubia, and probably a predecessor of the Mek of Dungola: and there is no reason for supposing that the Greek emperors had ever any authority in Nubia, much less that they could have been acknowledged there when Egypt was under the dominion of the Arabians. Syene was always considered as the limit of Egypt and Nubia; and Kyrshe, to which Mr. Legh's manuscripts relate, is two or three days' journey further south.

VIII.

It is only by the assistance of these epitaphs that we can form any satisfactory conjecture respecting the original state of the Thebaic inscription on a marble slab, which was found in the same neighbourhood, but broken and greatly defaced. It begins with the sign of the cross and the word GOD: near the middle we observe the syllable RAH and afterwards KOB; and upon trial we find that the intermediate traces of characters agree with IN THE BOSOM OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC AND JACOB, IN A PLACE OF GLORY. This singular association of the three patriarchs is derived from

the Thebaic version of St. Luke, ch. xvi., where we have the parable of the rich man, "whose name was Nineve," and the beggar Lazarus, carried by the angels "into the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." The end seems to have been something like this: "The Saviour shall say these words OF COMFORT: COME, thou good AND FAITHFUL servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.... In the ... year of the Martyrs of DIOCLETIAN."

London, 8th June, 1818.

No. VI.

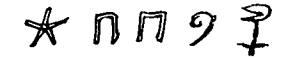
CORRESPONDENCE

UPON

HIEROGLYPHICAL SUBJECTS.

1.—*From* M. JOMARD *to* Dr. YOUNG.*

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 16 Septembre, 1819.

IL y a quelque temps que j'ai donné lecture à l'Académie des Sciences de quelques recherches relatives à l'écriture hiéroglyphique. M. le Chevalier Blagden, qui était présent, m'a dit qu'il était dans l'intention d'en écrire à Sir Joseph Banks. J'ignore s'il l'a fait, mais j'éprouve le besoin de vous informer directement des résultats auxquels je suis parvenu de mon côté. Il ne m'a pas encore été possible de produire le vocabulaire hiéroglyphique, dont je vous ai parlé il y a quatre ans. D'autres recherches me tiennent occupé. Mais j'ai lu un morceau relatif aux signes numériques. Il y a longtemps que j'avois reconnu les caractères  pour les chiffres Egyptiens. Dix années se sont écoulées depuis que j'en ai fait graver les poinçons à l'imprimerie du

* This and the following letter show that Champollion was not the only Frenchman who endeavoured to appropriate Dr. Young's discoveries. In a letter written several years after, to Chevalier San Quintino, Dr. Young says, in reference to this subject: "Vous avez peut-être remarqué que j'avais publié le pour 40, avant même que M. Jomard eût tenté de s'approprier la découverte des nombres que je lui avais communiqués déjà gravés, comme M. Humboldt a remarqué tout de suite à l'Institut et dans une note publiée dans le 'Moniteur.' J'ai été un peu surpris que vous, Monsieur, qui n'êtes pas Français, ayez cru nécessaire de citer M. Jomard en parlant des nombres. Tout le monde doit savoir que ma traduction de l'inscription hiéroglyphique de Rosette fut inséré dans le XVIII tome de 'l'Archæologia,' publié dans 1815, et qu'elle date du 9 Novembre, 1814. Elle renferme les nombres comme les noms propres de Ptolémée, et à-peu-près cent autres caractères bien décidés. M. Champollion l'a reçu, comme M. Jomard et M. de Sacy, mais presque personne n'en a fait mention jusqu'ici. Ce fut mes gravures de 1818 (*supra*, p. 86, *note*) qui ont produit l'essai de M. Jomard communiqué tout de suite à l'Institut, et dénoncé par M. de Humboldt."—*Ed.*

gouvernement. Il a été bien agréable pour moi de voir dans votre nouvel ouvrage, que vos conjectures s'accordoient avec les miennes pour les signes de 10, 100 et 1000. Je n'ai point encore trouvé les signes de 10,000 et de 100,000; mais j'ai lieu de penser que pour exprimer ces nombres, les Egyptiens procédoient à-peu-près comme les Chinois, et qu'ils faisoient précéder le signe de 1000 par celui de la dizaine et celui de la centaine. Je conjecture aussi que les fractions s'exprimoient par des unités inférieures en dimension, et par des cercles plus petits. Enfin, je soupçonne qu'indépendamment de cette notation, semblable à celle des Romains et des Grecs en lettres capitales, les Egyptiens avoient une autre méthode, où les caractères avoient une valeur de position.

Nous sommes d'accord sur la valeur du signe ; mais vous avez pu observer la forme de poids que j'ai trouvée dans les grottes d'Elethyía, et qui est bien différente. Cette forme est celle du Rotle* du Caire.

Toute cette matière présente encore plus d'une difficulté à résoudre. De nouvelles recherches et beaucoup de rapprochemens en fourniront le moyen.

Je manque à présent de loisir pour vous parler du reste de votre vocabulaire, qui a dû vous coûter une peine infinie. Il ne m'a même été possible jusqu'à ce jour qu'à y jeter un coup-d'œil. Ce n'est pas légèrement que l'on peut examiner et juger un travail de cette importance, où vous comparez quatre langues à la fois. Agréez tous mes remercîmens de ce précieux cadeau.

2.—*From* Baron von Humboldt *to* Dr. Young.

Paris, ce 26 Oct., 1819.

Je ne puis vous exprimer tout le plaisir que m'a fait la lecture de votre 'Vocabulaire Hiéroglyphique' et votre savante Dissertation sur la Chronologie, les Arts et les Antiquités de l'Egypte. Que de choses renfermées dans un cadre étroit! M. Blagden vous aura fait savoir comment M. Jomard, par des réticences jésuitiques, a tenté, d'abord à l'Institut et puis

* The one pound weight.—*Ed.*

dans le Moniteur,* de s'arroger votre belle découverte sur les signes numériques. Je vous ai vengé comme je le devais, et à l'Institut (en faisant circuler votre mémoire dans les deux Académies) et dans le Moniteur,† comme vous le prouvent les feuillets ci-joints. Je vous supplie de ne pas faire usage de cette lettre, mais de compter sur le courage et la persévérance avec laquelle je soignerai toujours ici vos intérêts, qui sont ceux de la science.

* M. Jomard vient de faire connaître dans une des dernières séances de l'Académie des Sciences le résultat des recherches *qu'il a faites* sur les caractères numériques des anciens Egyptiens, d'après l'examen et la comparaison de leurs monumens. Ces caractères sont au nombre de cinq, et représentent les nombres 1, 5, 10, 100, et 1000, ce qui fait supposer que ce peuple a ignoré l'ingénieuse méthode empruntée aux Indiens par les Arabes, et dans laquelle les chiffres ont une valeur de position : du moins on n'a aucune preuve qu'il ait fait usage d'un système analogue. La méthode Egyptienne était à peu près la même que celle des Romains et celle des Grecs, en lettres capitales. Comme ces nombres font partie des hiéroglyphes, sculptés avec tant de profusion sur les monumens de Thèbes, il est permis d'espérer que *cette découverte*, si elle est confirmée par les recherches *ultérieures*, pourra conduire un jour à des résultats curieux, et peut-être à l'interprétation d'une partie des tableaux historiques et astronomiques des anciens Egyptiens.—*Moniteur*, 28 *Sept.*, 1819. The words in Italics were underlined by Baron Humboldt.—*Ed.*

† M. de Humboldt, dans une des dernières séances de l'Académie des Sciences, a lu un Mémoire portant pour titre : 'Considérations générales sur les Signes Numériques des Peuples.' Il a comparé, dans ce Mémoire, les hiéroglyphes numériques des Mexicains (qui offrent des caractères pour 20, pour le carré et pour le cube de 20) aux hiéroglyphes Egyptiens des nombres 1, 10, 100, et 1000, que le docteur Thomas Young, célèbre par ses belles découvertes sur la lumière, a fait connaître il y a quelques mois, dans son 'Hieroglyphical Vocabulary.' M. de Humboldt a examiné en même tems la question de savoir si la méthode des exposans placés au-dessus des signes des groupes et l'usage du Suanpan Chinois (Abacus) ont dû conduire à la methode Indienne d'assigner une valeur de position aux signes des unités.—*Moniteur*, 29 *Sept.*, 1819.

Dr. Young's correspondence with Baron von Humboldt, which was of the most intimate and cordial nature, seems to have commenced in the year 1816, and it continued till Dr. Young's death. The following note without date seems to be the first written communication he received from the illustrious traveller.

"J'ose offrir à Monsieur le Dr. Thomas Young, comme une faible marque de mon estime profonde, mes 'Recherches sur les Monumens des Peuples Barbares.' Je serais heureux s'il voulait bien jeter les yeux sur ce qui concerne les zodiaques, les intercalations, les nombres, la tradition des quatre âges, et les recherches que j'ai faites (T. II. p. 368), presque accidentellement, sur le Calendrier Mexicain. J'ai examiné tous les passages sur la balance, et je pense avoir prouvé le premier, contre M. Testa, que ce signe est mentionné dans le Commentaire d'Hipparque sur Aratus. Toutes ces recherches, je le sais, sont familières à M. Young; il y a à peine une branche de l'intelligence humaine qu'il n'ait cultivé avec succès. Partout où vous avez passé, votre passage a été marqué par des découvertes. C'est à cause de cette haute estime que je vous porte, Monsieur, que j'ambitionne de voir connus mes travaux par vous. Ce sont des travaux laborieux; vous verrez s'ils sont aussi inutiles que le disent ceux qui ne voyent dans les hiéroglyphes que des rêves inexplicables, et dans les peintures Mexicaines que des mensonges de moines.

HUMBOLDT."

3.—*From* Sir WILLIAM GELL *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MY DEAR SIR, Rome, May 25, 1821.

WILL you forgive me for intruding upon your time, and pardon my making a request, which I have taken all possible means in my power to avoid making, being fully sensible how valuable your time must be to yourself as well as the public? Whether your book, or pamphlet, or dissertation on Egyptian hieroglyphics be published, or whether it be only presented to your particular friends, I have never been able to discover; but, after repeated trials in London, I could not procure it through my bookseller. You have, as my friend Dodwell informs me, made a present of it to the Library of the Vatican; but whether it be there or not, a public library is always so difficult to get at, and so very useless to the public, that, between hours of dinner, feast-days, and fast-days, I have never yet been able to get at Professor Mai, who is the custode. As I have determined upon going to Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, I shall feel very much obliged if you would have the goodness, when you happen to pass down Bond Street, to call at Rodwell and Martin's, the booksellers, and tell them how they can procure it for me, if it is to be had, as they will know how to send it to me at Naples. If, on the contrary, it cannot be procured for money, and you cannot give me any commission in this country, by which I could any way repay you for it, I will propose sending you a copy of the four sides of the obelisc at the Porta Flaminia here, which is that translated by Hermapion, as given by Ammianus Marcellinus; and which, as far as I can learn, has not yet been fairly studied or even decently copied, either by Zoega, Kircher, or any other author. Here is a person, just arrived from Egypt, called Basseggio, who has brought a large collection for the Museum. I hope some of the travellers will have shown you the figures cut upon a rock near the Nahr el Kelb, in Syria, with hieroglyphics and arrow-headed or Babylonian inscriptions, which I wish may be discovered to be the records of two different conquests of the country by Sesostris and Cambyses. Mr. Baillie has got the

figures, and, I think, Bankes the inscriptions. The hieroglyphics are exactly those found in some of the tombs at Thebes.

4.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir WILLIAM GELL.

MY DEAR GELL, London, 22 May, 1822.

I HAVE questioned Godfrey a good deal about his fellow-traveller Wyse's observations at Nahr el Kelb. Unfortunately he did not take a copy of what Wyse had made out, as he had done in several former instances: but he gave me a note that he made at the time, from which it appears that he then thought the tablets containing the name sufficiently legible, for he remarked that they were the same as were found at Luxor. He apprehended that the doorway was filled with hieroglyphics rather than with the nail character. It would, indeed, be very marvellous, if, by means of the hieroglyphics, one could form any conjecture of the meaning of some of the nail-headed characters; but this is the only ray of hope that I should ever entertain of being able to decipher any part of them. I have just looked at Salt's mummies with the Greek letters; but I would not allow myself to take any correct copies of the inscriptions till their fate is decided: it seems, however, as if the hieroglyphics were legible enough, and for the name Τφουτος, we have my BUTO; which, with the article, does perfectly well for Τφουτω, the φ and β being constantly confounded by the Copts. I have been doing what I could to persuade the Museum to take these things at a fair price, but I do not know if I shall succeed. I am sorry Hamilton is not here to give them a jog. Your certain Simonides is the poet Simonides, who is quoted by Strabo upon the sepulchre of Memnon.

Pray thank the Duc de Blacas for his kind remembrance of me, when you see him; and tell him that, as soon as the second number of the plates of hieroglyphics is ready, I will send him both together. But I am at present resolved to wait for Drovetti's inscription, which I saw at Leghorn, before I publish the details of my translation of the Rosetta stone,

which, in all other respects, is quite ready for the engravers. I am going to make another attack on Drovetti, through Mr. Briggs, who is to go out in a few weeks.

Crichton says that Dodwell is cruelly wanted in Ireland: I would almost as soon be wanted at the bottom of Vesuvius.

I shall take the same care of you that I do of the Duc de Blacas, and send Harrison to Rodwell and to Coutts respectively; but I fear you have time enough to prepare for answering the demand, however enormous its amount may be, in *grani*.

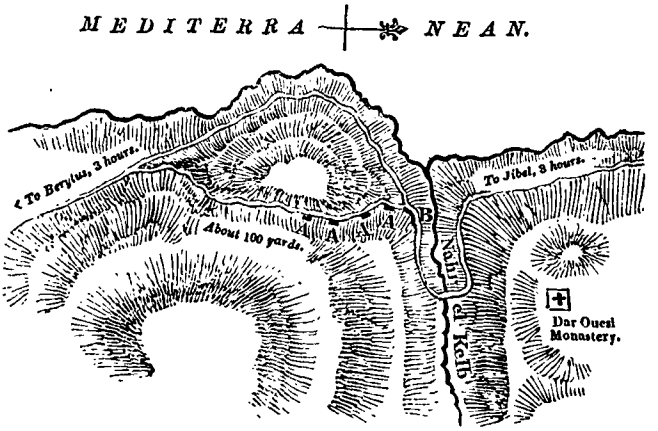
I forget whether I told you that Bankes's obelisc has a valuable phrase, more distinct than on the Rosetta stone—"*who has received the kingdom from his father:*" this serves to alter my hieroglyphic for *father* from to , which I first supposed to be the character, and which answers rather better to the enchorial . But this is all that I have hitherto made out from Bankes's inscriptions, except some of the sequences of the kings, which are invaluable.

5.—*From* Sir William Gell *to* Dr. Young.

My dear Doctor Young, Rome, June 9, 1822.

I am very desirous of establishing, or confuting, the history of the hieroglyphics of the Nahr el Kelb, as they must, I should think, go some way in the proof of the name of Amasis being well bestowed, or the contrary. I have seen Mr. Wyse, who is quite positive of the fact, and has sent me the letter of Mr. Godfrey, his fellow-traveller, confirming it to him as he did to you. I have had a council of Levantines on the subject—Mr. Grey, Mr. Fuller, and Don Tommaso a Cushi, a person who lived at the Monastery of Dar Ouesi for some time, and find that this is the state of the case; and that it is very possible a person might pass frequently by the spot without seeing all the figures. It seems that the ancient road, on which are at least four of these sculptured rocks, A, A, A, A, ran over a steep sort of precipice, and was so exceedingly inconvenient, though the kings who made it thought proper to

write their names there, that a Roman emperor turned the way round the promontory, writing his own deeds at B, in an inscription which is known to all travellers. Now those travellers who have only gone along the Roman improved road,

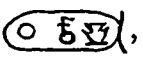


cannot have seen more than one of these curious sculptures, of which it seems there may be six; for the old road of the nail-headed and hieroglyphic kings is not safe for horses, and does not, as they say, present anything to invite a mylord to so rugged a walk: so that unless their horses were led round by the new, while the travellers climbed and descended the old, the sculptures, all except one or two, might easily have escaped notice. Wyse says that the hieroglyphics might certainly have escaped any one except a person who, like himself, was perpetually on the watch for them. You know that these sculptures are mentioned in Dr. Browne's Antiquities of the Jews, as Hebrew works; but the Cushite is a very good Hebrew scholar, and says there is nothing Jewish on the spot.

The Duke of Blacas has at length sent the drawing of the coins. He told me he would send casts, but afterwards said the originals would suffer by the operation, which does not argue well of the material. I believe them Egyptian, and hope the inscription on the reverse of one will turn out to be either Memphis or Kneph, that is Mefi or Kneph. He desired long ago to be made a member of the Egyptian Society—a wish

which I transmitted to you, with the name of his banker, who was to pay for it, if you would be so good as to tell Mr. Harrison, or some such person.

I forgot to mention that Tommaso a Cushi has got several MSS., in which I detect many of the strange characters of the Ebn Washish collection by Hammer. He says they are explained as magical signs to engrave on signets for conjuring purposes, and nothing else.

Dodwell has a tremendous collection of hieroglyphical paintings, sculptures, mummies, and mummy cases, which the travellers say are as good as any they have ever seen in Egypt. He bought them from Basseggio, the bearer of this and the possessor of the two great sarcophagi, one of which has the name of  , the same as the obelisc of Monte Citorio, which Pliny calls Sesostris, and you his son. Nibby, after a great deal of pondering, can see no reason for doubting Pliny; and, at all events, I conclude the sarcophagus may be that of one or the other. He swears that what you call Sesostris is Amenophis; and that the man of Belzoni's tomb, and the Flaminian obelisc, must be the Ramesses of Ammianus and Hermapion, for there can be no doubt of that being the identical obelisc.

If you can at all assist Sig^r. Basseggio in disposing of what he may have to sell in England, in the shape of antiquities, I believe you will be assisting a meritorious person, who has done a great deal towards improving, by importation at his own expense, the knowledge of the curiosities of Egypt.

Pray do not permit me to sigh in vain for any new discovery in reading hieroglyphics. I fear much that brute, Drovetti, who is gone back as French Consul to Egypt, has given orders that no one should even look at his things, and the trilinguar stone will be lost. We have a report of an Englishman at Cairo with a papyrus in the three languages.

6.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir WILLIAM GELL.

MY DEAR GELL, London, 13 Aug., 1822.

BASSEGGIO is come here just at the time when nobody is in town, and there will not be even a meeting of the trustees of the Museum till November, so that I have strongly advised him not to wait, and I have promised to let him know the result of his offer of the sarcophagi: I fear, however, there is very little chance of their being purchased here; the trustees scarcely feel themselves rich or zealous enough to do justice even to Salt: and they will probably think 900*l.* too much to give even for the indubitable tomb of Sesostris, which I shall take all proper care to impress on their minds that *each* of these sarcophagi is: for they are certainly of the same date, and probably of the same workmanship. I do not know how Nibby can distinguish so accurately between Sesostris and his son, or how he would answer my difficulty in reconciling the Amenophis of this monument with that of others. I have, indeed, since found reason to believe that the name of a deceased person was often changed for an emblematical or mystical one, though not always. However confident he may be that the Flaminian obelisc is that which Ammianus describes, I am equally confident that Hermapion's interpretation is not the interpretation of the inscription on that obelisc; and that my Psammis is therefore not the true Ramesses of Hermapion. Besides the tomb which they say is called that of Memnon, in the Latin and Greek scribblings, and which has the name of my Amasis, there is another coincidence that is new to me. Bankes's tablet of Abydos is covered with the name of Amasis, and Pliny tells us that the palace of *Memnon* was at Abydus; but it may have been restored and repaired by Amasis.

With respect to Nahr el Kelb, I am happy to say that Bankes admits the possibility of the name having escaped him, though he may have seen the inscription, so that Wyse's testimony stands unimpeached, although, unluckily, Godfrey could not obtain from Barry, who was with them, any drawing in confirmation of the fact.

Pray thank the Duke of Blacas, if you see him, for the excellent drawings that he has had the goodness to send me of his unique coins: they are as new to our medallists at the Museum as to myself, and one or both of them must, I think, be genuine. My reason is, that the reverse of the second, , agrees very sufficiently with the enchorial name of *Horus*, which you will find in my vocabulary; and this could hardly have been known to any person disposed to counterfeit such a coin: the Apis on the other might more easily have been an invention, if there had been any motive. The ibis is extremely unlike an Egyptian figure: the legs bend the wrong way, and the head is turned backwards, which I do not recollect ever to have seen before; but perhaps the true bill is effaced, and the draughtsman may have misunderstood it. The *Horus*, however, is conclusive, whether it means the deity or the town of Damanhur. I hope you will have received my note by Sir Richard Church, in which I told you my intentions respecting the *Hieroglyphics* of the Egyptian Society. I have little hopes of Drovetti at present. Basseggio insists that it is for Drovetti's *interest* to keep all his collection together; and I tell him that, like other avaricious people, he will be the dupe of his own greediness; that if the Museum ever purchased such a collection, they would only do it upon a valuation; that, in a valuation, each piece would stand entirely detached, except that the purchaser might expect some abatement for standing in the situation of a wholesale dealer; that, even if any foolish German prince were anxious to possess the whole, the probable loss by detaching a single article heterogeneous to the rest might easily admit a pecuniary estimation and compensation; and that if Drovetti would mention any price not altogether exorbitant, I would endeavour to raise a subscription for an engraving of the inscription, which might be sufficient to purchase it for the British Museum. I mentioned that I would cheerfully consent to its being valued at 100 guineas, or a trifle more; and Basseggio replied that he would recollect to secure it for me at that price, if the things should ever be sold separately; but I told him by no means to do that, for I would not give ten to possess it, if the collection were once sold and made

in any way accessible, as my only object was to get at it, and not to make it my own. Tommaso's account of Hammer's characters agrees exactly with what I have always thought of that foolish book, except that I believe very few of the signs were ever used for magic or for anything else; and that they were the inventions of the stupid Arab that wrote it. I wish the rumour of the trilinguar papyrus may be confirmed; but people often make a great noise about a few hieratic and a few enchorial characters accompanying each other, as if they were of great importance. Pray take an opportunity of remembering me to the Hamiltons. I have often wished for his influence to facilitate our proceedings at the Museum and elsewhere. I believe I told you some particulars of the mummies of Adrian's time. I have some thought of being at Paris for a few weeks in October—not certainly for the sake of seeing the zodiac of Denderah,* which they have taken the trouble to bring there, but to escort Mrs. Young's family, who are going perhaps to Florence, and who, if their time allowed, would be too happy to pay a visit to the theatre of San Carlos under *your* escort. I wish Dodwell much success in his hieroglyphical studies. Basseggio tells me he thinks of lithographizing some of his things, with a translation of course.

7.—*From* Sir William Gell *to* Dr. Young.

My dear Doctor, Naples, Sept. 11, 1822.

Your letter gave me much pleasure, as I found by it that you had not given up the pursuit of hieroglyphics, which I am always in dread of, as I think, if you do so, there will be an end to them altogether. I am distressed to hear that you still depend on Drovetti for the publication of the Rosetta stone, as I am persuaded that he is one of the greatest of brutes; and

* Baron von Humboldt, in a letter dated at Paris a few days previously, invited Dr. Young to come and enlighten the savans of France, "qui mesurent," he adds, "couchés de lorg sur cette pierre, avec le compas, des distances polaires et des ascensions droites! M. Biot choisit un certain nombre d'étoiles et en néglige d'autres. Avec quelques concessions le roman d'une carte d'étoiles est assez attachant, mais je crois que de la même manière on pourrait voir l'histoire de Télémaque sur les bas-reliefs de la colonne de la Place Vendôme."—*Ed.*

that, through his means, the second piece of Dictionary of Hieroglyphics will be lost, as it is in a dark corner of a magazine full of lions, sarcophagi, and monsters, which they who buy will take great care of, while our trigrammatic stone is lost in the removal. Craven went to look at it, but, from his account, human figures constituted the greater portion of the hieroglyphics. I was in hopes that, by setting his mother to amuse the people, he would have been able to copy it; but he wanted either genius or zeal, and his account of it to me was most unsatisfactory. What can have made Drovetti such a brute, I cannot think. Did you not say you had a cast of it at Leghorn? Who has got the cast—can it not be got for money? I conclude your new , "father," applies only to the figure holding up the hands. You had *not* published , as "father," in anything I have seen. It would be a kind thing of you to send me the passage, "who received the kingdom from his father," when you have time; as we pay dearly, as far as our wits go, for the pleasures of our climate, and, without your assistance, a new discovery would not arrive here these twenty years. I shall send you the original drawing by my friend Mr. Grey, of Northumberland (who cannot draw), of one of the figures on the rocks of the Nahr el Kelb. I think you cannot reasonably entertain any doubts of the accuracy of Wyse's hieroglyphics at the Nahr el Kelb. I have talked to him on the subject, and he is quite positive. There are six or seven different arches or niches cut in the rock, and those of Baillie, Wyse, and Grey are all different from each other. As to your tomb of Tphoutos, you need be under no alarm as to the propriety of copying it, nor make any difficulty in seizing upon it as the property of the British Museum. It is by no means the property of the Saline Consul of Egypt, but of my friend Mr. Grey, younger brother of Grey of Backworth, in Northumberland, now removed to some other place in that county. He, though he cannot draw, took a sort of sketch of it, for fear of losing it; by which I became acquainted with it, with Buto in the centre, and three cranes. He had heard nothing of it, and was afraid it was lost in the month of June last. He left it

with the Salt, to be sent to the British Museum as a present from himself, Mr. Grey; and if he is not returned to England, you are at liberty to use my name as a witness that his wish was to present the tomb to the Museum: I advise you to pounce upon it accordingly. I shall send you, on the back of the nail-headed inscription, the names of certain kings; among which you will find one or two in enchorial, I think certainly a Ptolemy within the ; and I am not without hopes they will be the first of the kind you have seen. They are found on the Mons Troicus, a place which Strabo says is a rocky height,* and which Wilkinson, who went there, translates, "devilish rough walking." On the top he found quarries, and a sculpture of a team of six oxen drawing a great stone on a sledge, with several tablets or names, the oldest of which he draws in a most slovenly way, , saying that it is like the name of a king, near Mesphus, on the list of Abydos. Strabo says the stones for some of the pyramids were excavated there. The names, Nos. 1, 2, 3, are in different caverns or quarries. No. 3, I have not a doubt, is Ptolemy in enchorial, but it must be read from the bottom of the shield, or right. I wish Wilkinson, who can draw, had given a better copy of the enchorial, as his drawing is even smaller than that I send. He found four other names, probably of the Ptolemies, in the same grottos, often repeated, and

which he takes for a king, but I think it must be a deity. I ought to beg pardon for writing and drawing so ill, but I have the gout in my right hand, which makes it impossible to do better just now. Drovetti has found at Saccara what he calls a "coudée," about one foot six inches long. It is of wood, and covered with hieroglyphics. "The figures," says Wilkinson, "begin , then II, III, and so on, till ten, ." Wilkinson could not persuade them to let him

* Lib. xvii. p. 556. πετρῶδες ἱκανῶς ὄρος.—*Ed.*

copy it. If Sig^r. Sarti has found here two Coptic and hieroglyphic inscriptions, I hope to get at them; and, if they are curious, will send you a copy. He tells Mr. Hamilton he has seen such. The want of a good copy of the Rosetta stone is really serious to us in these remote countries; and I don't, at present, see any help. Pray tell me, from time to time, if you discover any new interpretations not found in your book.

8.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* WILLIAM HAMILTON, Esq., F.R.S., *H. M. Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples.*

MY DEAR SIR, Paris, 29th September, 1822.

* * * I have found here, or rather recovered, Mr. Champollion, junior, who has been living for these ten years on the Inscription of Rosetta, and who has lately been making some steps in Egyptian literature, which really appear to be *gigantic*. It may be said that he found the key in England which has opened the gate for him, and it is often observed that *c'est le premier pas qui coûte;* but if he did borrow an English key, the lock was so dreadfully rusty, that no common arm would have had strength enough to turn it; and, in a path so beset with thorns, and so encumbered with rubbish, not the first step only, but every step, is painfully laborious; especially such as are retrograde; and such steps will sometimes be necessary: but it is better to make a few false steps than to stand quite still. If Mr. Champollion's latest conjectures become confirmed by collateral evidence, which I dare say *you* will not think impossible, he will have the merit of setting the chronology of the later Egyptian monuments entirely at rest. Beginning with the few hieroglyphics to which I had assigned a "phonetic" signification, he found reason to conclude that, in the days of the Greeks and Romans at least, a considerable number of different characters were employed for expressing hieroglyphically the letters composing a foreign proper name; the initial letter only

of the Egyptian name of the object being denoted by the character; so that the names intended become a sort of acrostichs, or rather acrolexics; and the writing, instead of syllabic, as it may have been in older times, became strictly alphabetical, though somewhat vague in its orthography. Besides the names of Ptolemy and Berenice, which he reads as I have done, though with some slight alterations, and with several varieties of form; he makes out, with more or less latitude, those of Alexander, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, Cæsar, Autocrator, Sebastus, Tiberius, Nerva, Trajanus Germanicus, Dacicus, and Antoninus; all these principally at Philae: on the Pamphilian obelisc, which I had condemned as a Roman *forgery*, Domitianus and Vespasianus; and on the Barberinian, Adrian, and Sabina. The names on the zodiac of Denderah, with which the French astronomers still persist in amusing themselves, he reads, if I recollect rightly, Caesar Autocrator. If only one or two of these names should be well authenticated by the authority of a Greek inscription, the thing would be sufficiently established for every useful purpose: and at any rate, Champollion has displayed great ingenuity in the investigation. This morning only, he was showing me a particular form of the s, which I told him I thought was like a syrinx or a hand organ; he acknowledged the resemblance, and then observed that the Coptic word for a flute or pipe is SEBI, which agreed exactly with his system. The name of Cleopatra he gets from Bankes's obelisc of Philae; and he has been so fortunate as to discover a collateral document of the highest importance, which gives him that name in the enchorial character. Casati, an Italian speculator, has lately brought over four or five manuscripts on papyrus, all Greek, except one, which is exactly in the character of the second inscription of Rosetta, and the introductory part of which exhibits a date with the names of the sovereigns and of the chief priests, in a form perfectly intelligible, abundantly corroborating the interpretation of the similar passages of the Rosetta stone. These manuscripts are already secured for the king's cabinet; and they are of so much the more value, as they lessen the impatience that one naturally feels to obtain a copy of the inscription of Menouf,

which Drovetti keeps locked up at Leghorn; not without something like disgrace to himself and to the nation that he represents. I have been told that a cast of it is in Paris, taken when the French were in Egypt; but the inscription is so much effaced, as to render any ordinary cast of no great value. Another observation, in which Champollion has had the advantage of me, is that of a broken obelisc from the collection of the Duc de Choiseul, exhibiting six or seven of the months, followed by numerical characters indicating the days; although he has not yet made out which are the months represented by the respective characters. He has also been so fortunate as to discover a mummy manuscript, in which some of the chapters are distinguished by numbers, inserted in the first line of each: they confirm and complete the series, which I had before collected, from various documents, in the enchorial character.

You will easily believe, that were I ever so much the victim of the bad passions, I should feel nothing but exultation at Mr. Champollion's success: my life seems indeed to be lengthened by the accession of a junior coadjutor in my researches, and of a person too, who is so much more versed in the different dialects of the Egyptian language than myself.* I sincerely wish

* Champollion's knowledge of Coptic has been called in question by Klaproth and others. In his 'Seconde Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes,' p. 25, Klaproth says: "Pour moi, après la lecture la plus attentive des écrits de M. Champollion, je ne puis m'empêcher de croire qu'il n'a jamais eu une connaissance passable de la langue Copte;" and a writer in the 'Edinburgh Review,' (Vol. LVII. p. 472,) as well as Klaproth, charges him with something worse than ignorance in regard to the Coptic. "This mutilated and imperfect fragment of a language, through which some traces and lineaments of an older form of speech are more or less faintly reflected, constitutes the only instrument with which the decypherer of hieroglyphics can now work in his vocation; yet the tone which some persons have thought fit to assume is as confident as if the language of Egypt had descended unaltered from the days of Ramesses; and in fact they would not have acted with greater apparent security if they had possessed a glossary composed under the reign of Sesostris. This indeed constitutes one of the heaviest offences which Champollion has committed against the ordinary rules of literary honesty. With the Coptic as we now have it he was but very imperfectly acquainted; yet in his transcription of Egyptian phrases, which he pretended to have decyphered by means of his phonetic alphabet, he scruples not to set down as Coptic a great number of words which exist neither in the Bible, nor in the legends, nor in the lexicons; and what is even more wonderful, he has favoured us with translations which, if correct, could only have been disclosed to him by means of special inspiration, there being no *human means* by which he could have penetrated the mystery he professes to have revealed." Klaproth may well ask: "Quelle foi la critique peut-elle avoir aux effets de cette sorte de divination?"—*Ed.*

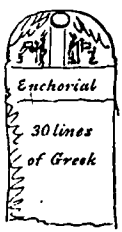
that his merits may be as highly appreciated by his countrymen, and by their government, as they ought: and I do not see how he can fail of being considered as possessing an undeniable claim to an early admission into any literary society, that may have a place vacant for his reception. I have promised him every assistance in his researches that I can procure him in England, and I hope in return to obtain from him an early communication of all his future observations.

Of my own I have little or nothing very new to tell you, except that I satisfied myself the other day of what I had long suspected, that our antiquaries were totally mistaken in supposing the character L, denoting year, to be derived from the λίναβας of Homer, and that it is in fact merely a variety of the hieroglyphical character 𓇋, which is the emblem generally employed in that sense: for I observed on a tablet, which has been let into the base of a statue in the gallery of the Louvre, the first column beginning with the date 𓎛𓎛L, "the twentieth year," of King Ptolemy, while another column has the same date, in the form 𓎛𓎛𓇋, as usual. Pray mention this to the Duc de Blacas, with my best compliments. I shall probably be able to send you, in the course of the winter, another number of the "Hieroglyphics," as I do not mean to wait any longer for Drovetti: it is to include some communications from Champollion, and perhaps a comparison of his explanation of the Rosetta Inscriptions with my own; he seems to have been at least more courageous than I have been, and I sincerely wish that I may be convinced he has not gone a little too fast; but, *Fortuna fortes metuit, ignavos premit:* and I am perfectly prepared to forgive him a great deal. * * *

9.—*From* Sir WILLIAM GELL *to* Dr. YOUNG.

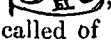
MY DEAR DOCTOR, Naples, Oct. 14, 1822.

I HAVE just received a letter from you; and it seems to me that I have only just written to you about the Leghorn stone, which none of my constituents seem to think can have more than a double style of writing, as, if they have found the true one, it



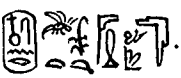
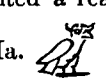
is thus. The column under the winged globe has hieroglyphics, and the two ▭ (tablets) on each side of it has more; but no other exist on the stone they have found, and certainly thirty lines of Greek would be too much for a translation of these. It would be curious if this should not be your stone, which is, in that case, smuggled off to some other place on purpose. I have written to Lord Guildford, to beg him to look at that Museum, and to learn what the Greek says at least. Who has the cast you made? and where is it? Pray let me know whether this is your stone or not. I think there is yet something more on the subject of Memnon, which it is just possible you may not know, and I shall endeavour to explain. My friend and pupil (in Ægyptiaca), Wilkinson, and whom I charged to let me know the truth as to the sitting statues and that fallen down, has excavated sufficiently the great fallen statue, and finds what perhaps was known before,

indeed certainly was published, on the left arm; but on the right, a good deal defaced, our old friend of Abydus and Nahr el Kelb, Amasis, or Memnon, or whomsoever he may turn out to

be. This name, and the  , occur very frequently at the palace called of Memnon at

Abydus. I have not a doubt myself that the fallen statue is that of Memnon, and not either of those now sitting erect at a distance from the Memnonium.

The tomb of the king who first erected the obelisc now at Monte Citorio seems quite an invaluable treasure, as an accompaniment to the obelisc itself, and the Romans ought to have it if possible. As you say, the things once engraved are much better for almost all purposes than the unwieldy originals. The Duc de Blacas has departed from these countries, but I have written to Wilkinson, in consequence of his coins, to desire him not to throw away any he may procure, under the impression that they are Cufic and worth little. I shall seal this with a hierax, and perhaps Æthiopic inscription, which I found somewhere in Greece or Asia Minor, and have had for many years: perhaps, if it arrives unrubbed, you may make something out of it.

On a sandstone, of which Salt is very jealous, is this passage, . Now this can refer to no Anubis, and must be Apis, which, it seems to me, may make some difference in your , and may therefore be interesting. The king's name, in the inscription, is  . I don't remember where, but your Rhea appears in a picture with as her name, but in the same is another goddess, with , which perhaps may be Athor. I mention these things as having struck me after reading your book. In neither the Flaminian nor Lateran obelisc could I find the Egypt of the Rosetta stone, unless the "Land of Ptha" will do for it. You ask about Nibby's pazzia for Amenophis, on the obelisc of Monte Citorio. He has invented a reading from the bottom, and it is this:  A. Ma. Hen . O. P: thus he smells Amenop, or Amenoph, not without some degree of ingenuity. Why is the Rosetta inscription illegible till you come to the , in the 5th line? Is it because it is ill engraved in the *Antiquaries'* plate? And why does it go quite mad after Memphis in line 9? Has anything to do with your

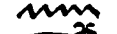
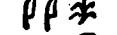
quadrangle of "the everliving?" and where is the crown Pschent? Line 10, as engraved, goes mad at the end; so does line 11 and so does line 12. Can , in lines 10 and 11, mean "held"?—it may perhaps correspond in both. The people, who will not be converted, will not believe your LO, in Ptolemy, for a lion: it does not occur in the dictionary; but ϩⲟⲗⲉ is "rapine," for which the lion does well. You know that at Esneh the ram occurs instead of the lion, proving that you are right in the principle. Do you know that, at Karnak, king has defaced , a prior king, and put his own name in the place, showing that the sun and scarab was the more ancient monarch of the two?

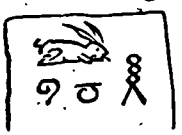
I can write no more, which you will be glad of, for your letter to Hamilton is just arrived, and is so interesting that I have only to add, I am glad you don't wait for Drovetti; and that, as I have as yet seen no one number of the *Hieroglyphics*, pray send mine with Hamilton's altogether, for pity's sake. The Dux Blacasorum has, I believe, only two days ago, retired from the Holy City, having blown up his successor: but I thought he had long been gone, and have therefore not been able to communicate your messages, which you will now perhaps be able to do yourself at Paris. Your condemnation of the Pamfili obelisc was perfectly just, it being a Roman and not proper Egyptian invention. Mr. Champollion's ideas will, I hope, be confirmed. I long to know the of Alexander.

I don't know whether all the names in Egypt would be useful to you: most of them you must have, but I should think, from Wyse and Co., I must have almost all which now exist.

10.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir WILLIAM GELL.

MY DEAR GELL,

I SEND you a duplicate of part of what you have already seen, with some more of the same sort, addressed to Bankes, who, I am sorry to say, is canvassing for Cambridge, while I am engaged to vote for another candidate. I have to thank you for two letters, of 11th September and 14th October, each containing some fragments of value. I must have written very ill for you to mistake it for —a bird for a man. My former father was , No. 127; and No. 62, is N, as Bankes observed. You ask for "who has received the kingdom from his father." Here it is, from the obelisc of Philae, which, you will see, agrees with the full expression twice repeated imperfectly on  the Rosetta stone. I believe I told you that Bankes admitted he might have overlooked the Amasis at  Nahr el Kelb. I hope there are some more Persian characters besides what Mr. Grey has sketched, otherwise we shall not be much the more advanced in the language of Nimrod. I dare say both Mr. Grey and Sir F. Henniker meant to give their coffins to the Museum, when they said that Salt might have them, while Salt may have understood the cession as intended to give him a personal claim to them: he has at least so acted, for he presents Sir F. H.'s father and mother, *in his own name*, to the Museum, and directs that Mr. Grey's child shall be delivered up to Lord Mountnorris! It will therefore be necessary that he should allow his directions to be understood with a certain degree of discretion—cum grano salis. I fear Mrs. Buto appears on all these, so that Phutus is the less obliged to her; but I cannot help it, and I have not examined them accurately. Out of twenty or thirty papyri, which Salt has sent over, extremely well packed, there is only one which interests me: it is in the enchorial character, with a line or two of Greek; but I fear it

will not be legible: the first part is all gone. The square ring  which you send me begins with a sort of proper name of Osiris, most commonly written with , instead of . While I was at Paris, I heard Jomard read a paper on the very cubit of Drovetti which you mention; but he is so jealous that he would not exhibit the original drawing, and only copied as much of it as he chose to think sufficient for his purpose. stands in the place of ; then .

I never supposed Drovetti's stone had a *triple* inscription. It would cost Lord Guildford, Grecian as he is, a month's labour, and two or three pair of eyes and a dozen of tapers, to read a line of the Greek that remains, or rather that is effaced. I had a cast of it made, that is in idea or in promise: but Bartolini never performs any of his promises; and even if he had done his part, Mompurgo would have refused his consent, though he had told me he had no objection.

I do not know what to make of the "Gods Brothers," after your two names on the fallen statue of Memnon. It was probably either erected by his brothers, or dedicated to his brother gods, or some such trash.

Perhaps I ought not to have used the word *tablet* in speaking of a *painted* wall at Abydos. * * *

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

Salt's Apis, of which he is so jealous, occurs on a single fragment of Lord Belmore's, and also on the obelisc of Philae. On the other hand, I think I have seen my Anubis in this form, . Champollion remarks that he has the head of a baboon, and not of a dog, and therefore cannot be Anubis. His Anubis has almost always a wolf's head—perhaps intended for a dog: it is my Cteristes. My Platypterus he thinks he has made out to be Hercules.

I have frequently seen Rhea represented twice on the same monument; but I will not assert that your two goddesses may

not have been different. If you find the picture, pray describe it to me. I would advise Nibby to rest his claim for immortality upon his reading of Amenophis: he will never exceed it if he lives a hundred years. Champollion observes that this name might be read Psamtick, if chronology would allow it. I wish I could answer half your questions about the Rosetta inscription. Champollion has got a much better copy of it, from his own study of the various impressions and engravings, than any other in existence. He says the Pschent is , composed of and , the two hats, upper and lower—the character, so combined, *ought* to occur twice in the line about Memphis, in the middle and at the end, after the ΓΓΓ: in the first place it will bear the sense pretty well. He reads , in general, NT, or NTE; but this can have nothing to do with Pschent, which is ideographically represented, if his interpretation is right, and means either *woven* or *warlike*.

I have sent a plate of the *Hieroglyphics* to be lithographed. Don't be uneasy, I have *not* the gout in my hand.

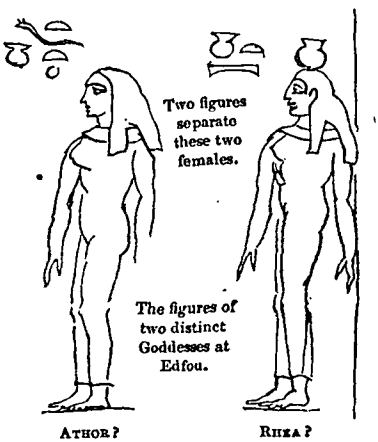
11.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

Rome, Dec. 12, 1822.

Most of your Sesostris occurs thus :—

On an alabaster vase, Basseggio.

The figures at Edfou which you told me to send.



My dear Doctor,

I am very glad you at length condescended to write the name of your paternal hieroglyphic, for even your second was as much like a man as a bird; but I now see the full force of your passage. I find that strange figure , on the Lateran obelisc, accompanied thus with owls, but not transfixed by arms thus.

Perhaps it may have something to do with the same expression. The ex-Barberini obelisc has recently been re-erected on the Pincian hill, and must acquire a great deal of interest from the new discoveries of Champollion, who by the bye, after having taken almost every thing from you, puts you down in his book with De Sacy and Co., though you are the sole inventor and lawful patentee, and De Sacy did nothing but contradict instead of forwarding the discoveries you made.

Instance of Dr. Young's Sesostris without a round it.

No. 1.

On Dr. Clarke's stone from Sais.

On the back of a statue at Florence.

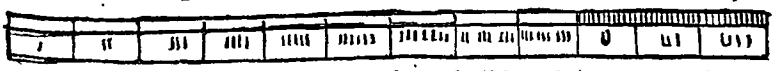
&c.

On this appears also

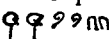
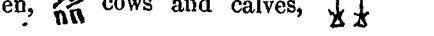
and

Who are these Gods?

Nibby, who is a regular mule in disposition, will not believe a word of Champollion. Your praise, ironical or not, of the said Nibby's Amenophis, chanced to be written with a blotted "would" or "wouldn't;" so that I am yet at a loss to know whether you think it ingenious or not. I believe you scout it. Herewith, No. 1, is the name of your Pharon in an oval, and that of your Sesostris under it. Nibby says Amenoph, the father of Sesostris, was not a king; perhaps, indeed certainly, some author says so. I see, with the help of Champollion, Arsinoe is written ALSANA, and is one of the names I sent you from the Mons Troicus, and precisely in the same manner at Antæopolis. Your Philometor, Cleopatrides, and Ptoleberius still resist dissection. I doubt much if the number 2 on the cubit has instead of two. Wilkinson wrote me that it has, but Salt sent me a drawing, which I here give you, believing that some accident may have united thus ,



and that it would be very unsafe to build a theory upon what we yet know of it. I think one of wood and two in stone have been found in Egypt.

Fearing you may not have Caviglia's numbers, from a tomb near the Pyramids, I add them here. The proprietor had oxen, cows and calves,  goats, asses, and moreover  sheep.

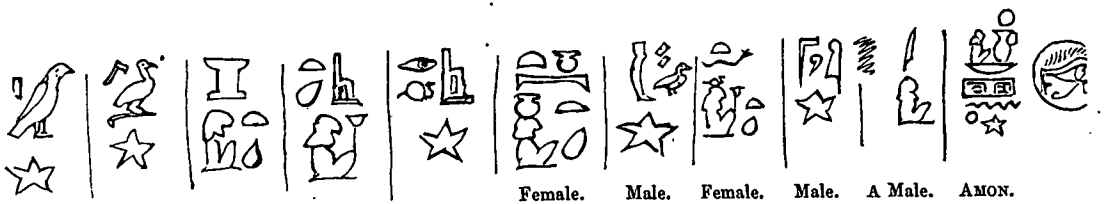
The Salt adds also, that at Medinet Abou the trophies offered to a king are numbered. With all this, you will find nothing added to your stock of knowledge, but an agreeable confirmation, if such could be wanting after your clear statement.

Salt talks of publishing drawings of all the divinities with their hieroglyphic names, but I should think that a useless labour now. He says it will prevent people calling every thing Isis and Osiris. They pretend to have discovered that your Buto is no Buto; but, I think, Athor, from a Greek inscription. I have forgotten where, but I did not think their reason conclusive. I fancy some varieties might be got out of the temple at Esnè, and imagining you may not possibly have seen those which have not been published, I shall send you a procession from Esnè. [See following page.]

I do not send the heads of all the gods to which these names are attached, not knowing whether you have got them all or not. They belong to Cooper's drawings of the astronomical ceiling at Esnè, and being twenty-two in number, it appears to me there remain many to be made out. For instance, which is Papremis, the Egyptian Mars? If the names could be read by Champollion's scheme, their date could not be older than the Ptolemies perhaps; but if they cannot, they may be names written at a period long anterior, or copied from older paintings, as Sir W. Drummond says. I think the name of Antoninus on a column, and the hieroglyphic by Champollion, make it clear that the whole of Esnè was at least repaired and beautified by that emperor. I think I have just found out that your Ptoleberius is Lagus; which, if so, you will have found out long ago. I have just seen Jomard on the cubit, evidently not the cubit of which Salt speaks; indeed two or three have been found, as Wilkinson writes. I cannot help thinking stands, not for II, or 2, but for the times into which the digit is divided. The very great number of Champollion's signs for A and other letters make people sceptical here, as by such an invention anything might be read out of any characters. are signs which have also been used for letters, and

PROCESSION FROM ESNÈ.

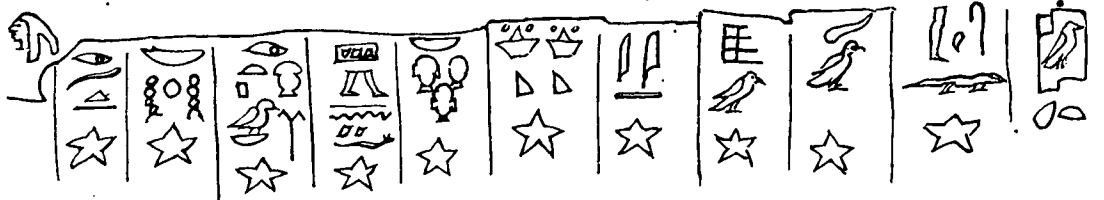
Centre.



Male. Male. Female. NEPTHE. Female. ISIS. Male. OSIRIS. Female. RHEA. Male. Female. ATHOR? Male. A Male. AMON.

RHEA has a vase $\overline{O}$ on her head and ATHOR a globe, and has a lion's face at Esnè.

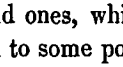
At Edfou, RHEA has her vase, but ATHOR has only



Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. Male. TYPHON. Crocodile's head. Female. BUTO.

ought to be found out. If the hieroglyphics in the zodiac of Esnè are alphabetical, nothing less than a great knowledge of the language can save us. I almost wish they may not be so, but they look very like it. Nibby and I languish for your Rosetta Stone. Among other reasons, the impossibility of studying with satisfaction from a copy which is imperfect, is sufficient to keep us in a state of unhappiness. Godfrey the Hadgi is here; and we have another Hadgi, who does not know much about Egypt, as he says, but has brought a papyrus, which we have just unrolled, and find a mixture of three pieces, or bits of old ones, which were sealed up at the ends, and probably sold to some poor person as an original letter of introduction to the next world. It has only hieroglyphics, and none which can be made out by what is already known. I see Cailliaud is arrived at Paris; consequently he will be before Wilkinson if they discovered anything together.

February 10th.

What think you of  or being , and , or some such word, being in Coptic a cubit?—consequently the figure on the Egyptian cubit only means cubit, and not 2 or any other number:—auctore Nibby, whose pazzias you don't approve.

12.—*To* William John Bankes, Esq.

My dear Sir, Calais, 21st October, 1822.

I cannot more effectually lighten the heavy hours that I am compelled to pass in waiting for the winds and waves, than by employing them in giving you an account of the advantage that has already been derived, to the cause of Egyptian Literature, from the study of the drawings of your great obelisc of Philae, combined most ingeniously, by Mr. Champollion, with the fortunate discovery of a manuscript among the papyri of Casati, which is written exactly in the enchorial character of the stone of Rosetta. The preamble of this manu-

script, which appears to be a deed of sale, or some other legal contract, contains, among the names and titles of the royal family, those of Cleopatra, frequently repeated; and, by setting out from the comparison of this name with the Cleopatra of your obelisc, Mr. Champollion has fully confirmed, and considerably extended the system of "phonetic" hieroglyphics, which I had conjecturally proposed from the examination of those of Ptolemy and Berenice, though certainly the extension is so comprehensive, as to require some further collateral evidence, before it can be considered as fully established: and such evidence no person is more likely to possess than yourself, since, among the multitude of your Greek inscriptions, of the date of the Roman emperors, there must probably be some few, belonging to the same buildings at least, in which a variety of hieroglyphical names are found, which are interpreted by Mr. Champollion as belonging to the different Roman Emperors, with the epithets *Autocrator Caesar*, or sometimes *Autoclatol Cesal:* for the old Egyptians seem to have been as incapable as their schoolfellows the Chinese of distinguishing the R from the L: and hence Mr. Champollion is inclined to believe the Thebaic dialect more ancient than the Memphitic, and to consider ASHILI as a more ancient form than OSHIRI. I know that you have looked in vain for any well marked coincidence of a Greek and a hieroglyphical name of a Roman emperor, although I believe you were persuaded of the very late date of many of the hieroglyphics in question; but it may be much easier to say yes or no to the truth of a single interpretation, than to decide exactly what the interpretation ought to be; and I hope very shortly to be able to show you such of the names of the emperors, as Mr. Champollion thinks he has made out: I observe, indeed, that some of them are such as I have already noted, from your drawings, as probably belonging to Roman Emperors. It will be natural to look in the first place for that of Adrian on the very valuable and interesting little sarcophagus of "*Phutus*," which has been sent by Mr. Grey to the British Museum: in the cursory view which I was able to take of it, however, I saw no name that could have been so con-

strued, though the goddess Buto, or *Bhuto*, appears as forming a part of the name of the deceased. The "Arsinoe" of the Article EGYPT, according to Mr. Champollion, ought to be read *Autocrator*: I had satisfied myself that it was a name not older than the Ptolemies, and I thought I had reason to call it Arsinoe; and this name *was* annexed to the zodiac of Denderah, though the notable speculators, who have been so well rewarded by the laudable liberality of the French government, found it convenient to *saw off* this most important part of the stone, in order to make it portable: so true it is, that a copy, for the purposes of literature, may be incomparably better than an original transported. The same title appears in great pomp, on one of your tablets, as the object of the respect of a train of deities.

Mr. Champollion has had the kindness to favour me with a tracing of the enchorial papyrus of Casati, a document certainly far more valuable than the zodiac of Denderah; and though I am not at liberty to anticipate its *publication*, I shall venture to amuse myself with sending you a *translation* of such parts of it, as I can pick out without too much trouble.

(1.) SCRIPTUM hoc . . anno . . XVI.? Regum Ptolemaei et Cleopatrae suae sororis, filiorum Ptolemaei et Cleopatrae deorum

(2.) deorum . . Beneficorum; et Sacerdote Alexandri et deorum Servatorum, deorum Fratrum . . . deorum Amantium Patris, deorum Beneficorum, dei Eupatoris, et

(3.) deorum Amantium Matris existente; et Athlophoro Berenices Beneficae N. N. et Canephoro Arsinoes Amantis Fratris, et sacerdotissa

(4.) Arsinoes Amantis Patris existente? in Metropoli; et in Ptolemaide? sacerdotibus principibus? Ptolemaei "Soteris" et sacerdote Regis Ptolemaei Amantis Patris

(5.) et sacerdote Ptolemaei Amantis Fratris, et sacerdote Ptolemaei Benefici, et sacerdote Ptolemaei Amantis Matris suae, et sacerdotissa Reginae Cleopatrae, et sacerdotissa

(6.) Cleopatrae filiae regis, et sacerdotissa Cleopatrae Matris . . . insignium, et Canephoro Arsinoes Amantis Fatris existente, in templo

(7.) Principali? DEDIT [vel vendidit] . . α . . Chephis?? patre? . . matre? Chene?? . . sponte? secundum? leges . . in templo

(8.) *Intimo?* . . concessit . . $\beta\,\alpha$ . . argentum . . γ . . sacerdotes Apidis? in fano

(9.) Nebonenchus? . . quotannis?? in? custodiam? fluminis? . Chasne? et liberis ejus . . .

(10.) et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus' . . . Chasu? et liberis ejus hominibus ejus . .

(11.) β et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus . . . annua? annona?? animalibus? et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus, in "*Intimo*" . . β . α . .

(12.) . . γ . . sorores fratresque . . potestatem . . ε (notabiliter?) . . regis . . δ ("2391 . .")

(13.) vestes? . . homines ejus et . . δ . . ejus . . frater? et habitatio . . in argentum . . quotannis? . .

(14.) et . . et . . in . . ε MENSE . . γ

(15.) etiam? sacerdotes Apidis? in fano? "Nebonenchus" . . concessere? ejus hominibus potestatem? . . δ . . vestes

(16.) . . ejus' . . frater?? et habitatio . . . . in argentum quotannis . . . ei ejus infantibus aurum omne descriptum argentum annonam? . .

(17.) . . Scriptum MENSIS Tybi?? xxx . . . ε? . . omne absolvit . .

(18.) sanxit?? et β . . et scripsit β . . fausta? rata? PONTIFICES? deorum Servatorum? et deorum Maternorum? et deorum Beneficorum N. N? deorum Amantium Patris, dei Illustris? Munifici? et deorum Amantium Matris: quod sit ratum?

(20.) Scripsit *Phanres?* sacerdos, pro se . . . Scriba?

The Greek letters are merely intended to denote some similar assemblages of characters which occur more than once, and which may serve to illustrate the different modes of writing the same words.

Signatures, but apparently not Autographs, written transversely.

(1.) Pontifex . . .
(2.) . . . . Jurisconsultus?
(3.) . . . . filius? . . .
(4.) . . . filius? . .
(8.) Ego? "Apollonius." Champ.
(13.) Arbasis . .
(14.) Phanul? . . .
(15.) "Antimachus; Antigenes." Ch.
(17.) Anna? et Inha??
(18.) Alii?

If we had not been previously acquainted with the valuable fragment published by Mr. Böckh, and lately reprinted, with some corrections, obtained from Casati's manuscripts, by Mr. Jomard, it would have been difficult to conjecture that the titles of all the hierarchy would have been inserted in a legal act without their names, the phrase τῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν being thought sufficient to imply a respect for the offices, although the writer might be ignorant of the individuals occupying them: a circumstance, however, not without analogy in modern times. Mr. Böckh's remarks on the apparent omission of the priests and priestesses, who ought to have followed the priest of Ptolemy Soter, are singularly confirmed by this manuscript.

13.—*From* M. Champollion *to* Dr. Young.

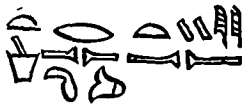
Monsieur, Paris, le 12 Novembre, 1822.

'Je trouve enfin une occasion favorable, et dont je profite avec empressement, pour vous adresser deux exemplaires de ma 'Lettre à M. Dacier,' dans laquelle je donne très-rapidement la théorie et quelques applications de mon 'Alphabet, ou Syllabaire Hiéroglyphique Phonétique.' J'espère que mon gouvernement va me mettre à même, en se chargeant de l'impression de mes divers mémoires sur les écritures Egyptiennes, de développer dans toute leur étendue les principes et les faits sur lesquels il repose. Depuis votre départ je me suis trouvé dans le cas d'en faire de nouvelles applications, et de l'éprouver sur divers dessins de bas-reliefs copiés à Philæ, à Dendéra, et dans les débris du temple d'Isis à Bahbeyt en Basse Egypte. Tout concourt à justifier pleinement les valeurs de son que j'ai attribuées à tous les caractères hiéroglyphiques que renferme la quatrième planche de mon opuscule. J'ai retrouvé sur divers bas-reliefs du temple de Dendéra, que la commission d'Egypte n'a point encore publiés, mais dont j'ai eu enfin communication:—

1°. La légende entière de l'empereur Claude, dont le nom est écrit tantôt

ΤΒΡΣ ΚΛΟΤ ou H ou Σ Io (Tiberius Claudius),

et tantôt



ΤΒΡΣ ΚΡΤΙΗΣ (Tiberius Claudius), suivi du titre de *Cæsar* et du surnom de *Germanicus*.

2°. Le nom de l'empereur Néron, écrit ΝεΛΟΝ, précédé du titre ordinaire Αυτοκρατωρ.

3°. Enfin, un cartouche assez fréquemment répété, portant

ou bien ou bien encore

toujours suivi dans le même cartouche ou cartel par le titre *Phonétique* Αυτοκρατωρ. Si nous devons traduire le premier groupe par *frères* (αδελφοι), ce cartouche pourrait se rapporter à Verus et à Marc-Aurèle, ou même à *Caracalla* et *Géta*. Je désirerais connaître votre opinion sur cette particularité, qui me semble assez curieuse.

Il est inutile de vous dire, Monsieur, avec quel empressement je recevrai toutes les communications que vous voudrez bien m'adresser, soit en corroborant par de nouvelles applications l'Alphabet Phonétique, soit en le rectifiant et l'épurant par d'autres observations. Je n'ai pour but dans tout cela que l'intérêt et l'avancement de la science, que beaucoup de gens qui nous entourent cherchent à gâter de leur mieux. Je mets le plus grand prix à entretenir et à resserrer les rapports que votre trop court séjour à Paris m'a permis d'établir avec vous.

Permettez-moi de vous prier de faire hommage en mon nom du second exemplaire de ma brochure à la Société Royale de Londres. Je vous ferai passer très-prochainement le dessin des deux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques contenant des noms de mois.

14.—*From* Dr. Young *to* M. Champollion.

J'ai aussi à vous offrir, Monsieur, de ma part, mille remercîmens pour l'exemplaire de votre ouvrage que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser.

J'ajouterai peut-être à vos difficultés sur les deux frères en vous avertissant que ce sont deux fils de *Tibère*, selon une inscription que j'ai copiée d'un dessin de M. Bankes—à moins qu'il n'y ait mis une main pour une flûte , et qu'en même tems on n'ait rendu le V par un B dans le nom de *Severus*, père de Caracalla et de Geta. Si l'on ne veut pas admettre l'un et l'autre de ces changemens, il faut croire qu'on y a désigné les fils adoptifs de Tibère, Drusus et Germanicus, avec l'épithète de Impérateurs. Mais il faut encore attendre de nouvelles lumières. Quand est-ce que je pourrai espérer de recevoir votre traduction du papyrus enchorial ; ou du moins vos remarques sur la mienne ? Je vous supplie de m'en envoyer l'enregîtrement le plutôt que vous pourriez, ou du moins de me dire si le nom d'Horus ne s'y trouve pas. Je désire aussi beaucoup avoir des copies des papyrus Grecs pour les comparer avec celui de Böckh, et avec quelques autres qui sont isolément très difficiles à déchiffrer, mais qui présenteront ensemble quelques éclaircissemens mutuels.

15.—*From* M. Letronne *to* Dr. Young.

Conseil Royal de l'Instruction Publique,
Paris, 20 Novembre, 1822.

Monsieur,

Lorsque M. Champollion me fit part de la lettre où vous aviez la bonté d'annoncer, comme un souvenir de vous

qui devait m'être bien précieux, l'envoi des inscriptions de l'Oasis, je me disposais à vous faire un envoi à-peu-près pareil. Il y a deux ans environ que j'ai restitué et traduit les deux principales de ces inscriptions, et j'ai annoncé ce travail, fait sur les seules copies de Cailliaud, dans le 'Journal des Savans' de Mars 1821; depuis, les copies de M. Hyde ont apporté quelques modifications utiles; j'avais entièrement revu ce travail dès le mois de Juillet de l'an dernier, et, sans les lenteurs que M. Jomard met à la publication du voyage de Cailliaud, dont il est parvenu à faire un livre complètement ridicule, il y a long-temps que mon travail aurait paru. Pour éviter d'être prévenu, et de paraître avoir copié le travail d'un autre, si j'attendais trop long-temps, je pris le parti de publier au moins d'abord le texte et la traduction des deux décrets :— j'en ai remis le manuscrit, il y a cinq semaines, au 'Journal des Savans.' Il est imprimé dans le N°. de ce mois, qui va paraître sous peu de jours, et j'attendais la seconde et dernière épreuve, dont j'avais demandé un double, pour vous l'envoyer, lorsqu'avant hier, lundi au soir, M. Champollion m'a remis le paquet que vous avez eu la complaisance de mettre à mon adresse. Agréez-en tous mes remercîmens, et veuillez recevoir en retour l'épreuve de mon travail qui m'est revenu aujourd'hui de l'imprimerie royale. J'ai lu le vôtre avec un bien grand intérêt, et s'il est moins complet que le mien, c'est tout simplement que j'ai employé un temps plus considérable.* Les différences sont nombreuses : elles portent sur les restitutions des parties altérées et sur la lecture et l'interprétation de celles qui sont conservées. Pour moi, je me contenterai de vous dire, Monsieur, que mon intention a été de trouver dans ces inscriptions un sens continu; j'ai donc profité de tous les indices, quelque fugitifs qu'ils fussent, et mes restitutions ont été fondées sur les élémens conservés dans les copies, combinés avec la longueur moyenne des lignes qui résulte du *fac simile* de Cailliaud : et, par ce moyen, je suis parvenu à ne laisser aucune lacune dans les 23 dernières lignes de la grande inscription, et dans les 13 premières lignes de la petite. Ce travail, que j'ai communiqué à nos habiles, Bois-

* See infra, p. 302.

sonade et Hase, a été fort approuvé par eux ; mais j'attends le jugement d'un homme tel que vous, pour prendre plus de confiance.

Nous nous sommes rencontrés, Monsieur, dans l'idée que l'inscription Ποσειδώνιος στρατηγὸς tenait à la suivante Γναῖος Οὐεργίλιος Καπίτων : la première est l'avis du stratège et la lettre du préfet, la seconde est le décret même. Je désire que vous approuviez la restitution de la première, ou que vous veuilliez bien me faire part de vos observations ; car la matière est difficile. Quant à la seconde (Γναῖος . . Καπίτων), comme il y a peu de lacunes, tout tient à la manière de lire et d'entendre ; nous différons souvent l'un de l'autre ; vous jugerez. Dans la grande inscription (laissant de côté les 23 dernières lignes, sur lesquelles notre travail diffère entièrement), nous nous sommes rencontrés sur toutes les parties qui n'offraient rien de conjectural ; excepté en quelques endroits ; par exemple : l. 13, j'ai lu συμφέρειν καὶ ταῖς κυριακαῖς ψήφοις τὸ, ce qui est nécessaire pour donner une syntaxe à la phrase ; et plus bas ἄκοντας, non ἄκοντα ; l. 14, ὡρόσκαιρον en un mot ; l. 21, ὅσις ἐὰν, non ὅσις ἂν ; l. 22, je lis ἵν[α μηδ]εὶς pour ἵν . . . . σις, ce qui est certain ; l. 27, μετὰ τὸ φλάκκον, non μεθ' ὁ Φλάκκον, que je n'entends pas ; l. 33, ἀκόλουθον δέ ἐστι, non ἀκόλουθον δὲ ἔτι ; l. 43, ἐπιτιμίας, non ἀτιμίας, &c.

Pour l'interprétation, nous différons beaucoup sur les points techniques qui se rapportent soit à la jurisprudence, soit à l'administration. J'appellerai votre attention principalement sur la manière dont vous traduisez (l. 3), Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ, qui ne peut être que le *jour éponyme* de Livie ; le génie de la langue Grecque s'oppose à toute autre interprétation ; j'ai expliqué cela dans le 'Journal des Savans' de Mars 1821. J'observe de plus que le 1er Phaophi répond au 28-29 Septembre, non au 29 Octobre ; et que la 9e année de Claude répond à l'an 49, non à l'année 24 de notre ère. Dans les lignes 14, 15, 19, 27, 37, 46, 47, il y a des passages dont la traduction diffère de la mienne, et qui, j'oserais le dire, ne me paraît point exacte. Vous traduisez toujours Θεὸς Σεβαστὸς par *imperial divinity ;* je crois que ces mots signifient *le divin Auguste*, se rapportant à Auguste, comme Θεὸς Καῖσαρ s'entend de Jules

César: j'entends ἴδιος λόγος du *domaine privé* de l'empereur, d'après des textes qu'il serait trop long d'exposer; et par στρατηγοὶ, il faut entendre, non le *military command*, mais le *chef du nome, le nomarque*, comme je le prouve fort au long dans mon commentaire.

Pardonnez-moi, Monsieur, ces observations: j'espère qu'après avoir examiné les épreuves que je vous envoie, vous voudrez bien aussi me rendre la pareille, si vos occupations vous le permettent, et me faire part de vos critiques, qui ne peuvent que m'éclairer beaucoup.

M. Champollion se charge de vous faire parvenir ce paquet par occasion.

16.—*From* M. Champollion *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Paris, 23 Novembre, 1822.

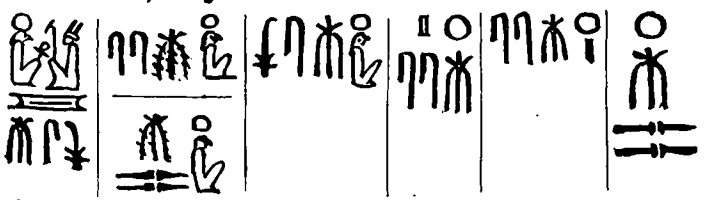
Je ne saurais trop vous remercier des choses obligeantes qui me concernent dans vos lettres à MM. W. Hamilton et Bankes.* J'aime à croire que certains doutes que vous paraissez avoir conçus, sur les transcriptions que je donne des divers noms d'empereurs Romains, se seront affaiblis à la lecture de mon petit travail imprimé, et que ces mêmes doutes disparaîtront entièrement par l'application de mon Alphabet Phonétique aux noms propres copiés sur les monumens Egyptiens du 2e et du 3e style, qui doivent exister dans la riche collection de M. Bankes. Il y a lieu de penser que les inscriptions Grecques qui peuvent se trouver dans les édifices sur lesquels j'ai lu des noms Grecs et Romains, viendront tôt ou tard confirmer mes lectures. Hier même, M. Belzoni croyait pouvoir m'assurer que sur l'édifice de l'est à Philée, où j'ai lu le nom de *Trajan*, se trouvait aussi une inscription Grecque faisant mention de ce même empereur. Il serait intéressant pour moi de savoir jusques à quel point la mémoire du courageux voyageur est fidèle à cet égard. Quant au cartouche du zodiaque de Dendéra

* Both these letters were published by Dr. Young in Brande's Philosophical Journal.—*Ed.*

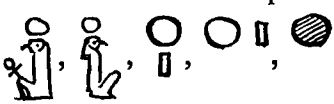
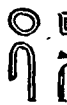
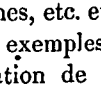
que je lis AOTKPTP, ou bien AΥTKPTP (Αὐτοκράτωρ), et qui se trouve avec plus ou moins de variations dans la forme de ses éléments sur tous les temples du 3e style sans exception, il devient pour moi de plus en plus incontestable que c'est la transcription pure et simple du titre impérial Romain Αὐτοκρατωρ; c'est pour cela qu'il remplit ordinairement avec le titre *César*, le 1er cartouche de toutes les légendes Romaines.

J'ai déjà essayé de reconstruire, à l'aide de vos précieuses notes et de votre syllabaire mnémonique, les divers cartouches de l'inscription d'Abydos, en supprimant les finales *us*, *es*, que, je le présume du moins, vous avez ajoutées dans votre lecture provisoire. Mais il m'a été impossible de me former une opinion fixe sur cet important tableau hiéroglyphique; vu qu'une pareille reconstruction est infiniment hasardeuse, et que certaines syllabes n'ont point de signe correspondant au bas de la page. J'ignore d'ailleurs si ces trois colonnes ou lignes de cartouches sont horizontales ou perpendiculaires, si elles se trouvent ou non en relation les unes avec les autres, etc. J'ignore de plus, et c'est là un point capital, quels sont ceux de ces cartouches que précède immédiatement le groupe , que je persiste toujours à traduire par *Fils du Soleil*, et qui, dans mon opinion du moins, précède le cartouche renfermant le nom propre du *Roi régnant*, et non pas celui de son père; le premier cartouche d'une légende (celui que prend ordinairement le titre) ne renfermant que des titres ou des *surnoms de règne*, et nullement le nom propre du roi. Toutes les légendes hiéroglyphiques des Lagides appuient mon opinion à cet égard. Il résulterait donc de ma manière de considérer les noms propres royaux, si elle était vraie, que l'inscription d'Abydos, quoique montrant 44 cartouches, par exemple, ne ferait toutefois mention que de 22 rois seulement. L'unique point, relatif au monument d'Abydos, sur lequel j'aie une idée arrêtée, c'est seulement que cette série de rois *se termine* à Sesostris, Sethos, Sethosis, ou Sésoosis, que Manéthon nous apprend avoir aussi porté le nom de *Ramessès*.

Je ne puis en effet résister à la conviction qui me force, pour ainsi dire, à reconnaître dans ce cartouche si fréquent, dont voici les variations,



(et que vous avez provisoirement attribué à *Maenuphthès*), tous les éléments du nom de *Ramessès.*

Vous êtes aussi convaincu que moi, Monsieur, que les groupes  sont parfaitement synonymes, et désignent, soit tropiquement, soit cyriologiquement, le Dieu PH (Rê ou Râ), le *Soleil.* La valeur phonétique ⲛⲛⲥ du groupe m'est fournie, 1°. Sur le groupe de l'inscription de Rosette  que je *lis* ϩ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲛ-ⲥ, et qui répond si bien au mot Copte-Thébain ϩⲟⲩⲛⲛⲓⲥⲉ, qui signifie aussi *jour-natal* (τα γενεθλια); 2°. Par l'emploi perpétuel du groupe noté (ⲛⲛⲥ) (Theb. ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲉ), *natus, né,* qui sépare constamment le nom *du fils* de celui *de son père,* sur tous les manuscrits funéraires, les sarcophages, les caisses de momie, les porcelaines, etc. etc., circonstance dont il me serait facile de donner cent exemples. Vous remarquerez, aussi bien que moi, en confirmation de ce que j'avance, que le signe populaire , qui répond aux hiéroglyphes  , dans le groupe ϩⲟⲩ-ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲉ (), lequel ne paraît point entièrement phonétique, signifie également εγγονος, τεκνον, υιος, dans les autres parties de l'inscription populaire.

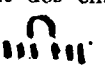
Il ne reste donc plus que le dernier signe de ce nom propre ou , signes dont la valeur comme représentant la consonne Σ est bien fixée; et dont l'emploi indifférent l'un pour l'autre achève ma conviction.

Cet examen nous donne régulièrement la transcription suivante: PHⲘⲤⲤ, que nous nous prononcerons *Ramesès*, *Ramessè* (*s*), ou *Ramsès*, avec les divers auteurs Grecs ou Latins qui ont cité ce nom si fameux en Egypte. Je vous prie d'observer aussi que cette analyse du nom de *Ramessès* corrobore singulièrement ce que vous avez avancé sur le nom hiéroglyphique de *Thouthmosis*, et en assure pour ainsi dire la lecture, puisque ce nom propre est formé du signe tropique du dieu *Thoth* (ⲦⲰⲞⲨⲦ), et du groupe ou ⲘⲤ ce qui donne ⲦⲰⲞⲨⲦⲘⲤ, dont les Grecs auront fait *Thethmos-is* ou *Thuthmos-is*. Je compte au reste présenter incessamment à l'Académie un mémoire sur l'emploi des signes phonétiques dans le système hiéroglyphique, où sera discutée la lecture de ces deux noms et celle de plusieurs autres, tels que *Psammitichus*, *Osorthon*, *Osortasen*, *Osarken*, *Chnumis*, *Cachnumis*, *Petéphré*, etc.; mémoire auquel certains académiciens m'ont paru accorder quelque importance.

Je renferme dans la même enveloppe que ma lettre:

1°. Les calques très-fidèles des deux fragments hiéroglyphiques du feu Comte de Choiseul, contenant les noms de quatre mois Egyptiens, suivis de quantièmes exprimés bien clairement par des signes numériques pareils à ceux de la pierre de Rosette.

2°. La copie des commencements de légendes hiératiques renfermant les chiffres propres à cette espèce d'écriture.

M. Jomard vient de publier la description d'un *étalon métrique trouvé à Memphis* par M. Drovetti. Cette mesure curieuse contient des chiffres hiéroglyphiques se suivant de jusques à  . Il a dû vous adresser un exemplaire de ce petit mémoire, qui vous intéressera à double titre, et comme archéologue et comme géomètre. Il n'est arrivé ici,

depuis votre départ, aucun monument Egyptien remarquable; on attend quelques envoies de Marseille; et j'espère que l'*exhibition* du tombeau de M. Belzoni fera quelque sensation dans notre capitale. Je ne vous parlerai point encore de trois *contrats* en écriture démotique acquis par M. Denon. Ils sont dans un tel état, que les protocoles ont entièrement disparu; j'essayerai toutefois dans une prochaine lettre de vous tenir au courant de ce qu'aura produit une nouvelle exploration que je compte en faire incessamment. Dans l'état j'en attends fort peu de chose.

17.—*From* M. CHAMPOLLION *to* Dr. YOUNG.

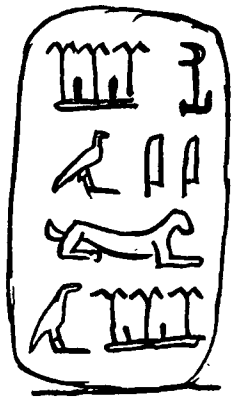
MONSIEUR, Paris, le 16 Décembre, 1822.

C'EST avec regret que je suis obligé de renoncer à vous envoyer un *fac simile* de l'enregistrement Grec du contrat démotique de Casati *calqué sur l'original.* Je n'ai en mon pouvoir que la copie que j'en ai faite à la main, mais avec une très grande attention et sans autre altération que le *renvoi à la ligne* des derniers mots de chacune des cinq lignes qui composent ce texte. Le peu d'étendue du papier a nécessité cet arrangement. Je vous envoie donc cette copie, la seule que j'aie à ma disposition; il me serait impossible d'en faire une seconde; le manuscrit étant entre les mains de M. Rochette, qui se propose et se réserve de le publier. Je vous supplie donc de n'en faire aucun usage *public* jusques à cette époque; je dois vous dire même que l'essai de traduction que vous avez publié, du texte démotique de ce contrat, me causera infailliblement quelque tracasserie avec les conservateurs, quoiqu'ils ne puissent avoir aucune prétention à l'expliquer eux-mêmes. Vous sentez, Monsieur, que la publication anticipée de l'enregistrement Grec serait une affaire bien plus grave.

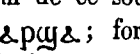
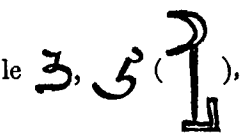
Vous verrez, Monsieur, que, si je ne me suis point trompé dans la transcription en lettres Grecques ordinaires, que j'ai faite *très-rapidement* en copiant le texte original, il y est question d'un *Horus*.

Je désirerais infiniment avoir une copie de l'inscription (sans

doute hiéroglyphique) de M. Bankes, où il est question des deux fils de Tibère, Drusus et Germanicus. Il est incontestable, en effet, que si le nom de l'empereur commence par les signes et , c'est de *Tibère* qu'il s'agit; et vous avez dû remarquer, Monsieur, que je n'avais sur le cartouche renfermant l'idée des *frères empereurs*, aucune opinion fixe quant aux personnages auxquels ce titre devait se rapporter, puisque j'ai trouvé ce cartouche isolé, au milieu de vingt autres dans les dessins de la commission. Je recevrai avec un bien vif empressement la copie de l'inscription de M. Bankes et celle des cartouches que vous avez dû trouver à Londres, et qui peuvent confirmer ou étendre l'Alphabet Phonétique. Il est inutile de vous dire que je ne publierais rien de tout ce que vous auriez la bonté de me communiquer en ce genre. De mon côté vous pouvez disposer de tout ce que je puis avoir.



J'ai découvert il y a peu de jours, sur un vase d'albâtre orné d'une inscription Persépolitaine et d'une colonne d'hiéroglyphes, le nom du roi Xercès écrit phonétiquement, et dont voici la forme.

Je le lis conformément à la *forme Zende* du nom de ce souverain de la Perse,  ; forme que les signes hiéroglyphiques expriment sans aucune altération. Je dois vous dire que dans le *texte Persépolitain* ce nom se retrouve également, composé de 7 caractères, et dont le 2e et le 6e se ressemblent ainsi que le 4e et le 7e, comme dans l'inscription hiéroglyphique. M. St. Martin, de l'Institut, qui travaille depuis long-temps sur les textes cunéiformes, ne doute point de ma lecture, qui confirme parfaitement toutes les données qui lui viennent d'ailleurs. Ce nom de roi nous fournit deux lettres hiéroglyphiques de plus, le  ,

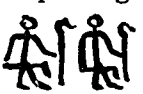
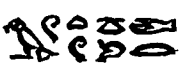
et le ( ), dont les variantes , et même celle , me paraissent, conformément à mon système, avoir un rapport phonétique direct avec les mots Egyptiens ϣϵ, ϣʜ, ϣϣʜN, ϣNʜ, *herbe, plante, arbre,* JARDIN, dont le signe *hiératique* de l'*hiéroglyphe* que j'ai trouvé dans divers manuscrits formé comme il suit , , nous donne bien évidemment l'origine du caractère Copte ϣ. J'ai cru que ces détails pourraient vous intéresser. Ils vous feront pressentir avec quel plaisir je recevrais une copie des cartouches hiéroglyphiques qui doivent se trouver dans l'inscription Persépolitaine et hiéroglyphique, dessinée par M. Bankes près d'El-Arisch. Je vous le demande instamment, si toutefois cela est en votre pouvoir.

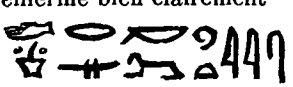
18.—*From* M. CHAMPOLLION *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 9 Janvier, 1823.

JE me hâte de vous adresser sous cette enveloppe et par une occasion sûre, le calque du papyrus de Casati, texte Egyptien et enregistrement Grec; plus une lettre de M. Raoul-Rochette; le tout vous parviendra, je l'espère de moins, avec célérité. Le calque a été exécuté par un artiste fort habile; il a tracé ce qu'il a cru voir, et il est impossible en effet qu'une personne qui n'a aucune habitude réelle de ces caractères cursifs fasse mieux qu'il ne l'a fait. Je vous invite donc, lorsque vous trouverez des différences essentielles entre ce calque et ma copie, à vous en rapporter à cette dernière, sans toutefois la citer en aucune manière. Je tiens toujours à ce que vous ne connaissiez ce manuscrit que par le calque seul qu'on vous envoie: ce qui n'empêche point du tout de le

rectifier par les copies que vous tenez de moi. Je ne vous peindrai pas le désir que j'ai de voir au plus vîte, une copie du texte Grec de ce contrat. Vous devez concevoir avec quel plaisir je recevrais cette communication de vous, étant bien entendu que je n'en ferais aucun usage avant vous, Monsieur, qui avez été assez heureux pour retrouver cette précieuse traduction.

Recevez mes remercîments pour les copies de cartouches que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer. En rapprochant les trois qui viennent de Dendera il est évident que le groupe est synonyme de ou  , et ne signifie point ⲉⲛⲏⲩ, *frères*, comme je l'avais cru, puisque ce titre se trouve dans le 1er cartouche de l'empereur *Néron*, où il n'aurait aucun sens, et que d'un autre côté, le groupe , qui précède le titre  Αὐτοκρατωρ, dépend d'un cartouche qui se rapporte à *Claude*, et non pas à *Tibère*, comme j'espère que vous le reconnaîtrez en considérant que Tibère n'a jamais porté le nom de *Claudius* sur les médailles Grecques ni Latines, tandis que le cartouche renferme bien clairement

 ΤιΒεΡιοΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙοΣ.

Le cartouche que vous me communiquez comme ayant été copié à Médinet-Abou est de l'empereur *Adrien*, celui de Karnac est de *Tibère*, enfin celui de l'hilée, et que je connaissais déjà comme venant de Karnac, confirme avec beaucoup d'autres la valeur de mon ( ), car c'est le nom du roi *Sésonchis* (ϣϣⲛⲕ), le chef de la XXIIe dynastie, père d'*Osorchon*, dont j'ai également retrouvé le nom sur les monuments construits à son époque. J'ai de plus découvert dans un manuscrit hiéroglyphique le nom du roi *Osorchon*, fils du roi *Schéschonk*, fils du seigneur *Osorchon*. Ce dernier, qui est le grand-père, ne porte point le titre de roi, car il n'a point

régné en effet, son fils ayant établi une dynastie nouvelle, celle des *Bubastites*.

J'ai reconnu outre cela le nom *de trente* autres Pharaons, ou rois de race Egyptienne, et je dois vous dire que la table d'Abydos confirme pleinement cette reconnaissance ; les noms des rois qu'elle contient sont beaucoup plus anciens qu'*Amasis*, et mon travail ne s'accorde avec le vôtre que sur un seul nom Pharäonique, celui de *Memnon*. J'ai eu, par les dessins de M. Huyot, membre de l'Institut, des copies exactes et en grand de presque tous les noms propres royaux sculptés sur les monumens de l'Egypte ; c'est sur ces inappréciables dessins que j'ai fait ma classification et mes lectures *Idéographiconétiques*.

Mon travail sur ces noms de rois anciens a déjà été communiqué et paraîtra incessamment ; mais je désirerais pouvoir faire usage et m'appuyer de la tablette d'Abydos, quoiqu'au fond je puisse m'en passer ; je ne voudrais point le faire sans la permission de M. W. Bankes. Je me résouds donc à la lui demander directement. Vous remarquerez que ma lettre est conçue de manière à lui persuader que cette table m'est inconnue, parce que j'ignore s'il entrait dans vos intentions qu'il sût que vous me l'avez communiquée. Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de lui remettre vous-même ma lettre, ou de la lui faire tenir, si par hasard votre divergence parlementaire s'opposait à cette démarche que je sollicite de votre complaisance.* Dans tous les cas il me serait infiniment précieux d'avoir une copie exacte de cette table, ne fut-ce que pour mes études particulières, bien résolu de n'en faire aucun usage public si cela est nécessaire.

Ma trouvaille du nom de *Xercés* a fructifié entre les mains de M. St. Martin : il en a tiré d'abord la lecture du nom de ce roi en écriture cunéiforme, et par suite la lecture de plusieurs inscriptions en ce caractère. Si M. Bankes publiait bientôt ou sa collection ou quelques parties, surtout celle des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et Persépolitaines, je vous prie de m'en faire adresser un des premiers exemplaires.

* This letter received no answer from Mr. Bankes, for the reason mentioned by Dr. Young in a letter to Sir William Gell, p. 371.—*Ed.*

19.—*From* M. Letronne *to* Dr. Young.

Conseil Royal de l'Instruction Publique,
Paris, 3 Mars, 1823.

J'aurais répondu plutôt, Monsieur, à votre obligeante lettre du 2 Janvier, si je n'avais voulu attendre, pour vous envoyer en même temps un exemplaire d'un ouvrage qui vous intéressera par son objet. Vous me pardonnerez, je l'espère, d'avoir pris la liberté de placer votre nom en tête;* je l'ai fait pour moi, non pour vous, me souvenant de la maxime pindarique: ἀρχομένους ἔργου χρὴ θάμεν πρόσωπον τηλαυγές. Puissiez-vous y voir un bien léger témoignage de la haute admiration que j'ai depuis long-temps pour vos lumières, et pour votre zèle dans la recherche de la vérité.

Ce serait pour moi une grande satisfaction, si la méthode de critique que j'ai appliquée à l'explication de monumens à la fois publiés et inconnus pouvait mériter l'approbation d'un juge tel que vous; et si les efforts que j'ai faits pour les rattacher à l'histoire vous paraissaient avoir été couronnés de quelque succès. Vous verrez du moins, dans mon travail, que je rends justice à tous, sans distinction de peuple à peuple. Il est temps que les préventions nationales disparaissent de la république des lettres, et que les services rendus soient appréciés avec équité par les savans, quelle que soit la nation à laquelle ils appartiennent. La liberté que j'ai mise en parlant de certain charlatan de notre pays, monopoleur de l'Egypte,† ne plaît pas à tout le monde; mais c'est là ce dont je m'inquiète peu.

Il est inutile de vous dire, Monsieur, le prix que j'attacherais à vos observations critiques sur mon ouvrage. J'en ferais mon profit lors d'une seconde édition.

* See note, p. 379.

† Champollion's excessive jealousy on this subject is also ridiculed by Klaproth: "M. Champollion n'aime pas qu'on parle de l'Egypte sans sa permission, et il n'aime pas surtout qu'on mentionne ceux qui s'en sont occupés avant lui: c'est-là un crime irrémissible. On devrait, pour la sûreté de M. Champollion, défendre de rappeler le nom et les découvertes de M. Young, et jamais ne s'astreindre, en parlant de travaux hiéroglyphiques, à suivre l'ordre des temps en plaçant, comme je l'ai fait, le nom de M. Young avant le sien." 'Seconde Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes,' p. 6.—*Ed.*

Je joins à cet envoi quelques exemplaires de ma traduction des inscriptions de l'Oasis, pour vous, et pour MM. Hamilton, Leake, Payne Knight, Barker (chez M. Valpy), Gaisford, Dobree, et Elmsley. Plusieurs de ces messieurs ne demeurent point à Londres, mais peut-être aurez-vous la bonté de profiter de quelque occasion de leur faire passer la petite brochure que je les prie d'accepter.

Vous verrez, Monsieur, par cette brochure, que j'ai cru devoir persister dans la manière différente dont j'avais lu quelques passages; par exemple, l. 11, je préfère encore ὀλίγως à ὀλίγων, quoique cette dernière leçon puisse être fort bonne: quant à κατακλεῖσθαι pour κατακλείεσθαι (17), καὶ ἔχεσθαι pour κατάχεσθαι (22), ce sont des fautes d'impression; les deux copies s'accordent sur ce point, et ma propre copie était correcte. L. 15, il faut lire, comme vous, ἃς καὶ, δι' αὐτὸ; les deux copies s'accordent encore là-dessus; c'était une pure omission de ma part. L. 8, ἀνηκόντων, leçon de M. Hyde, est peut-être la vraie; toutefois ἡκόντων, de la copie de Cailliaud, peut rester, car on lit dans Eschine le Socratique ἔτι δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ εἰς πλοῦτον ἥκοντα (11, 2). L. 57, vous aimez mieux εἰδότας que κελεύω, peut-être avez-vous raison; dans ce cas, il faudrait changer la syntaxe de la phrase et lire θαῤῥεῖν δὲ βούλομαι . . . . τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰδότας ὅτι . . . L. 23, votre correction, Β μέρη, me paraît excellente, et je l'ai adoptée. L. 55, à la fin, vous voulez toujours lire ἀπητήθη ἐξ ἀρχαίου: mais la copie de Cailliaud portant distinctement ΑΠΗΤΗ-ΘΗΣΑΝΚΑΠΟΙ, la restitution que j'ai proposée, ἀπητήθησαν καὶ τοῦτον ἀποτ]ίσουσι [ν εἰ]ς τὸ δημόσιον, me paraît incontestable. L. 60, j'avais aussi imaginé ἐννοείσθωσαν, mais j'ai préféré συνδείσθωσαν. L. 60, τολμήσει me paraît la vraie leçon, d'après la copie de Cailliaud.

20.—*From* BARON VON HUMBOLDT *to* DR. YOUNG.

Paris, ce 18 Mars, 1823.

MON RESPECTABLE ET ILLUSTRE AMI,

RIEN ne pouvait me procurer une plus douce jouissance que d'avoir une si aimable lettre de vous presque au moment

de mon arrivée à Paris. Vous aurez appris, sans doute, qu'appellé par mon souverain à Verone, je l'ai accompagné pendant cinq mois en Italie et en Allemagne. J'ai passé, après quinze années d'absence, quelque temps dans la maison de mon frère à Berlin, qui est toujours plein d'intérêt et d'admiration de vos travaux, et qui s'occupe de l'étude du Sanscrit, ce qui n'est guère séditieux pour un ministre en retraite. J'ai eu beaucoup de satisfaction à recevoir ici M. Waddington, dont je connoissais déjà tout le mérite littéraire, et qui m'a paru animé et spirituel. Il m'a annoncé le grand ouvrage que vous allez publier, et s'il s'en faut de beaucoup que je me croie, comme vous le voulez absolument, "le premier des voyageurs," je suis du moins celui qui a senti le plus vivement tout ce qu'il y a de grand et d'heureux dans les recherches d'antiquités auxquelles vous vous livrez. C'est vous qui avez mis les autres sur la voie, et vous devez jouir plus que personne des progrès rapides que fait l'interprétation de ces mystérieuses écritures. Je vous en conjure de m'envoyer un des premiers exemplaires de votre nouvel ouvrage. Je pense que vous aurez été content du travail de mon ami, M. Létronne. Il est inconcevable que toutes ces inscriptions Grecques rapportées par MM. Hamilton, Bankes, etc., n'avaient pas été vues par les membres de la Commission d'Egypte. M. Wollaston nous a appris comment on peut se rendre sourd pour de certains sons: il paraît que ces Messieurs de la Commission avaient le talent de se rendre aveugles pour de certaines écritures; pour le Grec par exemple. Daignez agréer l'hommage de mon nouvel ouvrage de Géologie, auquel je travaille depuis quinze ans, et que j'ai enfin le courage de lâcher. Vous verrez par la préface, et les dernières pages qui renferment la *notation*, que j'ai considéré les phénomènes dans leur plus grande généralité. Veuillez bien, mon illustre ami, faire passer les quatre autres exemplaires à Sir Humphry Davy, la Société Géologique de Londres, le Rev. M. Buckland à Oxford, et, s'il serait possible, le Professeur Jameson à Edinburgh. Je sens combien ma prière est indiscrète, mais que ne fait un auteur qui veut qu'on le lise? J'ai été bien contrarié de n'avoir pas sçu le séjour de votre aimable famille à Florence. J'aurais trouvé moyen de quitter mon roi et de leur offrir mes

hommages. Vous savez combien je tiens à tout ce qui vous appartient et vous est cher.

21.—*From* M. CHAMPOLLION *to* DR. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 23 Mars, 1823.

JE viens de lire, dans le N°. LV. du 'Quarterly Review,' l'analyse de ma 'Lettre à M. Dacier,' sur mon alphabet des hiéroglyphes Phonétiques. Elle a produit sur moi le même effet que sur toutes les personnes qui l'ont lue, et qui se sont hautement recriées contre l'ignorance ou la mauvaise foi de l'auteur de cet article. Les faits relatifs à mon alphabet sont trop connus, trop publics; et les époques des tentatives faites à ce sujet par divers savants sont trop bien fixées, pour que l'on ne doive pas justement condamner les assertions irréfléchies de l'auteur de l'article, qui essaye de donner à d'autres ce qui m'appartient si évidemment. Personne n'a compris ici, et M. de Sacy moins que tout autre, comment on a pu lui attribuer la découverte des rapports existants entre l'écriture démotique et celle que j'ai fait reconnaître pour l'*hiératique* avec les hiéroglyphes, dont il ne s'est jamais occupé dans ses travaux publiés.* Personne ne connaît ceux de M. Akerblad sur le texte hiéroglyphique de Rosette, ni les noms qu'on prétend avoir été lus à l'aide de son alphabet, soit dans d'autres inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, soit dans d'autres manuscrits sur papyrus.† On ne comprend point non plus bien d'autres asser-

* See *supra*, p. 74, *note*.

† Nothing can exceed the effrontery of Champollion in thus complaining to Dr. Young, the author of the discoveries ignorantly attributed by the reviewer to De Sacy and Akerblad, as if he himself were the person aggrieved. If he had any ground of complaint at all, it was that the critic underrated his labours in the improvement of the hieroglyphic alphabet and the application of it to the monuments of Egypt. A writer, however, in a more recent number of the same periodical, (Vol. LXXVIII. p. 155,) who, as will be seen, betrays, if possible, a still more profound ignorance of the subject, has made ample amends to Champollion by charging with partiality an author who had expressed a similar opinion regarding Champollion's pretensions to discovery in phonetic hieroglyphics, and by quoting with approbation a most unjust estimate of Dr. Young's labours as contrasted with those of Champollion, from Chevalier Bunsen of all others: an author whose partiality to the latter betrays itself in every line of his historical sketch of hieroglyphical discovery. The critic has devised an allegory in illustration of what was respectively accomplished by Young and Champollion, the utter inapplicability of which is the more remarkable from the talent otherwise displayed in the article; it begins as follows: "A man having laboriously travelled along a difficult road in search of a definite object, and having in his way put aside many obstacles which might impede those who follow him, is overtaken, at a place where the road divides, by a lightly equipped traveller,

tions absurdes qui sont dans le même article : enfin l'on ne confond point mon alphabet avec ce que vous avez publié à ce sujet. Quant à l'inutilité prétendue de mon découverte à l'égard de son application au système général des hiéroglyphes, l'Académie sait déjà à quoi s'en tenir là-dessus, et très-prochainement le public lettré sera aussi convaincu que mon alphabet est la véritable clef de tout ce système.

Je trouve dans le même journal l'annonce d'un volume que vous devez publier, et dont le titre promet d'indiquer l'auteur premier d'un alphabet que je n'aurais fait qu'étendre. Je ne consentirai jamais à reconnaître d'autre alphabet original que le mien quand il s'agira d'*alphabet* hiéroglyphique proprement dit; et l'opinion unanime des savants à cet égard sera de plus en plus confirmée par l'examen public de toute autre prétention. Je vais donc répondre à l'auteur anonyme de l'article précité. Des savants, qui s'intéressent également à vos travaux et aux miens, m'avaient déjà prévenu sur la prochaine apparition d'un ouvrage rédigé dans le sens de ces prétentions, et je n'y ai cru qu'en le voyant annoncer.

Vous savez, Monsieur, combien j'attache de prix à mes relations avec vous, tant sous le rapport des convenances per-

who recals him from the wrong road which he had begun to follow, and points out by his natural shrewdness that the other way is most likely to lead to his journey's end." Any one acquainted with the facts would at first suppose that the sturdy pioneer here introduced was intended to typify Dr. Young, but it is evident from the context that he is meant to represent Champollion. Now Dr. Young's Egyptian discoveries were made known to the world in the years 1814–1819, whereas Champollion's, which were entirely based upon them, did not begin till 1822. Up to that time Champollion was in a state of utter bewilderment, and did not advance a single step in the right direction except when he kept in the track opened up by Akerblad and Young, and instead of removing obstacles he endeavoured, in his *Mémoire de l'Ecriture Hiératique*, published in 1821, to raise up a most formidable obstruction which had been removed by Dr. Young long before. (*Supra*, p. 157, *note*.) The reviewer, after asserting that he has correctly stated the case, winds up thus: "In this, as in other instances, we prefer the *bonâ fide* workman to the bystander who suggests occasional improvements." Now we have already pointed out (*supra*, p. 183, *note*) the work performed by Young, while Champollion, if not a mere bystander, was working to little or no purpose, his efforts being altogether misdirected and abortive when he attempted more than simple imitation; and we have also demonstrated (*ibid.* and *infra*, p. 362, *note*) that the latter did not become a *bonâ fide* workman until he had obtained possession of Young's tools, or rather, to speak the plain truth, stolen them. It is but fair however to mention that in previous numbers of the 'Quarterly Review,' articles had appeared containing more just and accurate notions on this subject, which the reviewer last referred to completely stultifies by adopting Chevalier Bunsen's opinions with implicit faith. It is to be regretted that Dr. Young's answers to this as well as several other letters of Champollion have not been preserved.—*Ed.*

sonnelles que dans l'intérêt de la science. Je ne crois pas que vous acceptiez les propos de l'auteur anonyme ; et mon estime pour votre caractère est trop profonde pour que j'aye hésité un seul instant à vous faire part de mes sentimens à ce sujet. J'attendrai avec impatience que vous veuillez bien me faire part de votre opinion sur tout cela ; j'ai besoin de la connaître pour donner à la réponse que je vais publier l'esprit convenable aux intérêts de la vérité, aux vôtres, Monsieur, et aux miens.

No. VII.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES

IN

HIEROGLYPHICAL LITERATURE

AND

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

INCLUDING

THE AUTHOR'S ORIGINAL ALPHABET,

AS EXTENDED BY MR. CHAMPOLLION,

WITH

A TRANSLATION OF FIVE UNPUBLISHED GREEK AND EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

VOLVENDA DIES EN ATTULIT ULTRO!

PREFACE.

A COMPLETE confirmation of the principal results, which I had some years since deduced, from an examination of the hieroglyphical monuments of ancient Egypt, having been very unexpectedly derived from the ulterior researches of Mr. Champollion, and from the singular good fortune of Mr. George Grey, I cannot resist the natural inclination, to make a public claim to whatever credit may be my due, for the labour that I have bestowed, on an attempt to unveil the mystery, in which Egyptian literature has been involved for nearly twenty centuries.

If, indeed, I have not hitherto wholly withheld from the public the results of my inquiries, it has not been from the love of authorship only, nor from an impatience of being the sole possessor of a secret treasure; but because I was desirous of securing, at least, for my country, what is justly considered as a desirable acquisition to every country, the reputation of having enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge, and of having contributed to extend the dominion of the mind of man over time, and space, and neglect, and obscurity. *Corona in* SACRIS CERTAMINIBUS *non victori datur, sed* PATRIA *ab eo coronari pronuntiatur.* And whatever vanity or enthusiasm there might be in this sentiment, it was at least sincere and unaffected.

In the mean time my Egyptian investigations had been as laborious as they had been persevering: and like many other pursuits, in which I have been engaged, they had been so little

enlivened by any fortunate coincidences, or unexpected facilities, that having occasion to adopt a motto for the signatures of some anonymous communications, I had chosen the words FORTUNAM EX ALIIS, as appropriate to my own history.* But the new lights, which Mr. Champollion has obtained, and the marvellous accident of the existence of a Greek manuscript, in perfect preservation, which I found, when Mr. Grey had obligingly left it for my examination, to be the translation of a unique hieroglyphic papyrus, lately purchased by the King of France; these circumstances have so far changed the complexion of my literary adventures, that if I remained any longer in masquerade, I should certainly be compelled to adopt the character of POLYCRATES or of ALADDIN.

It would indeed have been a little hard, that the only single step, which leads at once to an extensive result, should have been made by a Foreigner, upon the very ground which I had undergone the drudgery of quietly raising, while he advanced rapidly and firmly, without denying his obligations to his predecessor, but very naturally, under all circumstances, without exaggerating them, or indeed very fully enumerating them. I should not have repined, even if no counterpart to his good fortune had occurred for my own advantage and assistance; but the exhilaration of a success, so unexpected, has brought me more immediately and more openly before the public, than it was previously my intention to appear, in relation to a pursuit so remote from the nature of many other duties which I am bound to fulfil.

It may naturally be expected that I should make some apology, for what is generally considered as a violation of professional decorum; for presuming to appear again before the public, without absolute necessity, in any other capacity than that of a practical physician. I have indeed myself observed,

* Dr. Young's numerous contributions to the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica had for signature two letters from the above motto, constantly varied.—*Ed.*

on a former occasion, that the public is inclined to think, and not without something like reason, that the abilities of different individuals are pretty nearly equal; and that if any one has distinguished himself in a particular department of study, he must have bestowed so much the less time and attention on other departments: that, of course, if he excelled in more than one line, out of his profession, the natural inference would be so much the stronger: and that whether this may be fair or not, it is at least fair, that direct evidence should be produced or imagined of a devotion to medical pursuits, before medical confidence can reasonably be expected.

My explanation then is, that I consider myself as having already produced to the public *more than sufficient* "evidence" of my claim to this "medical confidence;" and that, having now acquired the right to celebrate a YEAR OF JUBILEE, I think myself fully justified in endeavouring, without further regard to the strict etiquette of my profession, to obtain, while I have yet a few years more to live and to learn, whatever respect may be thought due to the discoveries, which have constituted the amusement of a few of my leisure hours.

In addition to this apology, perhaps already too long, I will venture to state, as a matter of anecdote, the train of occurrences that has accidentally led me to engage in these pursuits. To begin therefore with the beginning, or rather before the beginning, as the subject of a preface may very naturally do: I had been induced by motives both of private friendship, and of professional obligation, to offer, to the editors of a periodical publication, an article, which I thought would be of some advantage to their collection, containing an abstract of Adelung's Mithridates, a work then lately received from the continent.*

* The article referred to appeared in vol. x. of the 'Quarterly Review,' and was afterwards incorporated in the article LANGUAGES, reprinted, in a subsequent part of this volume, (No. X.) from the Supplement to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'—*Ed.*

In reading this elaborate compilation, my curiosity was excited by a note of the editor, Professor Vater, in which he asserted that the unknown language of the Stone of Rosetta, and of the bandages often found with the mummies, was capable of being analysed into an alphabet consisting of little more than thirty letters;* but having merely retained this general impression, I thought no more of these inscriptions, until they were recalled to my attention, by the examination of some fragments of a papyrus, which had been brought home from Egypt by my friend Sir William Rouse Boughton, then lately returned from his travels in the East. With this accidental occurrence my Egyptian researches began: their progress and termination will be the subject of the present volume.

T. Y.

Welbeck Street,
1 March, 1823.

* In a letter to Chevalier San Quintino, Dr. Young says that Vater's assertion is perfectly false, the knowledge of at least two hundred characters being necessary in order to read the enchorial inscriptions, and that he had only referred to his opinion because it had encouraged him to enter upon the investigation.—*Ed.*

DISCOVERIES

IN

HIEROGLYPHICAL LITERATURE.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE PREVALENT OPINIONS RESPECTING HIEROGLYPHICS.

THE Greeks and Romans, either from national pride or from a want of philological talent, were extremely deficient in their knowledge of all such languages as they called barbarous, and they frequently made up for their ignorance by the positiveness of their assertions, with regard to facts which were created by their own imagination. It was very currently believed, on their authority, not only that Egypt was the parent of all arts and sciences, but that the hieroglyphical inscriptions, on its public monuments, contained a summary of the most important mys-

* This memoir appeared as a separate publication in 1823. Its main object was, doubtless, to vindicate the author's claim to the original discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, although the immediate cause of its appearance was the singular discovery that one of several Greek manuscripts on papyrus which he had received from Mr. Grey, and of which the volume contained translations, was the antigraph of an Egyptian original then lying on his table. The book was dedicated by Dr. Young to Alexander Baron von Humboldt "as a mark of the highest respect for the extent of his knowledge and the accuracy of his researches, as well as for his ardent zeal in the promotion of science, and for his candour and vigilance in the distribution of literary justice."

In 'Egypt's Place in Universal History,' p. 322, Chevalier Bunsen states that "on the publication of Champollion's alphabet in 1822, Young made a vain attempt to appropriate this discovery to himself." This is a misrepresentation; Dr. Young did not lay claim to "Champollion's alphabet," but he asserted his claim to the original discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, and pointed out a considerable number of characters in Champollion's alphabet, of which he had assigned the true value in the year 1818, four years before the appearance of the 'Lettre à M. Dacier.' Champollion, in the course of the controversy which ensued, admitted Dr. Young's claim to five letters, while he refused to allow him several other characters because the latter had supposed them to be sometimes syllabic, and others again because, as he falsely asserted, Dr. Young regarded them as merely ideographic: "Les prétentions de M. le Docteur Young doivent donc se réduire à ce qui lui appartient réellement, à avoir indiqué la véritable valeur phonétique de cinq caractères." (*Précis*, p. 36.) But

teries of nature, and of the most sublime inventions of man; but that the interpretation of these characters had been so studiously concealed by the priests from the knowledge of the vulgar, and had indeed been so imperfectly understood by themselves, that it was wholly lost and forgotten in the days of the later Roman emperors. The story, however, of a reward, supposed to have been offered in vain by one of the first of the Cæsars, for an interpretation of the inscription on an obelisc, then late y brought from Egypt to Rome, appears to rest on no authentic foundation.

Among the works of more modern authors, who had employed themselves in the study of the hieroglyphics, it is difficult to say whether those were the more discouraging, which, like the productions of Father Kircher and the Chevalier Palin, professed to contain explanations of everything, or which, like the ponderous volume of Zoëga on the Obelisks, confessed, after collecting all that was really on record, that the sum and substance of the whole amounted absolutely to nothing.

Father Kircher's six folios contain some tolerably faithful, though inelegant, representations of the principal monuments of Egyptian art, which had before his days been brought to Europe; and, according to his interpretation, which succeeded

although that number is much under the mark, it is perfectly sufficient to justify Dr. Young's claim to the discovery, which he made, as has been amply demonstrated above (pp. 157 *note*, 183 *note*), long before Champollion had any notion of the existence of a hieroglyphic alphabet. The tone with which Chevalier Bunsen pronounces judgment on this question is sufficiently authoritative, but his imperfect knowledge of the subject, as well as his undisguised partiality, must deprive his opinions of that weight to which they would have been otherwise entitled. In addition to what has been said above in support of Dr. Young's claim, we subjoin one or two other testimonies. "The first idea," says Salt, whom Champollion, on another occasion, commends for his candour towards himself, "of certain hieroglyphics being intended to represent sounds, was suggested by Dr. Young, who from the names of Ptolemy and Berenice had pointed out nine which have since proved to be correct. Working upon this basis, Monsieur Champollion with happy success made out four or five others, as also about thirty synonymes, and by the ingenious application of these, he has been able to turn to effect the discovery, and to decipher therewith a great number of the names of the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors, together with their titles, which fortunately gives us the means of determining the dates of most of the temples built within the period of their rule. M. Champollion seems to be unwilling to allow this, but the fact is evident; and surely he has accomplished too much to stand in need of assuming to himself the merit of another." (Essay, p. 1.) In the preface to the 'Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes' (*supra*, p. 158, *note*) occurs the following passage in reference to Dr. Young: "Disputer à ce savant la priorité de cette découverte serait aussi absurde que de vouloir soutenir que celui qui le premier mêla du salpêtre avec du souffre et du charbon n'a pas été l'inventeur du poudre, mais bien celui qui s'est servi pour la première fois de ce mélange comme moteur pour les projectiles."—*Ed.*

equally well, whether he happened to begin at the beginning or at the end of each of the lines, they all contain some mysterious doctrines of religion or of metaphysics. With equal sagacity, but with much less appearance of laborious research, the Chevalier Palin, beginning, in one instance at least, by way of variety, in the middle, has more recently discovered that Hebrew translations of many of the Egyptian consecrated rolls of papyrus are to be found, in the Bible, under the name of the Psalms of David. Whatever may be thought of the judgment of these antiquaries, their opinions are not particularly discreditable to their talents and ingenuity; for having once allowed themselves to set out with the mistaken notion, that it was possible to determine the sense of the hieroglyphics by internal evidence and by the force of reasoning only, the imperfections of their superstructures were the unavoidable consequences of the unsubstantial nature of the foundations on which they were raised.

There was indeed a traditional record of the true sense of one single character, denoting LIFE, which had been handed down by the ecclesiastical writers, and had been generally received as correct by scholars and antiquaries: although I cannot help suspecting that Sir Archibald Edmonstone's memory deceives him when he remarks, that the same symbol is often substituted, in Christian inscriptions, for the simpler sign of the cross, with which they more commonly begin. We also find some imperfect hints of a partial knowledge of the sense of the hieroglyphics in the puerile work of Horapollo, which is much more like a collection of conceits and enigmas than an explanation of a real system of serious literature; and while such scattered truths were confounded with a multitude of false assertions, it was impossible to profit by any of them, without some clue to assist us in the selection. For my own part, if I had ever read of the true signification of the handled cross, it had entirely escaped my recollection.

The French expedition to Egypt was most liberally provided, by the government of the day, with a select body of antiquaries, and architects, and surveyors, and naturalists, and draughtsmen, whose business it was to investigate all that was interest-

ing to science or to literature in that singular country. Their labours have been made public, with all the advantages of chalcographical and typographical elegance, in the splendid collection, entitled 'Description de l'Egypte.' But it is scarcely too much to say, that the only real benefit conferred on Egyptian literature by that expedition, was the discovery of a huge broken block of black stone, in digging for the foundations of Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, which the British army had afterwards the honour of bringing to this country, as a proud trophy of their gallantry and success. It is not to a want of ability, nor of industry, nor of accuracy, nor of fidelity in the Egyptian Commission, that so total a failure is to be attributed; but partly to the real difficulty of the subject, and still more to the pre-conceived opinion, which was very generally entertained by their men of letters, of the exorbitant antiquity of the Egyptian works of art, which caused them to neglect the lights that might have been derived from a comparison of Greek and Roman inscriptions with the hieroglyphics in their neighbourhood, and to suppose that whatever bore the date of less than thirty or forty centuries must necessarily be an interpolation unconnected with the original architecture and decorations of the edifice to which it belonged; and when a strong prejudice has once been imbibed, we all know that the senses themselves are perpetually blunted and perverted by it, even without the consent of the reasoning powers. Mr. William Hamilton had, however, very successfully brought forward a variety of evidence in favour of the utility of the various inscriptions of the Greeks and Romans, for ascertaining the date of many of the buildings to which they belong; and the question, thus agitated between the French and the English travellers, had already assumed somewhat of a national character.

A cursory inspection of the Greek inscription, contained in the pillar of Rosetta, was sufficient to establish, as incontrovertible, the opinion which had been very ably maintained by our acute and learned countryman Bishop Warburton, that the hieroglyphics, or sacred characters, were not so denominated as being exclusively appropriated to sacred subjects, but that they constituted a real written language, applicable to the purposes

of history and common life, as well as to those of religion and mythology: since this inscription speaks of the three divisions of the pillar as containing different versions of the same decree, in the sacred and the vulgar character, and in the Greek language respectively: and, that there was no fraud in this description, was at once made evident by the just observation of Akerblad, who pointed out, at the end of the hieroglyphical inscription, the three first numerals, indicated by I, II, and III, respectively, where the Greek has "the first and the second..."; the end being broken off. It was also evident that the hieroglyphical language continued to be understood and employed in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes; but here the matter rested for several years, no single representation of an existing object having been so identified, on this or any other monument among the hieroglyphics, as to have its signification determined, even by a probable conjecture.

In the mean time, the enterprising and enlightened Baron Alexander von Humboldt was contributing to illustrate the nature of hieroglyphical languages, by his account of the Mexican drawings contained in his Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the American Nations. The symbols, however, of the Americans appear to have had little or nothing in common with those of the Egyptians. The written language of the Chinese, on the contrary, exhibits, in some cases, a much closer analogy with that of ancient Egypt; and Mr. Barrow, by his clear and concise explanation of the peculiar nature of the Chinese characters, has contributed very materially to assist us in tracing the gradual progress of the Egyptian symbols through their various forms; although the resemblance is certainly far less complete than has been supposed by Mr. Palin, who tells us that we have only to translate the Psalms of David into Chinese, and to write them in the ancient character of that language, in order to reproduce the Egyptian papyri that are found with the mummies.

CHAPTER II.

INVESTIGATIONS FOUNDED ON THE PILLAR OF ROSETTA.

THE pillar of Rosetta was now safely and quietly deposited in the British Museum; the Society of Antiquaries had engraved, and very generally circulated, a correct copy of its three inscriptions; and several of the best scholars of the age, in particular Porson and Heyne, had employed themselves in completing and illustrating the Greek text, which constituted the third part of the inscription: and it so happened that, although no person acquainted with both these critics could hesitate to give the general preference, for acuteness of observation, and felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment, to the English professor, yet in this instance the superior industry and vigilance of the German had given him decidedly the advantage, with respect to two or three passages, in which their translations happen to differ.

But Greek was already sufficiently understood, both in London and at Göttingen, to make this part of the investigation comparatively insignificant. Mr. Akerblad, a diplomatic gentleman, then at Paris, but afterwards the Swedish resident at Rome, had begun to decipher the middle division of the inscription; after De Sacy had given up the pursuit as hopeless, notwithstanding that he had made out very satisfactorily the names of Ptolemy and Alexander.* But both he and Mr. Akerblad proceeded upon the erroneous, or, at least imperfect, evidence of the Greek authors, who have pretended to explain the different modes of writing among the ancient Egyptians, and who have asserted very distinctly that they employed, on many occasions, an alphabetical system, composed of twenty-five letters only. The characters of the second part of the inscription being called in the Greek ENCHORIA GRAMMATA,

* He made out the groups corresponding to these names, but failed in his attempt to ascertain the value of the individual characters.—*Ed.*

or letters of the country, it was natural to look among these for the alphabet in question: and Mr. Akerblad, having principally deduced his conclusions from the preamble of the decree, which consists in great measure of foreign proper names, persisted, to the time of his death, in believing, that this part of the inscription was throughout alphabetical. I have called these characters enchoric, or rather *enchorial*:* Mr. Champollion has chosen to distinguish them by the term *demotic*, or popular: perhaps from having been in the habit of employing it before he was acquainted with the denomination which I have appropriated to them: in my opinion, the priority of my publication ought to have induced him to adopt my term, and to suppress his own, rather than to add another useless synonym, for what the ancients, when speaking with accuracy, would probably have described as the "epistolographic" form of writing employed by the Egyptians: for we have no means of determining the precise nature of the characters called *popular* by Herodotus.

Mr. Akerblad was far from having completed his examination of the whole enchorial inscription, apparently from the want of some collateral encouragement or co-operation, to induce him to continue so laborious an inquiry; and he had made little or no effort to understand the first inscription of the pillar, which is professedly engraved in the sacred character, except the detached observation, respecting the numerals at the end: he was even disposed to acquiesce in the correctness of Mr. Palin's interpretation, which proceeds on the supposition, that parts of the first lines of the hieroglyphics are still remaining on the stone.

It was natural to expect, that, after the possibility of a partial success, in this part of the undertaking, had been almost demonstrated by what Mr. Akerblad had cursorily observed, the critics and chronologists of all civilized countries would have united, heart and hand, in a common effort to obtain a legitimate solution of all the doubts and difficulties, in

* They are so called also on the stele of Turin. Lepsius, in his letter to Rosellini, says that he considers the term *demotic* adopted by Champollion from Herodotus as too general, and Kosegarten prefers the denomination of *enchorial*, because there is better authority for it.—*Ed.*

which the early antiquities of Egypt had long remained involved. But, excepting Mr. Champollion and myself, they have all chosen to amuse themselves with their own speculations and conjectures: the mathematicians of France have continued to calculate, and the metaphysicians of England have continued to argue, upon elements which it was impossible either to prove or disprove; while the fortuitous coincidences of some accidental results, with the collateral testimony of history or of astronomy, have been forced into the service of the delusion; as evidences of the truth of the hypotheses from which they had been deduced. Nor are these amusements even at this moment discontinued, by some persons, who have shown themselves capable of doing better things.

It was early in the year 1814, that I had been examining the fragments of papyrus brought from Egypt by Mr. Boughton; and that, after looking over Mr. Akerblad's pamphlet in a hasty manner, I communicated a few anonymous remarks on them to the Society of Antiquaries.* In the summer of that year, I took the triple inscription with me to Worthing, and there proceeded to examine first the enchorial inscription, and afterwards the sacred characters. By an attentive and methodical comparison of the different parts with each other, I had sufficiently deciphered the whole, in the course of a few months, to be able to send, as an appendix to the paper printed in the Archæologia, a translation of each of the Egyptian inscriptions considered separately, distinguishing the contents of the different lines, with as much precision as my materials would enable me to obtain.† It is evident that this division of the translation supposes, in general, a distinction of the significations of the single words; and that any person, with a little attention, might retrace my steps, with regard to the sense that I attributed to each part of the two inscriptions. I was obliged to leave many important passages still subject to some doubt, and I hoped to acquire additional information before I attempted to determine their signification with accuracy; but, having made the first great step, I concluded that many others might be added with facility and with rapidity. In this con-

* Supra, p. 1. † Supra, p. 3.

clusion, however, I was somewhat mistaken; and when we reflect that, in the case of the Chinese, the only hieroglyphical language now extant, it is considered as a task requiring the whole labour of a learned life, to become acquainted with the greater part of the words, even among those who are in the habit of employing the same language for the ordinary purposes of life, and who have the assistance of accurate and voluminous grammars and dictionaries: we shall then be at no loss to understand that a hieroglyphical language, to be acquired by means of the precarious aid of a few monuments, which have accidentally escaped the ravages of time and of barbarism, must exhibit a combination of difficulties almost insurmountable to human industry.

I had thought it necessary, in the pursuit of the inquiry, to make myself in some measure familiar with the remains of the old Egyptian language, as they are preserved in the Coptic and Thebaic versions of the Scriptures; and I had hoped, with the assistance of this knowledge, to be able to find an alphabet, which would enable me to read the enchorial inscription at least into a kindred dialect. But, in the progress of the investigation, I had gradually been compelled to abandon this expectation, and to admit the conviction, that no such alphabet would ever be discovered, because it had never been in existence.

I was led to this conclusion, not only by the untractable nature of the inscription itself, which might have depended on my own want of information or address, but still more decidedly by the manifest occurrence of a multitude of characters, which were obviously imperfect imitations of the more intelligible pictures, that were observable among the distinct hieroglyphics of the first inscription: such as a Priest, a Statue, and a Mattock or Plough, which were evidently, in their primitive state, delineations of the objects intended to be denoted by them, and which were as evidently introduced among the enchorial characters. But whether or no any other significant words were expressed in the same inscription by means of the alphabet employed in it for foreign names, I could not very satisfactorily determine.

A cursory examination of the few well identified characters

amounting to about 90 or 100, which the hieroglyphical inscription, in its mutilated state, had enabled me to ascertain, was however sufficient to prove, first, that many simple objects were represented, as might naturally be supposed, by their actual delineations; secondly, that many other objects, represented graphically, were used in a figurative sense only, while a great number of the symbols, in frequent use, could be considered as the pictures of no existing objects whatever; thirdly, that, in order to express a plurality of objects, a dual was denoted by a repetition of the character, but that three characters of the same kind following each other, implied an indefinite plurality, which was likewise more compendiously represented by means of three lines or bars attached to a single character; fourthly, that definite numbers were expressed by dashes for units, and arches, either round or square, for tens; fifthly, that all hieroglyphical inscriptions were read from front to rear, as the objects naturally follow each other; sixthly, that proper names were included by the oval ring, or border, or *cartouche*,* of the sacred characters, and often between two fragments of a similar border in the running hand; and, seventhly, that the name of Ptolemy alone existed on this pillar, having only been completely identified by the assistance of the analysis of the enchorial inscription. And, as far as I have ever heard or read, *not one* of these particulars had ever been established and placed on record, by *any other* person, dead or alive.

* Champollion, Arago, Bunsen, and others assert that Dr. Young was anticipated in this discovery. Most stress seems to be laid on a passage in Zoëga *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum* (p. 475), where he says that these oval rings were employed "*sive* ad propria personarum nomina exprimenda, *sive* ad sacratiores formulas designandas;" but it is perfectly evident from his language, that he was merely guessing, as Barthélemy and De Guignes had done before him; indeed, in another passage (p. 374) he seems to discard the conjecture. Speaking of certain mummies, he says, "habent in pectore hieroglyphicas notas ordine horizontale exaratas et ovato schemate inclusas, quas nomen cujusque exprimere diceres *nisi* in quinque ex illis mumiis eadem inscriptio repetita deprehenditur, in reliquis quatuor altera itidem repetita." Lepsius, however, who, as well as Chevalier Bunsen, belongs to the school of Champollion, admits that Dr. Young was the first who *declared* the cartouches to contain proper names. ('Lettre à Rosellini,' p. 11.) Moreover, Chevalier Bunsen doubly errs when he says (Egypt's Place, p. 321) that Zoëga discovered before Young that the rings in question inclosed "the names of kings," and unconsciously wrongs Champollion, whom he is so anxious on all other occasions to uphold. Both Zoëga and Young, as may be seen above, speak only of "proper names." The discovery was long afterwards made by Champollion that the cartouches were confined to the names of royal personages. (*Infra*, p. 444.)—*Ed.*

CHAPTER III.

ADDITIONAL INFERENCES, DEDUCED FROM THE EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPTS, AND FROM OTHER MONUMENTS.

My full conviction respecting the nature and origin of the enchorial character I expressed at the end of a collection of letters, inserted in the Museum Criticum, and published in 1815. It was not, however, till the next year, that I obtained the most complete evidence of the truth of my opinion: having been obligingly accommodated, by Mr. William Hamilton, with the use of his copy of the great *Description de l'Egypte*, as far as it was then published, I proceeded to study its contents: and I discovered, at length, that several of the manuscripts on papyrus, which had been carefully published in that work, exhibited very frequently the same text in different forms, deviating more or less from the perfect resemblance of the objects intended to be delineated, till they became, in many cases, mere lines and curves, and dashes and flourishes; but still answering, character for character, to the hieroglyphical or hieratic writing of the same chapters, found in other manuscripts, and of which the identity was sufficiently indicated, besides this coincidence, by the similarity of the larger tablets, or pictural representations, at the head of each chapter or column, which are almost universally found on the margins of manuscripts of a mythological nature. And the enchorial inscription of the pillar of Rosetta resembled very accurately, in its general appearance, the most unpicturesque of these manuscripts. It did not, however, by any means agree, character for character, with the "sacred letters" of the first inscription, though in many instances, by means of some intermediate steps derived from the manuscripts on papyrus, the characters could be traced into each other with sufficient accuracy, to supersede every idea of any essential diversity in the principles of representation employed. The want of a more perfect correspondence could only be explained, by considering the sacred characters as the remains of a more ancient and solemn mode of expression, which had been superseded, in

common life, by other words and phrases; and, in several cases, it seemed probable, that the forms of the characters had been so far degraded and confused, that the addition of a greater number of distinguishing epithets had become necessary, in order that the sense might be rendered intelligible.

A particular account of this comparison of the different modes of writing, and a detailed reference to the passages of the respective manuscripts from which they were derived, is contained in two letters, printed in 1816, as a part of the seventh number of the Museum Criticum,* and of which several copies were immediately sent to Paris, and to other parts of the Continent, although the actual publication of the number was retarded till 1821.

The principal contents of these letters were, however, incorporated with other matter into a more extensive article, which I contributed in 1819 to the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica. I had made drawings of the plates, which were engraved with great fidelity by Mr. Turrell, about a year before; and having been favoured by the proprietors with a few separate copies, I had sent them to some of my friends, in the summer of 1818, with a cover, on which was printed the title Hieroglyphical Vocabulary: these plates, however, were precisely the same that were afterwards contained in the fourth volume of the Supplement, as belonging to the article Egypt.

The characters explained, with confidence, in this vocabulary, amounted to above 200; the number which had been immediately obtained from the pillar of Rosetta having been somewhat more than doubled by means of a careful examination of other monuments, on which the terms God, and King, and other epithets, already ascertained, were so applied as to furnish either certain or probable conclusions respecting the principal deities of the Egyptians, and respecting several of the latest and the most celebrated of their sovereigns. The higher numerals were readily obtained, by a comparison of some inscriptions, in which they stood combined with units and with tens. The hieratic manuscripts assisted also in this identification, by facilitating the determination of the hieroglyphic corresponding to

* See pp. 74-85.

a given enchorial character. The names of Phthah and of Apis were still left on the pillar: to these I was now enabled to add, with tolerable certainty, those of Ammon, or Jupiter, Phre, or the Sun, Rhea, or Urania, Ioh, or the Moon, Thoth, or Hermes, Osiris, Arueris, or Apollo, Isis, Nephthe, Buto, Horus, and Mneuis; besides a multitude of others, to whom I found it convenient to appropriate fictitious or temporary appellations, for the greater convenience of reference. Thus I have called Cerexochus, a figure whose real name was, perhaps, Amonrasonther, and my Hyperion and Platypterus are supposed by Mr. Champollion to belong to Horus and to Hercules. Of the kings, I have ascertained, as far as the testimony of the Greek and Latin historians and inscriptions would enable me, the names of Mesphres, Memnon, Sesostris, Nechao, Psammis, and Amasis; and having obtained the distinction of Ptolemy Soter from the pillar, I afterwards determined, by its assistance, the name of his queen Berenice.* The termination indicating the female sex was another important result of this comparison of various monuments.

I must acknowledge that my respect for the good sense and accomplishments of my Egyptian allies by no means became more profound as our acquaintance became more intimate: on the contrary, all that Juvenal, in a moment, as might have been supposed, of discontent, had held up to ridicule of their superstitions and their depravity, became, as it were, displayed before my eyes, as the details of their mythology became more intelligible. That Plato professed to have learned much during a

* In contrasting Dr. Young's with Champollion's discoveries Chevalier Bunsen says, that "Young had begun with guessing, and ended by identifying two important rings out of twenty." Now it seems to us that the author of 'Egypt's Place' lowers his friend more than Dr. Young by calling the system of the latter mere guess work. As we have shown above (pp. 183, 362), Dr. Young's faulty method produced numerous and important results, whereas that of Champollion, which his zealous advocate again and again extols, yielded none whatever, until Dr. Young identified the "two important rings" which Chevalier Bunsen regards as so insignificant a matter; for the analysis of the rings of Ptolemy and Berenice, in the article *Egypt*, furnished Champollion, as Chevalier Bunsen is fully aware (Egypt's Place, p. 325), with the key to the whole system of phonetic hieroglyphics. The latter undoubtedly decyphered a much greater number of rings than Dr. Young, but he never made out a single phonetic character—and indeed it was scarcely possible that he ever could, for he persisted in the belief that none existed—until the results of Dr. Young's "guessing" were communicated to the world. Chevalier Bunsen's sneer, therefore, just amounts to this,—that Dr. Young, after various unsuccessful attempts, *only discovered the key to the whole phonetic system.—Ed.*

long residence in Egypt I can easily believe: he may very probably have derived from thence some hints, that led to his own purer doctrines of the immortality of the soul, although he may have been tempted to exaggerate a little the other advantages of his travels in search of truth; but that Pythagoras ever professed to have acquired any solid knowledge from the Egyptians, appears to me to be very inconsistent with what we know of the history of this illustrious philosopher, speculative and visionary as some of his arithmetical metaphysics seem to have been. I shall enter into some further details of my conclusions, in the words which I have already employed in the article EGYPT.

"By means of the knowledge of the hieroglyphical characters, which has been already obtained, we are fully competent to form a general idea of the nature of the inscriptions on the principal Egyptian monuments that are extant. Numerous as they are, there is scarcely one of them which we are not able to refer to the class either of sepulchral or of votive inscriptions; astronomical and chronological there seem to be none, since the numerical characters, which have been perfectly ascertained, have not yet been found to occur in such a form as they necessarily must have assumed in the records of this description: of a historical nature, we can only find the triumphal, which are often sufficiently distinguishable, but they may also always be referred to the votive; since whoever related his own exploits thought it wisest to attribute the glory of them to some deity, and whoever recorded those of another was generally disposed to intermix divine honours with his panegyric. It has, indeed, been asserted, that the Egyptians were not in the habit of deifying any mortal persons; but the inscription of Rosetta is by no means the only one in which the sovereigns of Egypt are inserted in the number of its deities; the custom is observable in monuments of a much earlier age: indeed, in such a country, it might be considered as a kind of dilemma of degradation, whether it was most ridiculous to be made a divinity, or to be excluded from so plebeian an assemblage; but flattery is more prone to err by commission than by omission, and, consequently, we find the terms king and god very generally inseparable. The sepulchral inscriptions, from the attention that was paid in

Egypt to the obsequies of the dead, appear, on the whole, to constitute the most considerable part of the Egyptian literature which remains, and they afford us, upon a comparative examination, some very remarkable peculiarities. The general tenor of all these inscriptions appears to be, as might be expected from the testimony of Herodotus, the identification of the deceased with the god Osiris, and probably, if a female, with Isis; and the subject of the most usual representations seems to be the reception of this new personage by the principal deities, to whom he now stands in a relation expressed in the respective inscriptions; the honour of an apotheosis, reserved by the ancient Romans for emperors, and by the modern for saints, having been apparently extended by the old Egyptians to private individuals of all descriptions [; as indeed appears to be partially hinted in the concluding line of the golden verses of the Pythagoreans]. It required an extensive comparison of these inscriptions to recognise their precise nature, since they seldom contain a name surrounded by a ring in its usual form: sometimes, however, as in the green sarcophagus of the British Museum, a distinct name is very often repeated, and preceded by that of Osiris; while, in most other instances, there is a certain combination of characters, bearing evident relation to the personage delineated, which occurs, after the symbols of Osiris, instead of the name; so that either the ring was simply omitted on this occasion, or a new and perhaps a mysterious name was employed, consisting frequently of the appellations of several distinct deities, and probably analogous to the real name[, which will, indeed, hereafter appear to have consisted not uncommonly of a similar combination]. That the characteristic phrase [, or group], so repeated, must have had some relation to the deceased, is proved by its scarcely ever being alike in any two monuments that have been compared, while almost every other part of the manuscripts and inscriptions are the same in many different instances, and some of them in almost all; and this same phrase may be observed in Lord Mountnorris's and Mr. Bankes's manuscripts, placed over the head of the person who is brought up between the two goddesses, to make his appearance before the true Osiris, in his own person, and in his

judicial capacity, with his counsellors about him, and the balance of justice before him." . . .

"The tablet of the last judgment, which is so well illustrated by the testimony of Diodorus concerning the funerals of the Egyptians, is found near the end of almost all the manuscripts upon papyrus, that are so frequently discovered in the coffins of the mummies, and among others in Lord Mountnorris's hieratic manuscript, printed in the collection of the Egyptian Society. The great deity sits on the left, holding the hook and the whip or fan; his name and titles are generally placed over him; but this part of the present manuscript is a little injured. Before him is a kind of mace, supporting something like the skin of a leopard; then a female Cerberus, and on a shelf over her head, the tetrad of termini, which have been already distinguished by the names 'Tetrarcha,' Anubis, Macedo, and 'Hieracion,' each having had his appropriate denomination written over his head. Behind the Cerberis stands Thoth, with his style and tablet, having just begun to write. Over his head, in two columns, we find his name and titles, including his designation as a scribe. The balance follows, with a little baboon as a kind of genius, sitting on it. Under the beam stand 'Cteristes' and 'Hyperion' [supposed by Mr. Champollion to be Anubis and Horus], who are employed in adjusting the equipoise; but their names in this manuscript are omitted. The five columns over the balance are only remarkable as containing, in this instance, the characteristic phrase, or the name of the deceased, intermixed with other characters. Beyond the balance stands a female, holding the sceptre of Isis, who seems to be called Rhea, the wife of the Sun. She is looking back at the personage, who holds up his hand as a mark of respect, and who is identified as the deceased by the name simply placed over him, without any exordium. He is followed by a second goddess, who is also holding up her hands, in token of respect; and whose name looks like a personification of honour or glory, unless it is simply intended to signify 'a divine priestess,' belonging to the order of the Pterophori, mentioned on the Rosetta stone. The forty-two assessors, [noticed by Diodorus and by these manuscripts,] are wanting

in this tablet; and in many other manuscripts their number is curtailed, to make room for other subjects; but, in several of those which are engraved in the *Description de l'Egypte*, they are all represented, sometimes as sitting figures, and sometimes standing as termini, with their feet united."

"The principal part of the text of all these manuscripts appears to consist of a collection of hymns, or rather homages, to certain deities, generally expressed in the name of the deceased, with his title of Osiris, although the true Osiris is not excluded from the groups that are introduced. The upper part of each manuscript is occupied by a series of pictural tablets; under them are vertical columns of distinct hieroglyphics, or, in the epistolographic manuscripts, pages of the text, which are commonly divided into paragraphs, with a tablet at the head of each; the first words being constantly written with red ink, made of a kind of ochre, as the black is of a carbonaceous substance. The beginning of the manuscripts is seldom entire, being always at the outside of the roll; as the *umbilicus* of the Romans was synonymous with the end." . .

"The coffins of the mummies, and the larger sarcophagi of stone, are generally covered with representations extremely similar to some of those which are found in the manuscripts. The judicial tablet is frequently delineated on the middle of the coffins; above it are Isis and Nepthe, at the sides, and apparently Rhea in the middle, with outspread wings. The space below is chiefly occupied by figures of twenty or thirty of the principal deities, to whom the deceased, in his mystical character, is doing homage; each of them being probably designated by the relationship in which he stands to the new representative of Osiris. In the sculptures, the figures are generally less numerous; the same deities are commonly represented as on the painted coffins, but without the repetition of the suppliant, and in an order subject to some little variation. The large sarcophagus of granite, in the British Museum, brought from Cairo, and formerly called the Lover's Fountain, has the name of Apis, as a part of the characteristic denomination. This circumstance, at first sight, seemed to make it evident that it must have been intended to contain the mummy

of an Apis, for which its magnitude renders it well calculated; but when the symbols of other deities were found in the mystic names upon various other monuments, this inference could no longer be considered as absolutely conclusive." . .

"Of the triumphal monuments, the most magnificent are the obeliscs, which are reported by Pliny to have been dedicated to the Sun; and there is every reason to suppose, that the translation of one of these inscriptions, preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus, after Hermapion, contains a true representation of a part of its contents, more especially as 'the mighty Apollo' of Hermapion agrees completely with the hawk, the bull, and the arm, which usually occupy the beginning of each inscription. These symbols are generally followed by a number of pompous titles, not always very intimately connected with each other, and among them we often find that of 'Lord of the asp bearing diadems,' with some others, immediately preceding the name and parentage of the sovereign, who is the principal subject of the inscription. The obelisc at Heliopolis is without the bull; and the whole inscription may be supposed to have signified something of this kind.

"THIS APOLLINEAN TROPHY IS CONSECRATED TO THE HONOUR OF KING 'REMESSES,' CROWNED WITH AN ASP BEARING DIADEM; IT IS CONSECRATED TO THE HONOUR OF THE SON OF 'HERON,' THE ORNAMENT OF HIS COUNTRY, BELOVED BY PHTHAH, LIVING FOR EVER; IT IS CONSECRATED TO THE HONOUR OF THE REVERED AND BENEFICENT DEITY 'REMESSES,' GREAT IN GLORY, SUPERIOR TO HIS ENEMIES; BY THE DECREE OF AN ASSEMBLY, TO THE POWERFUL AND THE FLOURISHING, WHOSE LIFE SHALL BE WITHOUT END."

"It is true, that some parts of this interpretation are in great measure conjectural; but none of it is altogether arbitrary, or unsupported by some probable analogy: and the spirit and tenor of the inscription is probably unimpaired by the alterations, which this approximation to the sense may unavoidably have introduced.

"Of the obeliscs, still in existence, there are perhaps about thirty, larger and smaller, which may be considered as genuine. Several others are decidedly spurious, having been chiefly

sculptured at Rome, in imitation of the Egyptian style, but so negligently and unskilfully, as to have exhibited a striking difference even in the character of the workmanship. Such are the Pamphilian, in explanation of which the laborious Kircher has published a folio volume, and the Barberinian or Veranian: in both of these the emblems are put together in a manner wholly arbitrary; and when an attempt is made to imitate the appearance of a name, the characters are completely different at each repetition. The Sallustian obelisc has also been broken, and joined inaccurately, and some modern restitutions have been very awkwardly introduced, as becomes evident upon comparing with each other the figures of Kircher and of Zoëga. [A similar restitution has been rather better executed at one corner of the Lateran obelisc, as I observed in the course of a few weeks that I passed at Rome in the summer of 1821: the block of granite, which has been employed, still exhibits some words of a Latin inscription, turned upside down, but not effaced, although the hieroglyphics belonging to the place have been imitated with tolerable fidelity.] Another very celebrated monument, the Isiac table, which has been the subject of much profound discussion, and has given birth to many refined mythological speculations, is equally incapable of supporting a minute examination upon solid grounds; for the inscriptions neither bear any relation to the figures near which they are placed, nor form any connected sense of their own; and the whole is undoubtedly the work of a Roman sculptor, imitating only the general style and the separate delineations of the Egyptian tablets; as indeed some of the most learned and acute of our critical antiquaries had already asserted, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of several foreigners of the highest reputation for their intimate acquaintance with the works of Greek and Roman art. We may hope, however, that in future these unprofitable discussions and disputes will become less and less frequent, and that our knowledge of the antiquities of Egypt will gain as much in the solidity and sufficiency of its evidence, as it may probably lose in its hypothetical symmetry and its imaginary extent; and while we allow every latitude to legitimate reasoning and cautious conjecture, in the search after

historical truths, we must peremptorily exclude from our investigations an attachment to fanciful systems and presupposed analogies on the one hand, and a too implicit deference to traditional authority on the other."

A few general remarks, that I had taken the liberty of sending out to Mr. William Bankes, for his assistance in his Egyptian researches, had been found of some utility in directing his attention to points of the most material importance for the promotion of the investigation: and even before the actual publication of the Supplement of the Encyclopaedia; I had received from Egypt a very agreeable confirmation of my opinions, in a letter addressed by Mr. Salt to Mr. William Hamilton, of which I shall here insert an extract.

"Cairo, 1st May, 1819.

"At Dakki in Nubia there is an inscription of the Ptolemies, over the principal entrance, that occupies a place evidently connected with the architecture; and on each side of this is a tablet of hieroglyphics, nearly similar one to the other. Now it struck me on the spot, that these, being nearly of the same length as the Greek tablet, might possibly contain a translation. I therefore referred to a letter in Mr. Bankes's possession, containing some fifty explanations of hieroglyphics from Dr. Young, and was certainly gratified to find that in the oval [ring], conspicuous on each side, was the name of the 'immortal Ptolemy:' and immediately afterwards the name of Hermes on one side, and of Isis on the other, to whom, by numerous Greek inscriptions, it is certain that the temple was dedicated. In following up this idea, I found, in other parts of the temple, the name of 'Ptolemy' without the 'immortal,' over offering figures; and also those hieroglyphics which Dr. Young supposes to represent the names of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, as well as Hermes, over their respective figures, invariably, I may say, throughout the numerous representations on the walls...

H.S."

Upon Mr. Bankes's return to England, he had the kindness and liberality to allow me free access to the unequalled trea-

sures of drawings and inscriptions, that he had accumulated and brought home; and I soon obtained a knowledge of several additional characters from the comparison of these valuable documents. The most useful of these was the symbol for BROTHER or SISTER, which appears to be the crook generally seen in the hands of Osiris, and which is closely imitated in the enchorial character that I had already ascertained. I found, also, that the emblem which I had taken for MOTHER could only be translated WIFE, as it was applied to Cleopatra with relation to her husband Ptolemy; and that a FATHER was denoted by a bird with an arm, as I had at first inferred from the pillar of Rosetta, though I afterwards abandoned the opinion, from supposing that I had found another emblem for Ptolemy Philopator. It happened, however, by mere accident, that the advantage which I derived from this source was much less considerable than might have been expected, both from its abundance and from its uncontaminated purity; but I had been rather disposed to defer the ultimate study of Mr. Bankes's collections, till their publication should give me a free right to employ them in any manner that I might think proper. Some remarks, however, that occurred to me in consequence of looking them over, I incorporated in a little essay which I gave to Mr. Belzoni, and which makes the appendix to the second edition of his travels. I have here observed, in speaking of the reference of the supposed Jewish captives, exhibited in the catacomb of my "Psammis," to the expeditions of Necho to Jerusalem, in the time of King Josiah and Jehoahaz, "that there are some difficulties in reconciling the name of Psammis with some other monuments, and in particular with a most important fragment of an enumeration of the kings of Egypt, discovered by Mr. Bankes, at Abydos. In this there are only two kings intervening between this Psammis and the Memnon of the ancients: so that, if Pliny is right in his account of this obelisc, the popular tradition respecting the colossus, supposed to represent Memnon, must be erroneous. This, indeed, it would not be difficult to admit, as very likely to have happened in the case of any popular tradition; but there is a still greater difficulty in the inscription found by Mr. Bankes on the leg of the

colossus at Ebsambul, in which Psammetichus is mentioned; and if this was the first Psammetichus, as appears in some respects to be the more probable, it would follow that the king who founded that temple was more ancient than Psammetichus. But it is abundantly certain that our Psammis was prior to the founder of that temple: so that either that Psammétichus must be of much later date, as the employment of the Greek Ψ in the inscription would indeed appear to indicate, or this catacomb was not constructed in honour of the son of Pharaoh Necho. It has also been observed by an accomplished scholar, who is much attached to the pursuit of Egyptian antiquities, that, according to the testimony of Herodotus, all the kings of this dynasty were buried at Saïs, and that we must either reject this evidence, or admit that neither Psammis nor Necho can be the personage here represented. We may, however, hope, that future researches will furnish us with materials, that may enable us to remove this and many other difficulties, which at present envelope the chronology of the kings of Egypt."

CHAPTER IV.

COLLECTIONS OF THE FRENCH. MR. DROVETTI. MR. CHAMPOLLION'S DISCOVERIES.

ALTHOUGH the discovery of the general import of the hieroglyphics has by no means excited any great sensation in this country, yet the activity of the various collectors resident in Egypt seems to have been in some measure stimulated by it. Important additions have been made, or are about to be made, to the Egyptian department of the British Museum; and in France, the magnificent liberality of the Government, together with the insatiable curiosity of some affluent individuals, has held out ample encouragement to the commercial antiquarian.

I thought myself extremely fortunate, in my return from the short excursion to Rome and Naples, that I made in the autumn of 1821, to have discovered at Leghorn, among a multitude of Egyptian antiquities, belonging to Mr. Drovetti,

the French consul at Alexandria, which had long lain warehoused there, a stone containing an enchorial and a Greek inscription, which was known to have existed formerly at Menouf, but which had been lost and almost forgotten by European travellers in Egypt, and I believe by Mr. Drovetti himself; for I am informed that it is not mentioned in the catalogue of his Museum, which has been sent to Paris and elsewhere. Although both the inscriptions appeared to be almost illegible, yet I did not despair of being able, in a proper light, and with sufficient patience, to decipher the greater part; and I should have been tempted to remain a few days at Leghorn, in order to make the experiment, if I could have obtained permission from the merchants, to whose care the collection was entrusted. The more, however, that I considered the importance of the only supplement to the pillar of Rosetta, that then appeared to be in existence, the more anxiety I felt to make some effort to secure it from oblivion or destruction; and with more simplicity, perhaps, than good policy, when I returned to Pisa in the evening, I wrote a letter to MM. Mompurgo, of which I shall here insert a translation.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Having fully reflected on the singular importance of the Greek inscription, which I mentioned to you this morning, and the irreparable misfortune that would be incurred, in case that the pillar containing it should ever be lost by shipwreck, I have determined to make you a proposal, which I hope you will not find any impropriety in accepting.

"I am very desirous of sending an experienced artist from Florence, in order to make two impressions in plaster, and two tracings on paper, of this stone; upon condition, that they be considered as the property of Mr. Drovetti, and remain in your possession, until you have received his answer to the inquiry, whether he will permit them to be sent to London, either for myself or for the British Museum, and what price he would expect to receive for them. And in case that he should not think proper to fix such a price on them, as we might agree to pay, I am willing to consent, that they should remain in his col-

lection, upon condition, however, that if this collection should ever be re-embarked, for conveyance by sea, they should be kept at Leghorn, until the original stone should have arrived safely at the place of its destination, in order to avoid the chance of wholly losing this literary treasure by shipwreck.

"Whatever may be Mr. Drovetti's decision, I trust that this application, from one who flatters himself that he is the only person living, that can fully appreciate the value of the object in question, will at least not be disagreeable to him. I will beg of you to send me an early answer, directed to Schneiderff's Hotel at Florence.

"T. Y., Sec. R. S. Lond.

"Pisa, 5th Sept., 1821."

MM. Mompurgo readily agreed to my proposal, and I engaged a distinguished artist of Florence to undertake the performance of my plan; but I believe he was accidentally prevented from fulfilling his engagement. It appears, however, that his labour, as far as I was concerned, would have been wholly lost; for Mr. Drovetti's cupidity seems to have been roused by the discovery of an unknown treasure, and he has given me to understand, that nothing should induce him to separate it from the remainder of his extensive and truly valuable collection, of which he thinks it so well calculated to enhance the price; and he refuses to allow any kind of copy of it to be taken.

But, as it often happens to those who are too eager to monopolize, he has now outstood his market, and the pearl of great price, which six months ago I would have purchased for much more than its value, is now become scarcely worth my acceptance. I was principally anxious to obtain from it a collateral confirmation of my interpretation of the enchorial inscription of Rosetta; but having fortunately acquired materials, from other sources, which are amply sufficient for this purpose, I can wait, with great patience, for any little extension, which my enchorial vocabulary might receive from this source. I had inferred from a note, that had been sent me several years before, respecting the stone of Menouf, by Mr. Jomard, that the first words of the Greek inscription must have been ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙ ΝΕΩΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ, but this was all that the gentlemen, who described it, had even attempted to copy.

The first circumstance, that repressed my eagerness to obtain a copy of Drovetti's inscriptions, was the arrival of Mr. Casati at Paris, with a parcel of manuscripts, among which Mr. Champollion discovered one that considerably resembled, in its preamble, the enchorial text of the pillar of Rosetta; and the value of this discovery was afterwards almost miraculously multiplied, by the existence of a Greek translation of the same manuscript, which has been brought to London by Mr. Grey.

Having had occasion, in the month of September last, to accompany some friends in a short visit to Paris, I was very agreeably surprised with several literary and scientific novelties of uncommon interest, and all of them such as either had originated, or might have originated, from my own pursuits. I had first the pleasure of hearing, at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, an optical paper read by Mr. Fresnel; who, though he appears to have rediscovered, by his own efforts, the laws of the interference of light, and though he has applied them, by some very refined calculations, to cases which I had almost despaired of being able to explain by them, has, on all occasions, and particularly in a very luminous statement of the theory, lately inserted in a translation of Thomson's Chemistry, acknowledged, with the most scrupulous justice, and the most liberal candour, the indisputable priority of my investigations. In the course of the same week, I was invited to sit next to Mr. Champollion junior, while he was reading, to the Academy of Belles Lettres, a Memoir on the Analysis of the Inscription of Rosetta; he, also, had been partly anticipated in his results by what had been done in this country; though I could not help fancying, that he had not so completely forgiven the injury, as his countryman Mr. Fresnel appeared to have done. But Mr. Fresnel is the friend of Arago, and nothing more requires to be said of his character and sentiments.

I must, however, at once beg to be understood, that I fully and sincerely acquit Mr. Champollion of any intentions actually dishonourable; and if I have hinted, that I have received an impression of something like a want of liberality in his con-

duct, I have only thrown out this intimation, as an apology for being obliged to plead my own cause, and not as having any right to complain of his silence, or as having any desire or occasion to profit by his indulgence; at the same time I am far from wishing to renounce his friendship, or to forego the pleasure and advantage of his future correspondence.

At the beginning of my Egyptian researches, I had accidentally received a letter from Mr. Champollion, which accompanied a copy of his work on the state of Egypt under the Pharaohs sent as a present to the Royal Society;* and as he requested some particular information respecting several parts of the enchorial inscription of Rosetta, which were imperfectly represented in the engraved copies, I readily answered his inquiries from a reference to the original monument in the British Museum; and a short time afterwards I sent him a copy of my conjectural translation of the inscriptions, as it was inserted in the Archaeologia.

Of Mr. Champollion's *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, the two volumes, that have hitherto appeared, relate only to the geography of ancient Egypt, and especially to the determination of the old Egyptian names of places, as compared with the Greek and the Arabic, by the assistance of Coptic manuscripts and other intermediate documents. The work exhibits considerable research and some ingenuity: the author had devoted his life to one very extensive pursuit, and he proposed to illustrate every part of his subject, by the most minute investigation of every circumstance, that could be brought to bear upon it. The undertaking, commenced on so large a scale, appears to have proceeded but slowly; nor is it probable that the life of any man would be sufficient for its complete execution.

With regard to the enchorial Inscription, Mr. Champollion appeared to me to have done at that time but little. A few of the references, that he made to it, seemed to depend entirely upon Mr. Akerblad's investigations, although, as I have formerly had occasion to remark, it was *tacitly* that he adopted Mr. Akerblad's conclusions. I imagine, however, that he even

* Supra, p. 62.

now retains some erroneous prepossessions, which he had imbibed from Mr. Akerblad, although, very possibly, without recollecting their exact origin; in particular respecting the adoption of some Greek epithets, without translation, into the enchorial inscription: this question, however, I trust is now set at rest, by means of some later discoveries.

Mr. Champollion continued to reside at Grenoble, where he had some employment in the public library, till the beginning of 1821. I had not a convenient opportunity of sending him any of my later papers; and it was not till after he had left Grenoble, that he read the Article EGYPT of the Supplement of the Encyclopaedia, into which their contents were condensed. He had been devoting himself, in the mean time, to the uninterrupted study of the enchorial inscription, and he appears to have discovered, before he came to Paris, the original identity of these characters with the imperfect imitations of the more distinct hieroglyphics. Whether he made this discovery before I had printed my letters in the Museum Criticum, I have no means of ascertaining; I have never asked him the question, nor is it of much consequence, either to the world at large or to ourselves. It may not be strictly just, to say that a man has no right to claim any discovery as his own, till he has printed and published it; but the rule is at least a very useful one. It is always easy to publish such an account of a discovery, as to establish the right of originality, without affording much facility to the pursuits of a competitor; although it is generally true, that not only honesty, but even liberality, is the best policy.

Passing by, however, what I had already done, by far the most important to me was what I had not done, and there was enough of this to satisfy me, that Mr. Champollion was at least capable of doing many things, with respect to which his claim of actual priority might appear more than doubtful.

He had found, in the first place, among the multitude of Egyptian papyri, which he had taken the trouble to copy at length, with the permission of their various possessors, one in particular, of which a series of the chapters were pretty obviously numbered in the enchorial character, the series extend-

ing, with a few interruptions, from 1 to 20. He had already applied this discovery to the illustration of some parts of the pillar of Rosetta; and I have since derived at least equal advantage from it, in the examination of the enchorial papyrus of Casati.

He had also discovered a fragment of a pillar formerly in the possession of the Duc de Choiseul, which exhibited the character for a month, followed by several various groups, together with different numbers, evidently indicative of days; so that to the names of the three months, which I had discovered, he was enabled to add at least four more, though without completely ascertaining to which of the months these new symbols belonged.

Mr. Champollion had ascertained, in the third place, the analogy of one of the manuscripts, purchased of Casati, to the enchorial inscription of Rosetta, and he had obtained from it, without difficulty, the mode of writing the name Cleopatra in that character. He did not, however, then mention to me the important consequences which he had derived from this discovery; these, it seems, were the subject of a short paper read to the Academy the succeeding Friday; and it will be proper to extract a more particular account of them, from his Letter to Mr. Dacier, since printed; in which I did certainly expect to find the chronology of my own researches a little more distinctly stated.

"The hieroglyphical text of the inscription of Rosetta," he observes (p. 6), "exhibited, on account of its fractures, *only the name of Ptolemy*. The obelisc found in the Isle of Philae, and lately removed to London, contains also the hieroglyphical name of *one of the Ptolemies*, expressed by the same characters that occur in the inscription of Rosetta, surrounded by a ring or border, and it is followed by a second border, which must necessarily contain the proper name of a woman, and of a queen of the family of the Lagidae, since this group was terminated by the hieroglyphics expressive of the *feminine* gender; characters which are found at the end of the names of all the Egyptian goddesses without exception. The obelisc was fixed, it is said, to a basis bearing a Greek inscription, which is a

petition of the priests of Isis at Philae, addressed to King Ptolemy, to Cleopatra his sister, and to Cleopatra his wife. Now, if this obelisc, and the hieroglyphical inscription engraved on it, were the result of this petition, which in fact adverts to the consecration of a monument of the kind, the border, with the feminine proper name, can only be that of one of the Cleopatras.* This name, and that of Ptolemy, which in the Greek have several letters in common, were capable of being employed for a comparison of the hieroglyphical characters composing them; and if the similar characters in these names expressed in both the same sounds, it followed that their nature must be entirely phonetic."

This course of investigation appears, indeed, to be so simple and so natural that the reader must naturally be inclined to forget that any preliminary steps were required: and to take it for granted, either that it had long been known and admitted, that the rings on the pillar of Rosetta contained the name of Ptolemy, and that the semicircle and the oval constituted the female termination, or that Mr. Champollion himself had been the author of these discoveries.

It had, however, been one of the greatest difficulties attend-

* Letronne in his *Recherches*, Introd. p. xxx. note 3, lays claim to the merit of having materially aided Champollion in making this discovery. "Qu'il me soit permis d'observer qu'en me hâtant de publier l'inscription Grecque du socle de l'obélisque aussitôt que j'eus appris l'arrivée du monument en Angleterre, en expliquant son contenu, et en tirant de mon explication à la fois la certitude que les prêtres d'Isis avaient obtenu l'objet de leurs requêtes, et la probabilité que les hiéroglyphes de l'obélisque expriment l'action de grâce de ces prêtres, j'ai été assez heureux pour fournir à M. Champollion l'élément principal de sa découverte." Mr. Bankes, however, did much more, for he distinctly pointed out the hieroglyphic name of Cleopatra, which he had succeeded in identifying, after an ingenious and difficult investigation, detailed in Salt's Essay (pp. 7—10) and somewhat more briefly by Schwarze (*Das Alte Ægypten*, p. 201); and, says the former, "it will be obvious that without other data a mere collation of the Greek on the pedestal with the hieroglyphics on the shaft could not in this instance have led to such a result, the names of two distinct Cleopatras being recited in the Greek text, while the only name (besides that of Ptolemy) which occurs twice in the hieroglyphics is not that of Cleopatra, but one which seems to contain the mystic title whose precise interpretation is still unknown, as is also that of a fourth name, which, like that of Cleopatra, occurs once only, and is different from all." Salt also states that Bankes noted his discovery on the margin of the lithographed print of his obelisk, which he presented to the French Institute, through M. Denon. In a letter to Chevalier San Quintino, Dr. Young says that "M. Champollion peut dater l'époque de son système de l'acquisition du nom de Cléopâtre qu'il a reçu de M. Bankes (see *infra*, pp. 399, 464); et c'est à une lettre que j'avais adressée à M. Bankes en Egypte, que ce voyageur illustre est redevable, selon son propre aveu, des connaissances qui l'ont mené à distinguer ce nom."—*Ed.*

ing the translation of the hieroglyphics of Rosetta, to explain how the groups within the rings, which varied considerably in different parts of the pillar, and which occurred in several places where there was no corresponding name in the Greek, while they were not to be found in others where they ought to have appeared, could possibly represent the name of Ptolemy; and it was not without considerable labour that I had been able to overcome this difficulty. The interpretation of the female termination had never, I believe, been suspected by any but myself; nor had the name of a single god or goddess, out of more than five hundred that I have collected, been clearly pointed out by any person.

But, however Mr. Champollion may have arrived at his conclusions, I admit them, with the greatest pleasure and gratitude, not by any means as superseding my system, but as fully confirming and extending it. And here I am compelled to advert to a note of Mr. Champollion's, which I fear will be thought to go a little beyond a *tacit adoption* of my opinions, and to approach very near to an unintentional misrepresentation. "It must, without doubt, (p. 15,) have been by the form of this symbol, which has some resemblance to the figure of a basket, that Dr. Young was led to recognise the name of Berenice in the border that actually contains it. But he was of opinion that the hieroglyphics constituting proper names were employed as expressing whole syllables, that they were therefore a sort of *rebuses*, and that the first character of the name of Berenice, for example, represented the syllable BIR, which means a *basket* in the Egyptian language. This mistaken supposition has vitiated, in great measure, the phonetic analysis which he has attempted of the names of *Ptolemy* and *Berenice*, in which, notwithstanding, he has recognised the phonetic values of four of the characters: these are the P, one of the forms of the T, one of the forms of the M, and the I; but the whole of his syllabic alphabet, established from these two names only, was completely inapplicable to the great number of proper names phonetically expressed on the various monuments of Egypt... Encyclopaedia Britannica, Supplement, IV. Pt. i. Edinb. Dec. 1819."

Now, if Mr. Champollion had attended to my expressions, he must have perceived that it was *not* by any *resemblance* of an imaginary nature that I was "led to recognise the name of Berenice;" but by external evidence only. "The appellation SOTERES," I have observed, Art. 57, "as a dual, is well marked in the inscription of Rosetta, and the character thus determined explains a long name in the temple at Edfou...58. The wife of Ptolemy Soter, and mother of Philadelphus, was BERENICE, whose name is found on a ceiling at KARNAK in the phrase, "Ptolemy and .. Berenice, the *saviour gods.*" In this name we appear to have another specimen of syllabic *and alphabetical* writing combined, in a manner not extremely unlike the ludicrous mixtures of words and things with which children are sometimes amused; for however Warburton's indignation might be excited by such a comparison, it is perfectly true that, occasionally, "the sublime differs from the ridiculous by a single step only."..I have then proceeded to state, as conjectural *inferences*, the syllabic analogies: but instead of *four* letters which Mr. Champollion is pleased to allow me, I have marked in a subsequent chapter of this Essay, *nine*, which I have actually specified in different parts of my paper in the Supplement: and to these he has certainly added *three* new ones; or *four*, if he chooses to reckon the E as a fourth. I allow that I suspected the B, the L, and the S, to be sometimes used syllabically: but the analogy of these characters with the enchorial alphabet was so well marked, that my attempt to refine upon it could not easily have embarrassed any one in making the application. Mr. Champollion has never been led, in any one instance, from the Egyptian name of an object, to infer the phonetic interpretation, that is, the alphabetical power of its symbol: but the letters having once been ascertained, he has ransacked his memory or his dictionary for some name that he thought capable of being applied to the symbol: and not always, as it appears to me, in the most natural manner: I should prefer, for instance, the word HRERI, a flower, as making the R, to the name of pomegranate, which it seems was sometimes called ROMAN or ERMAN. I must also observe that my intention, in placing the Coptic names in my vocabu-

lary of hieroglyphics, was to assist in tracing any such analogies that might suggest themselves: and in the instance of AM or EM, N. 123, the reading approaches very near to one of the letters, added by Mr. Champollion to my alphabet.

With respect to the diversity of characters representing the same letter, it will be observed that I have marked *three* forms of the M, *three* of the N, with a fourth that was suggested to me by Mr. Bankes, *two* of the P or PH, and *two* of the S. Of these last, I cannot omit to observe, that Mr. Champollion has devoted at least a page of his letter (p. 13, 14) to the demonstration of the identity of *these same* forms: and that it would not have been unnatural to refer, in a single line of that page, to the assertion of the same identity, which I had made in the article EGYPT, No. 102. "The bent line is often exchanged in the manuscripts for the divided staff, and both are represented in the running hand by a figure like a 9 or a 4." The remainder of the forms, assigned to the letters, are all due to Mr. Champollion's ingenious and successful investigations.*

It so happens that in the lithographical sketch of the obelisc of Philae, which had been put into my hands by its adventurous and liberal possessor, the artist has expressed the first letter of the name of Cleopatra by a T instead of a K, and, as I had not leisure at the time to enter into a very minute comparison of the name with other authorities, I suffered myself to be discouraged with respect to the application of my alphabet to its analysis, and contented myself with observing, that if the steps

* Notwithstanding what is stated in the text, Champollion refused to admit Dr. Young's claim to the discovery of any homophone signs, asserting that the latter supposed the characters above referred to as such, to be merely *ideographic*, when he attempted to assign their value in the article Egypt. It is true that in one or two instances the phonetic significance of the characters was not specified, but it was stated that they were employed as substitutes for others which were contained in the Alphabet appended to the article, and the inference, therefore, was obvious that they also were phonetic. In other cases, however, Dr. Young distinctly pointed out the phonetic value of the signs as equivalents of other characters (supra, pp. 164, 179). Schwarze takes the same view as Champollion, but he candidly admits that he had not read the article Egypt, and was therefore obliged to rely on Champollion's statements. Chevalier Bunsen more than once asserts that Dr. Young had no notion of the existence of homophone signs, and we presume therefore that he also has blindly followed Champollion. He likewise exaggerates their importance when he calls the homophones the "real key to the hieroglyphics:" they constitute only a portion of the alphabet, which is itself only a key to the *phonetic* system of hieroglyphics. Besides, the majority of the homophone signs pointed out by Champollion have been rejected by Lepsius, who has reduced the alphabet of the former from about 200 to 34 characters.—*Ed.*

of the formation of an alphabet were not exactly such as I had pointed out, they must at least have been very nearly of the same nature. In return, I was complimented for my candour, while I ought, perhaps, to have been reproved for my timidity. If, however, I may judge from my late correspondence with Mr. Champollion, he does not appear to be altogether so adverse to the admission of syllabic characters on some occasions, as his note upon my "false point of departure" appears to imply; and I think he will find, in the evidence now first made public, respecting the enchorial character, some additional grounds for enforcing the opinion. I shall insert a specimen of one variety of each of the names which he has succeeded in deciphering, observing only that his alphabet could scarcely have agreed so well with the various combinations of these names, as it appears to do, if it had not been in great measure correct; and that I also fully agree with Mr. Champollion in his interpretation of the phrase of the Pamfilian obelisc, which he translates, WHO HAS RECEIVED THE KINGDOM FROM VESPASIAN HIS FATHER; the same phrase occurring on the pillar of Rosetta as well as on the obelisc of Philae, where it had served to correct my later opinion respecting the symbol for FATHER. It is here evident that the expression cannot relate, as Mr. St. Martin imagines it must have done in the inscriptions of Rosetta, to the immediate installation of a son by *the hands* of his father, but that the right of inheritance only was implied by it. I am not however convinced, by the coherence of this passage, that the greater part of the obelisc was ever intended by the sculptor to convey a connected meaning; and at any rate the explanation confirms the opinion that I had expressed respecting the Roman origin of the workmanship. There are a few of the busts, now placed in the magical gallery of the Vatican, which appear to me, on the contrary, to have been brought from Egypt with their genuine and ancient inscriptions, and to have had their features newly formed and more highly polished by Roman artists of the age of Adrian, in whose villa at Tivoli they were principally found.

Mr. Champollion has lately had the goodness to communicate to me, by letter, some suggestions which, I conclude, he is

on the point of making public; and I therefore take the liberty of mentioning them, as far as I think them at all admissible, though, perhaps, a little prematurely. He is disposed to refer the name, which I consider as that of the father of Amasis, to SESOSTRIS, as synonymous with RAMESSES, which he thinks the characters are probably intended to express phonetically. Now I readily allow that, where this name is written fully and accurately, as it is repeatedly found in Mr. Bankes's great catalogue of Abydos, it may without much violence be read nearly as Mr. Champollion proposes—"the approved by Phthah, Ramesses," or "the counterpart of Phthah, Ramesses;" the first part of the group undergoing several synonymous variations, while the end remains unchanged; although, if this reading were established, I should refer the first name to Amenophis or MEMNON, who was the son of Ramesses, or of Armesses called Miamun; and to whom the tomb of my Amasis is said to be attributed in the Greek and Latin inscriptions which are found in it; who is also said to have built the palace of Abydos, on which my Amasis evidently appears as the founder; who is more easily understood than Amasis to be prior to the Psammetichus mentioned at Ebsambul; and, who is more likely than Amasis to have been at Berytus, or Nahr el Kelb, where Mr. Wise, as I am informed by Sir William Gell, has distinctly observed this name, accompanied by the nail-headed characters.* All these reasons are more than sufficient to counterbalance the single assertion of Pliny; and we should be obliged to change my Psammis, according to his place in Mr. Bankes's table of kings, into the Armais of Manetho; though the *vocal* Memnon of the numerous inscriptions would be converted by this comparison into Queen Rathotis, or we should be obliged to leave out three of Manetho's list, to bring him up to the Amenophis who is called the Trojan Memnon by that author. All this is, indeed, a little alluring, and several suppositions might be introduced to overcome the difficulties; but unfortunately the fundamental supposition appears to be liable to an insurmountable objection; that the circle, which Mr. Champollion considers as equivalent to the

* Supra, p. 210—213, 218.

RE or RA of Ramesses, is also the first character of each of the seventeen names immediately preceding it, and indeed of every other in the catalogue that remains unmutilated at the beginning.

I am therefore sorry to say that I cannot hitherto congratulate Mr. Champollion on the success of his attempts to carry his system of phonetic characters into the very remotest antiquity of Egypt: he appears, however, to have a better prospect of elucidating some of the Persian names, having, as he informs me, been able to identify that of XERXES, both in the hieroglyphics and in the nail-headed characters, by means of a vase of alabaster, on which both are found together. This is, indeed, a wonderful opening for literary enterprise; and I am even inclined to hope, from Mr. Champollion's latest communications, that he will find some means of overcoming the difficulties that I have stated respecting the Pharaohs, for he assures me that he has identified the names of no less than THIRTY of them, and that they accord with the traditions of Manetho, and, as far as he can judge, with the notes that I had sent him of an attempt that I had formerly made to assign temporary names to the kings enumerated at Abydos, in which those of all the later ones began with the syllable RE. He will easily believe that I wish for a satisfactory answer to my own objections; and, in fact, the further that he advances by the exertion of his own talents and ingenuity, the more easily he will be able to admit, without any exorbitant sacrifice of his fame, the claim that I have advanced to a priority with respect to the first elements of all his researches; and I cannot help thinking that he will ultimately feel it most for his own substantial honour and reputation, to be more anxious to admit the just claims of others than they can be to advance them.

CHAPTER V.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS BROUGHT FROM EGYPT BY MR. GREY.

I AM impatient to turn from everything of a polemical or personal nature, to a field that has hitherto been exclusively in my own possession, in consequence of an event, which is the most important, considered as a single occurrence, that has taken place since the commencement of my Egyptian researches. It was very soon after my return from France, that George Francis Grey, Esq., of University College, Oxford, having been at Naples upon his return from Egypt, was so good as to bring me a few lines from my old friend Sir William Gell, himself a very successful traveller, and who has always pursued with ardour the last vestiges of the interesting remains of antiquity, both by his personal exertions, and by assisting and directing the enterprises of others.

Mr. Grey had the kindness, on the 22nd of November last, to leave with me a box, containing several fine specimens of writing and drawing on papyrus; they were chiefly in hieroglyphics, and of a mythological nature: but the two which he had before described to me, as particularly deserving attention, and which were brought, through his judicious precautions, in excellent preservation, both contained some Greek characters, written apparently in a pretty legible hand. He had purchased them of an Arab at Thebes, in January, 1820; and that which was most intelligible had appeared, at first sight, to contain some words relating to the service of the Christian church. Mr. Grey was so good as to give me leave to make any use of these manuscripts that I pleased; and he readily consented to their insertion among the lithographic copies of the "Hieroglyphics, collected by the Egyptian Society," which I had undertaken to superintend from time to time, in great measure for the private use of an association of my own friends, not sufficiently numerous to insure any permanent stability to its continuance.

Mr. Champollion had done me the favour, while I was at Paris, to copy for me some parts of the very important papyrus, which I have before mentioned as having given him the name of Cleopatra; and of which the discovery was certainly a great event in Egyptian literature, since it was the first time that any intelligible characters, of the enchorial form, had been discovered among the many manuscripts and inscriptions that had been examined, and since it furnished Mr. Champollion at the same time with a name, which materially advanced, if I understood him rightly, the steps that have led him to his very important extension of the hieroglyphical alphabet. He had mentioned to me, in conversation, the names of Apollonius, "Antiochus," and Antigonus, as occurring among the witnesses; and I easily recognised the groups which he had deciphered: although, instead of *Antiochus*, I read *Antimachus;* and I did not recollect at the time that he had omitted the M.

In the evening of the day that Mr. Grey had brought me his manuscripts, I proceeded impatiently to examine that which was in Greek only: and I could scarcely believe that I was awake, and in my sober senses, when I observed, among the names of the witnesses, ANTIMACHUS ANTIGENIS: and, a few lines further back, PORTIS APOLLONII; although the last word could not have been very easily deciphered, without the assistance of the conjecture, which immediately occurred to me, that this manuscript might perhaps be a translation of the enchorial manuscript of Casati: I found that its beginning was, "A copy of an Egyptian writing . . .;" and I proceeded to ascertain that there were the same number of names, intervening between the Greek and the Egyptian signatures, that I had identified, and that the same number followed the last of them; and the whole number of witnesses appeared to be sixteen in each. The last paragraph in the Greek began with the words, "Copy of the Registry;" for such must be the signification of the word ΠΤΩΜΑΤΟΣ, employed in this papyrus, though it does not appear to occur anywhere else in a similar signification. I could not, therefore, but conclude, that a most extraordinary chance had brought into my possession a document which was

not very likely, in the first place, ever to have existed, still less to have been preserved uninjured, for my information, through a period of near two thousand years: but that this very extraordinary translation should have been brought safely to Europe, to England, and to me, at the very moment when it was most of all desirable to me to possess it, as the illustration of an original which I was then studying, but without any other reasonable hope of being able fully to comprehend it; this combination would, in other times, have been considered as affording ample evidence of my having become an Egyptian sorcerer.

Mr. Champollion had not thought it worth while to give me a transcript of the original Greek endorsement: he seemed to consider it as not fully agreeing with the Egyptian text, or, at any rate, as not materially assisting in its interpretation: perhaps, also, he thought it best for me to try my strength upon the original, without any little assistance that might have been derived from it with respect to two or three of the names: or, as I am more disposed to believe, he was fearful of offending some of his countrymen, by making too public what he had no right to communicate without their leave: for after an accidental delay of a month, the answer that I received from Paris was only such as to enable me to state, that my opinion of the identity of the two endorsements is fully confirmed. I have lost, however, no time in sending to the Conservators of the King's cabinet a copy of my registry; with a request to be favoured with theirs in return, in order that I might have the same advantage from the comparison, which I voluntarily afforded the Parisian critics, without any reserve or delay; and in order that the duplicates may stand side by side in the lithographical copy, which has only waited for their answer, to have a vacant space filled up, and to be sent to them entire. In the mean time I have only to wish that the philologists of Paris may do as ample justice to these papyri, as one of the most distinguished of their number, Mr. Letronne, has lately done to the inscriptions of the Oasis, of which I had made a very hasty translation from a single copy only, not having had the means of comparing it properly with the second.

My application for the copy of the Registry has been received with the liberality which was to be expected from the directors of a great institution, and I have to return my best thanks to Mr. Raoul Rochette, for a correct copy of the whole of this highly important manuscript, which I am happy to find that it is his intention to publish in a short time. I am most anxious to avoid anticipating him in the gratification of the public curiosity, with regard to this interesting relic: but as I find that some account of the Registry has already been made public by Mr. St. Martin, I conceive myself at liberty to make use at least of this part of the manuscript: and I do not imagine that Mr. Raoul Rochette means to employ himself on the enchorial conveyance.

The contents of Mr. Grey's Greek manuscript are of a nature scarcely less remarkable than its preservation and discovery: it relates to the sale, not of a house or a field, but of a portion of the Collections and Offerings made from time to time on account, or for the benefit, of a certain number of MUMMIES, of persons described at length, in very bad Greek, with their children and all their households. The price is not very clearly expressed; but as the portion sold is only a moiety of a third part of the whole, and as the testimony of sixteen witnesses was thought necessary on the occasion, it is probable that the revenue, thus obtained by the priests, was by no means inconsiderable.

The result, derived at once from this comparison, is the identification of more than thirty proper names as they were written in the running hand of the country. It might appear, upon a superficial consideration, that a mere catalogue of proper names would be of little comparative value in assisting us to recover the lost elements of a language. But, in fact, they possess a considerable advantage, in the early stages of such an investigation, from the greater facility and certainty with which they are identified, and from their independence of any grammatical inflexions, at least in the present case; by means of which they lead us immediately to a full understanding of the orthographical system of the language, where any such system can be traced.

The general inference, to be derived from an examination of the names now discovered, is somewhat more in favour of an extensive employment of an alphabetical mode of writing, than any that could have been deduced from the pillar of Rosetta, which exhibits, indeed, only foreign names, and affords us, therefore, little or no information respecting the mode of writing the original Egyptian names of the inhabitants. Several of the words, which occur in these documents, and more especially in those which are hereafter to be mentioned, might be read pretty correctly, by means of the alphabet originally made out by Mr. Akerblad from the foreign names of the enchorial inscription; but there are many more which appear to be rather syllabically than alphabetically constituted: and the names of the different deities seem to be very commonly employed in writing them; for instance, those of Horus, Ammon, and Isis;* and perhaps in the same way that they are often composed, in the mythological manuscripts, found with the mummies: in which, for want of the occurrence of a ring or border, or of the corresponding enchorial marks, I have concluded that the groups could not be intended to represent the ordinary names of the individuals. But these marks are, in fact, by no means constantly employed in the enchorial papyri; and they seem only to have been inserted when either great precision or some distinguished mark of respect was required.

Important, however, as are the additions that are likely to be made to our knowledge by means of this "Antigraph," it is by no means the only valuable acquisition for which we are indebted to the enterprise and the diligence of Mr. Grey: a second papyrus, of considerably greater magnitude, contains three Egyptian conveyances in the enchorial character, with separate registries on the margin, in very legible Greek. These are not only of use for the illustration of other similar documents, but they afford us also many additional examples of enchorial proper names, besides a general idea of the subjects of the respective manuscripts, all of which relate to the sale of lands in the neighbourhood of Thebes. It will be most convenient to

* In the Assyrian inscriptions the names of deities are also employed in this way in the formation of words.—*Ed.*

consider them as parts of a series, of which those are the first to be examined, that are the most capable of affording an independent testimony; beginning with the Greek papyrus in the possession of Mr. Anastasy, the Swedish consul at Alexandria, and proceeding to the Antigraph and its original, and thence to the three enchorial manuscripts, which are also the property of Mr. Grey. It is scarcely conceivable, by a person who has not made the experiment, how much the difficulty of reading a depraved character is almost universally diminished by the comparison of two or three copies of the same or of similar passages; the words, which would be wholly unintelligible in either taken singly, being often very easily legible when both are at once under the eye; and, still more commonly, a word which is confused or contracted in one, being written clearly or at length in another.

It is in this manner, that several of the deficiencies of the manuscript of Anastasy, as edited by the learned and ingenious Professor Böckh of Berlin, have been in some measure supplied, in the late republication at Paris, by the care of Mr. Jomard, from a comparison with the Greek manuscripts purchased of Mr. Casati, in order to be added to the unrivalled treasures of literature contained in the King's library and cabinet. Several more of the obscurities of this manuscript, if not the whole, I flatter myself are now removed, by the further comparison, which I have attempted to make, by means of Mr. Grey's indulgence in allowing me the use of his manuscripts; and by means of the duplicate which I have received from Paris in exchange for the registry of his Antigraph.

The manuscript of Anastasy, besides its curiosity as a subject of antiquarian and historical research, becomes of great importance, in this inquiry, as affording a more complete specimen, than the Antigraph, of the usual form of a contract in Egypt under the Ptolemies; and as assisting in the investigation of the sense of the preamble of the enchorial manuscript, which is omitted in the Antigraph. I shall therefore insert here a translation of this document, and shall reprint the original in an appendix, with such corrections as I have thought it appeared to require; in order to restore it to the form intended by the

writer. The registries, in their original language, I shall print side by side, and in the order of time which I attribute to them.

TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK PAPYRUS OF ANASTASY.

See Appendix I.

(1) In the reign of Cleopatra and Ptolemy her son surnamed Alexander, the Gods Philometores Soteres, in the year XII, otherwise IX; in the priesthood of the existing priests (2) in Alexandria, [the priest] of Alexander and of the Gods Soteres, and of the Gods Adelphi, and of the Gods Evergetae, and of the Gods Philopatores, and of the Gods Epiphanes, and of the God (3) Philometor, and of the God Eupator, and of the Gods Evergetae: the Prize bearer of Berenice Evergetis, the Basket bearer of Arsinoe Philadelphus and the priestess of Arsinoe (4) Eupator at present in Alexandria: and, in the Thebaic Ptolemais, in the priesthood of the existing priests and priestesses of Ptolemy Soter, [and of . . .] (5) in Ptolemais; on the 29th of the month Tybi [v; February]: Apollonius being President of the Exchange of the Memnonians, and of the lower government of the Pathyritic nome.

(6) There was sold by Pamonthes, aged about 45, of middle size, dark complexion, and handsome figure, bald, round faced, and straight nosed; and by Snachomneus, aged about 20, of middle size, sallow complexion, (7) likewise round faced and straight nosed; and by Semmuthis Persineï, aged about 22, of middle size, sallow complexion, round faced, flat nosed, and of quiet demeanour; and by Tathlyt (8) Persineï, aged about 30, of middle size, sallow complexion, round face, and straight nose, with their principal Pamonthes, a party in the sale; the four (9) being of the children of Petepsais of the leather cutters of the Memnonia; out of the piece of level ground which belongs to them in the southern part of the Memnonia, (10) eight thousand cubits of open field, one fourth [of the whole?] bounded on the south by the Royal Street; on the north and east by the land of Pamonthes and Boconsiemis, who is his brother, (11) and the common land [or wall] of the city; on the west by the house of

Tages the son of Chalome: a canal running through the middle, leading from the river: these are the neighbours on all sides. It was bought by Nechutes the less, (12) the son of Asos, aged about 40, of middle size, sallow complexion, cheerful countenance, long face, and straight nose, with a scar upon the middle of his forehead; for 601 pieces of brass: the sellers standing as (13) brokers, and as securities for the validity of the sale. It was accepted by Nechutes the purchaser.

APOLLONIUS Pr. Exch?

[REGISTRY.]

In the year XII, otherwise IX; the 20th of Pharmuthi [VIII; May], [transacted] at the table in Hermopolis, at which Dionysius presides, over the 20th department; in the account of the partners receiving the duties on sales, of which Heraclides is the subscribing clerk, the acceptor in the sale is Nechutes the less, the son of Asos; an open field of eight thousand cubits, one fourth portion; in the southern part of the Memnonia: which he bought of Pamonthes and Snachomneus, the sons of Petepsais, with their sisters: 601 pieces? The end . . .

Dionysius subscribes.

The beginning of this preamble may be illustrated by that of the inscription of ROSETTA, which runs nearly thus:

In the reign of the young king .. Ptolemy Epiphanes the munificent .. the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the gods Philopatores .. in the year IX; the priest of Alexander and of the gods Soteres, and of the gods Adelphi, and of the gods Evergetae, and of the gods Philopatores, and of the god Epiphanes the munificent being Aëtus, the son of Aëtus: the prize-bearer of Berenice Evergetis being Pyrrha the daughter of Philinus: the basket-bearer of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Areia daughter of Diogenes; and the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, Irene the daughter of Ptolemy: on the 4th day of Xanthicus, or the 18th of Mechir: it was decreed...

In comparing the preamble of the deed of sale with this mo-

nument, we have first to observe the successive addition of the names of Philometor, Eupator, and the Evergetae, to the titles of the priests of Alexander and his successors. Eupator, it seems, according to other authorities, cited by Böckh, was Ptolemy Evergetes II, the successor of Philometor, called also Cacergetes and Physcon; and the Evergetae, named after him, can only have been the reigning sovereigns, before called Philometores Soteres: and Cleopatra, at least, had some right to the name Evergetis, as having derived it from her husband, so that she may easily be supposed to have shared it occasionally with her son. The remaining part of the preamble varies but little, except that Arsinoe, instead of Philopator, is called Eupator: but this diversity is not more material than the substitution of Adelphi for Philadelphi, which frequently occurs. The double date is well known to have been adopted by Cleopatra and Alexander, and its origin is sufficiently explained by Eusebius and Porphyry. Professor Böckh makes the year, 104 B.C.; but from a comparison of different authorities it seems rather more probable that it was 106 B.C., at least so I have been obliged to arrange it in a table, formed from a comparison of the chronologies of Porphyry, Champollion Figeac, and St. Martin, which I have inserted in an Appendix.

TRANSLATION OF MR. GREY'S GREEK ANTIGRAPH.

(1) *Copy of an Egyptian Writing respecting the Dead Bodies in Thyn. having been* (2) *ratif* . . .

(3) In the XXXVIth year; Athyr [III] 20, after the usual preamble, this writing witnesses: that the ¿ Dresser? (4) among the servants of the great goddess [Isis?] Onophris the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, [aged about] forty, lively, tall, of a sallow complexion, hollow eyed, (5) and bald, has ceded voluntarily for the price of . . to Horus the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, (6) one moiety of the third part of the Collection for the dead (7) lying in Thynabunun, on the Libyan side of

the Theban suburb, (8) in the Memnonia: likewise one moiety of the third part of the Services or Liturgies (9) and so forth: their names being | Muthes the son of Spotus, with (10) his children (10) and all his household; Chapocrates the son of Nechthmonthes, with his children and all; Arsiesis the son of Nechthmonthes; likewise Petemestus the son of (11) Nechthmonthes; likewise Arsiesis the son of Zminis; likewise (12) Osoroeris the son of [Horus]; likewise Spotus the son of Chapochonsis; likewise (13) Zoglyphus: from which there belongs to Asos the son of Horus and of Senpoeris (14) "thy" younger brother, one of [or, the younger brother of] the same ¿Dressers? a moiety of the (15) aforesaid third part of the services and fruits and (16) so forth. He has sold it to him in the year XXXVI; 20 Athyr, in the reign of the everlasting (17) king, for the completion of the third part. Also a moiety of the fruits (18) ¿and so forth? of the ¿other? dead bodies in Thy. that is to say, Pateutemis with his children and (19) all; and a moiety of the fruits belonging to me from the property of (20) Petechonsis the milk-bearer, and from a place on the Asiatic side, called (21) Phrecages, with the dead bodies in it; of which a moiety belongs to the (22) same Asos: all these things I have sold to him. They are thine, (23) and I have received their price from thee, and I make no demand upon thee (24) for them from this day: and if any person disturb thee (25) in the possession of them, I will withstand the attempt, and if I do not [otherwise] repel it (26) I will use compulsory means. Written by Horus the son of Phabis, the writer of the (27) [priests] of Amonrasonther, and the other gods of the temple. (28) Witnesses: Erieus the son of Phanres. Peteartres the son of Pateutemis. (29) Petearpocrates the son of [Horus]. Snachomneus the son of Peteuris. Snachomes (30) the son of Psenchonsis. Totoes the son of Phibis. Portis the son of APOLLONIUS. Zminis (31) the son of Petemestus. Peteutemis the son of Arsiesis. Amonorytius (32) the son of Pacemis. Horus the son of Chimnaraus. Armenis the son of Zthenaetis (33). Maësis the son of Mirsis. ANTIMACHUS the son of ANTIGENES. Petophois the son of Phibis. (34) Panas the son of Petosiris. Witnesses 16.

Copy of the Registry. In the year XXXVI; the ninth of Choeak [IV]. Transacted at the table in Diospolis, at which Lysimachus is the President of the 20th department; in the account of Asclepiades and Zminis, farmers of the tax, in which the subscribing clerk is Ptolemaeus: the purchaser Horus the son of Horus the ¿ Dresser? a part of the sum, collected by them, on account of the dead bodies lying in Thynabunun, in the Memnonian tombs of the Libyan suburb of Thebes, for the services which are performed. Bought of Onnophris the son of Horus, Pieces of brass 400 . Z . . The end.

Lysimach. subscribes.

TRANSLATION OF THE ENCHORIAL PAPYRUS OF PARIS, CONTAINING THE ORIGINAL DEED RELATING TO THE MUMMIES.

(1) This writing, dated in the year XXXVI; Athyr 20, in the reign of our Sovereigns Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister, the children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the divine, (2) the Gods Illustrious: and the Priest of Alexander, and of the Saviour Gods, of the Brother Gods, of the [Beneficent Gods], of the Father loving Gods, of the Illustrious Gods, of the Paternal God, and (3) of the Mother loving Gods being [as by law appointed]; and the Prize-bearer of Berenice the Beneficent, and the Basket-bearer of Arsinoe the Brother loving, and the Priestess of (4) Arsinoe the Father loving, being as appointed in the metropolis [of Alexandria]; and in [Ptolemais] the Royal City ¿ of the Thebaid? the Guardian Priest ¿ for the year? of Ptolemy Soter, and the Priest of King Ptolemy the Father loving, (5) and the Priest of Ptolemy the Brother loving, and the Priest of Ptolemy the Beneficent, and the Priest of Ptolemy the Mother loving; and the Priestess of Queen Cleopatra, and the Priestess (6) of the Princess Cleopatra, and the Priestess of Cleopatra the [Queen] Mother, deceased, the Illustrious; and the Basket-bearer of Arsinoe the Brother loving, [being as appointed]: declares: The ¿ Dresser? in the temple (7) of the Goddess, Onnophris the

son of Horus, and of Senpoeris ¿ daughter of Spotus ? ["aged about forty, lively"], tall, ["of a sallow complexion, hollow eyed, and bald"]: in the temple of the goddess (8) to [Horus] ¿ his brother ? the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, has sold, for a price in money, half of one third of the Collections for the dead, "Priests of Osiris?" lying (9) in Thynabunun . . . in the Libyan suburb of Thebes, in the Memnonia . . . likewise half of one third of the Liturgies: their names being, Muthes the son of Spotus, with his children and his household; Chapocrates (10) the son of Nechthmonthes, with his children and his household; Arsiesis the son of Nechthmonthes, with his children and his household; Petemestus the son of Nechthmonthes, Arsiesis the son of Zminis, with his children and his household; Osoroeris (11) the son of Horus, with his children and his household; Spotus the son of Chapochonsis ¿ surnamed ? Zoglyphus [the Sculptor,] with his children and his household: while there belonged also to Asos the son of Horus and of Senpoeris ¿ daughter of Spotus ? (12) in the same manner one half of a third of the collections for the dead, and of the fruits and so forth . . : he sold it on the 20th of Athyr, in the reign of the king everliving, to [complete] the third part: likewise the half ¿ of one third ? of the collections relating to (13) Peteutemis, with his household and . . : likewise the half ¿ of one third ? of the collections and fruits for Petechonsis the bearer of milk, and of the . . place on the Asian side called Phrecages (14), and . . and the dead bodies in it: there having belonged to Asos the son of Horus one half of the same: he has sold to him in the month of . . the half of one third of the collections (15) for the Priests ¿ of Osiris ? lying in Thynabunun, with their children and their households: likewise the half of one third of the collections for Peteutemis, and also for (16) Petechonsis the bearer of milk, in the place of Phrecages on the Asian side: I have received for them their price in silver: . . and gold: . . and I make no further demand on thee for them from the present day, . . (17) . . before the authorities . . [and if any one shall disturb thee in the possession of them, I will resist him, and if I do not succeed, I will indemnify thee ?] . . (18) Executed and

confirmed: Written by Horus the son of Phabis, clerk to the chief priests of Amonrasonther and of the ¿ contemplar? Gods, of the Beneficent Gods, of the Father loving Gods, of the Paternal God, and of the (19) Mother loving Gods. Amen. (20) Names of the witnesses present. . .

[*Column at the edge of the paper.*] (1) Names of the authorities. (2) Erieus the son of Phanres ¿ Erieus? (3) Peteartres the son of Peteutemis. (4) Petearpocrates the son of Horus. (5) Snachomneus the son of Peteuris. (6) Snachomes the son of Psenchonsis. (7) Totoes the son of Phibis. (8) Portis the son of APOLLONIUS. (9) Zminis the son of Petemestus. (10) Peteutemis the son of Arsiesis. (11) Amonorytius the son of Pacemis. (12) Horus the son of Chimnaraus. (13) Armenis [rather Arbais,] the son of Zthenaetis. (14) Maesis the son of Mirsis. (15) ANTIMACHUS the son of ANTIGENES. (16) Petophois the son of Phibis. (17) Panas the son of Petosiris. (18) Were present [as witnesses.]

The additions to the Sovereigns, named in the preamble of the stone of Rosetta, are here the Paternal God and the Mother loving Gods, or Eupator and the Philometores, and we want only the Evergetae of the papyrus of Anastasy. We can, therefore, only refer the date to one of the two preceding reigns, of Philometor or Evergetes Eupator, which it is very difficult to distinguish from each other with precision. We have, however, no evidence that Philometor's dates extended beyond 35, and we must naturally consider this 36 as belonging to Eupator, corresponding to 135 B. C. which was 11 years after the death of Philometor. If we judged from this manuscript alone, we should infer that Eupator was canonized, by some accident, during his temporary reign, before his brother, and that the order of the names remained undisturbed through the different changes of their governments. The epithet "Illustrious" in this preamble is not easily recognised; but it is distinguished by the termination from "Beneficent," for which I had in the first instance mistaken it: an epithet so placed is almost always referred to the person last mentioned. The enchorial name of the divinity here called Amonrasonther considerably resembles that of the "Cerexochus" of the Article

Egypt. The epithet, which I have conjecturally translated "Dresser," was at first supposed to mean Brazier, and was read Chalchytes: but the Parisian Registry has distinctly Cholchytes: which may possibly be a derivative of DCHOLH or JOLH, to dress, to put on, and may have been applied to some of the Hierostolists, or Tire men, of the temple

TRANSLATION OF MR. GREY'S ENCHORIAL MANUSCRIPTS.*

ENCHORIAL AGREEMENT (A).

(1) THE year XXVIII; in the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister, son and daughter of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the gods Illustrious: (2) and the priest of Alexander, the Saviour gods, the Fraternal gods, the Beneficent gods, the Father loving gods, the Illustrious gods, (3) and the Mother loving gods: the prize bearer of Berenice the Beneficent, and the basket bearer of (4) Arsinoe the Brother loving, and the priest of Arsinoe the Father loving, being [as by law appointed] in the metropolis [Racot or Alexandria], and in the royal city (5) [Ptolemais of the Thebaid], the Guardian Priest of Ptolemy Soter, and the priest of Ptolemy the mother loving, and the priest of (6) Ptolemy the brother loving, and the priest of Ptolemy the Beneficent, and the priest of Ptolemy the Father loving, (7) and the priest of Ptolemy, the god Illustrious and Munificent, and the priest of the queen Cleopatra, and the priest of the Cleopatra, the king's (8) 'mother? the goddess Illustrious, and the basket bearer of Arsinoe the Brother loving, being [all as by law appointed]. It is declared that the parties (9) Alecis the son of Erieus, and Lubais the daughter of Erieus, and Tbaeais the daughter of Erieus, all children of one mother ['Thautis?], Senerieus the daughter of Petenephotes, (10) and of Senlubais, Erieus the son of Amenothes, and Senosorphibis the daughter of Amenothes, both daughters of Senamunis, Sisois [or Spois], surnamed (11) Erieus, the son of Amenothes and Senchonsis; all seven [living] in Diospolis the Splendid; to the parties Teephibis the son of (12) Amenothes

* Instead of the translation which originally appeared in the *Account of Hieroglyphical Discoveries*, a corrected translation, which Dr. Young published in Brande's Philosophical Journal, vol. xxiii., 1827, is here inserted.—*Ed.*

and 'Mautis? have sold for a sum of money seven and a half rods of unproductive ground. (13) These seven and a half rods lying in the southern part of the whole ten rods of open ground in the 'south-west of the city? the remaining (14) two and a half rods having been purchased by Asos the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, 'as a tenement for himself and his family? in the XXVIIIth year of the king (15) ever living. The ten rods of ground have to the south 'the inhabitant Haines? The seven and a half rods have to the south-'west (16) Emiamun the scribe, with his family, and his brother with his family? The two and a half rods of Asos, the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, (17) 'have to the east the Course of Juno? "to the west the Royal road leading to the temple of Ceres?? For the seven and a half rods of ground 'with their buildings and all their appurtenances? to wit, Seven and a half rods of ground: The price in money was paid and received, (19) that is to say, 'three? talents (19, 20, 21). 'And the contracting parties agree that the sellers shall make no further demand on the purchaser, and shall defend him from any disturbance therein, or indemnify him in case of their failure so to do: and shall guarantee the validity of the sale? (21) 'Executed in the month Pachon? transacted in due form ...(22)..(23)..(24).. Written by Erieus the son of Phanres, clerk to the chief priests of Amonrasonther and the contemplar gods.. Amen.

Greek Registry.

In the year XXVIII; the 28 Mesore [XII]. Transacted at the table in Hermopolis [or. Hermonthis], at which Dio. [nysius] is the collector of the circular twentieth, in the account of Asclepiades [contractor for the tax on sales], of which the subscribing clerk is Ptolemais the countersigner. The purchaser being Teephibis the son of Amenothes: for seven and a half rods, towards the south, of the whole unproductive ground which is in the southern part of Diospolis the Great; of which the boundaries are given in the annexed agreement; and which he bought of Alecis the son of Ericus, and Lubais and Tbaeais the daughters of Erieus, and Senerieus the daughter of Petenephotes, and Erieus the son of Amenothes, and Senosorphibis the daughter of Amenothes, and Sisois

[or Spois] surnamed also Erieus, the son of Amenothes. The XXVIIIth year; Pachon 20. 'III? talents. On which the duty is 900 drachmæ. 900.

Dionysius, collector.

It is sufficiently obvious that this deed must belong to the same period as the sale of the collections for the mummies, and that it must consequently have been at least eight years earlier. The "God Eupator" is here omitted, perhaps accidentally, or perhaps because he had not been canonized at the time. The date 28 is equally applicable to the reigns of Philometor and of Eupator: and several names occur in this deed which are also found in the preceding: for example, Erieus the son of Phanres, who is the first witness in that deed, is the clerk that drew up the present. Asos the son of Horus and Senpoeris, who is one of the "Dressers" of the temple, appears here as the possessor, probably of a neighbouring piece of land, and in the next deed as a purchaser. The question remains whether we should assign to this deed a date 19 years earlier than the former, or only 8, that is, whether 154 B.C. or 143; and there appears to be no evidence at present existing that is sufficient to decide it: except that the omission of the name of Eupator was less likely to happen in his own reign than in his predecessor's. The priesthoods of Ptolemais are somewhat negligently arranged at the end of this preamble, but they present no essential discordances. The Registry affords us a remarkable instance of a double contraction for the word ΠΟΛΙΣ or city: it is first represented by a semicircle with a central point, ⊙, and then by a figure of 2, in the names of Hermopolis, and Diospolis, or Thebes. The contraction for Hermopolis, in the papyrus of Anastasy, would not easily have been explained without the aid of these manuscripts. The Dionysius of the reign of Ptolemy Alexander, being near fifty years later, may perhaps have been a son of this Dionysius, and may have succeeded him in his office.

ENCHORIAL AGREEMENT (B).

(1) The year XXVIII; in the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister, (2) the son and daughter of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the Illustrious gods; (2) 'like to the sun? ever-

living. (3) It is declared that the parties, Alecis the son of Erieus, and Lubais the daughter of Erieus, (4) and Tbaeais the daughter of Erieus, the three by the same mother, 'Tasuis? and Senerieus the daughter (5) of Petenephotes, and of 'Sen.?-Lubais, Erieus the son of Amenothes, and Senosorphibis (6) the daughter of Amenothes, both by the same mother Senamunis, Sisois, surnamed Erieus, the son of (7) Amenothes and of 'Senchonsis? the seven being mechanics in Diospolis (8) the Splendid; to the party Asos the son of Horus and of Sempoeris; have sold (9) for a sum of money two and a half rods of unproductive ground: these two and a half rods being (10) situated to the north of the whole ten rods lying in the 'south-west quarter of Diospolis? (11) the remaining seven and a half rods having been purchased by Teephibis the son of Amenothes and (12) of 'Mautis? towards the south, as a tenement for himself and his family, in the XXVIIIth year (13) of the king everliving: the ten rods having to the south the 'inhabitant (14) Haines? the two and a half rods having to the south the seven and a half rods of Teephibis the son of (15) Amenothes and 'Mautis? "to the east the Course of Juno?? to the north the house of (16) Psenchonsis? the son of Spotus?? and ... "to the west the Royal road (17) leading to the temple of Ceres?? For these two and a half rods of ground (18) not cultivated; that is to say, for two and a half rods of level ground (19) the price was paid and received, that is to say, five? talents. (20 .. 28) [As in A, 19 .. 24.]

Greek Registry.

In the year XXIX; Phamenoth [IX.] 9. Registered at the table in Hermopolis, at which Dionysius is collector of the tax of five per cent., in the account of Asclepiades and Crates [contractors for the duty on sales], of which Ptolemais the countersigner subscribes: Asus the son of Horus, the purchaser of two and a half rods of unproductive ground, lying in the southern part of Diospolis the Great, of which the boundaries are given by the annexed deed, which he bought of Alecis the son of Erieus, and Lubais and Tbaeais the daughter of Erieus, and Senerieus the daughter of Petenephotes, and Erieus the son of Amenothes, and Senosorphibis the daughter of Amenothes, and

Spois, surnamed Erieus, the son of Amenothes, for five talents, on which the duty is 1500 drachmæ.

Dionysius, collector.

ENCHORIAL AGREEMENT (C).

(1) The year XXXV; in the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister, the son and daughter of Ptolemy and (2) Cleopatra, the Illustrious gods: and the priest of Alexander the Saviour gods, the Fraternal gods, the Beneficent (3) gods, the Father loving gods, the god Defender of his father, and the Mother loving gods; and the prize bearer of (4) Berenice the Beneficent, and the basket bearer of Arsinoe, the Brother loving, and the priest of Arsinoe, the "Brother" 'and? (5) Father loving, being all [as by law appointed] in the metropolis. It is declared, that the men in 'the service of Amun? of the family of 'Philochemus? (6) Ammonius the son of Pyrrhius.. Zbenaetes Psenamunis the son of Pyrrhius, both sons of 'Theothis? and both mechanics in (7) Diospolis the Splendid, to the party Pechytes the son of Arsiesis and 'Thenune? have sold for a sum of money one fourth part (8) of the whole 13⅓ rods, 'that is to say, [α] 3⅓ rods, being of the 13⅓ rods the fourth part? The 3⅓ rods (9) [α] 33⅓? rods. The three and ⅓ rods are bounded by [the properties of] Teephibis the son of Amenothes, and Asos the son of Horus, both 'Cholchytæ? making together (10) ten rods, bought by them, and occupied by their 'brotherhood? the whole being bounded on "the south by the inhabitant Pamonthes, surnamed (11) Petechonsis, and Chasytes the son of?? Petenephotes.. 'to the south-west the house of Petechonsis?.. (12) 'and the house of Philinus?.. 'the late? Erieus... (13) the house of Arsiesis... 'Sentathlyt? 'and her children?.. the house of Psenchonsis.. (14) 'the Royal road? 'leading to the temple of Ceres? "and to the river near the temple?? 'the house of Haines? 'All these are the boundaries of? (15) the 13⅓ rods of ground, 'uncultivated, and within the city? 'occupied by a house? 13⅓ rods (16) 'within the city?? 3⅓ rods of ground [α] 33⅓? 3⅓ rods of ground not cultivated (17), the price was paid and received in silver, II talents... (18.. 22) (Nearly as in A and B). (22)

Written by "Pathecis the son of Thalubis?? clerk to the chief priests of Amonrasonther, and the contemplar gods, (23) the 'Beneficent? gods, the Father loving gods, the Illustrious gods, the god Defender of his father, and the Mother loving gods. Amen.

The name of Eupator appears here to contain, in two different places, the characters which in the Rosetta inscription denote hostile or turbulent; and this circumstance would incline us to prefer the date of the last year of the reign of Philometor: but it is possible that the same epithets may have been intended to mean warlike, in a favourable sense.

Greek Registry.

In the year XXXV; Pharmuthi (VIII) 20. Registered at the Table in Diospolis the Great, at which Lysim[achus] is collector; in the account of Sarapion and his partners, [contractors for the duties] on sales, for which the subscribing clerks are Hermophilus and Sar[apion] the countersigners: the purchaser being Pechytes the son of Arsiesis: one fourth part of a piece of uncultivated ground, $3\frac{1}{8}$ rods, in the southern part of Diospolis the Great, to the west of the Course of Juno, leading to the river, of which the boundaries are shown by the annexed deed; which he bought of Ammonius the son of Pyrrhius, and Psenamunis the son of Pyrrhius. Two talents of brass, the duty on which is 600 drachmæ; 600.

Lysimachus, collector.

There remains a fourth enchorial manuscript, of some importance, at present in the British Museum, but still belonging to Mr. Salt, without whose permission it would be improper to make public its whole contents, even if they were perfectly intelligible. But, in fact, the preamble of this manuscript has been lost, and the registry is nearly illegible, except that the date is clearly XLVII, and the signature of the President at the table of Hermopolis appears to be Dionysius. The names of Horus and Erieus and Arsiesis are also distinguishable in the body of the deed, and the word "two thousand" is written at length, at the end of the registry. Now the year 47 can only

belong to the reign of Philadelphus, or to that of Eupator, and the style of the registry too much resembles that of all the other deeds, including Anastasy's, to allow us to assign it to the former reign: it must, therefore, belong, not to 277, but to 124 B.C. This date will not, indeed, give us any certain evidence respecting that of Mr. Grey's deeds: though it might rather incline us to take the later than the earlier, of two periods, equally probable in other respects. On the whole, we can only leave the alternative open for future decision between the dates as thus contrasted:

Mr. Grey's enchorial deed	(A), XXVIII	154	or 143 B.C.
	(B), XXIX	153	142
	(C), XXXV	147	136
Mr. Grey's Greek Antigraph, or rather the enchorial deed of Paris	XXXVI	146	135
Mr. Salt's enchorial deed	XLVII		124
Anastasy's Greek conveyance	XII-IX		106.

The registry of Mr. Grey's first deed is therefore at least 37, and, on the whole, most probably 48 years more ancient than any other writing with a pen and ink that exists; and it still remains in the most perfect preservation. Mr. Jomard has compared the manuscript of Anastasy, for its importance, to the pillar of Rosetta; but it can in no respect whatever be put in competition with the Antigraph of Mr. Grey.

SPECIMEN OF MR. GREY'S ENCHORIAL PAPYRUS.

CHAPTER VII.*

EXTRACTS FROM STRABO; ALPHABET OF CHAMPOLLION; HIEROGLYPHICAL AND ENCHORIAL NAMES.

THE manner in which the Hieroglyphical alphabet was employed, in the time of the Roman emperors, may be understood from the examination of the specimens inserted in this chapter; they comprehend an example of each of the names and titles which Mr. Champollion has included in his catalogue. In order to illustrate the veneration paid to the Roman emperors in Egypt, I shall subjoin an extract from Strabo, relating to the administration of that country, in the days of the earlier Caesars, for he was a contemporary and a subject of Tiberius.

Book XVII. "The whole of Egypt was divided into Nomes, the Thebaid containing ten, the Delta ten, and the intermediate parts sixteen, making in all 36.. The nomes were generally divided into Toparchiae, or local governments: and these again into other portions.. At Alexandria, the Necropolis is a separate suburb, containing gardens, and sepulchres, and subterraneous passages, employed for preserving the dead."

"After the death of Julius Caesar, and after the battle of Philippi, Antony went into Asia, and paid extravagant honours to Cleopatra, even making her his wife, and having several children by her. He carried on, in concert with her, the war that was terminated at Actium, and accompanied her, as is well known, in her flight. Augustus following them, destroyed them both, and set Egypt at rest from the revels of a drunkard. It is now governed as a province, or an Eparchia, paying considerable taxes, but being always administered by moderate men, who are sent as Governors, and who hold the rank of a

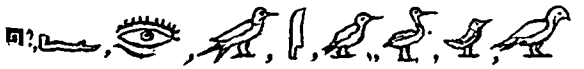
* It has not been thought necessary to reprint Chapter VI., which consisted entirely of extracts from Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus relating to mummies. They were embodied by Dr. Young in his Essay on account of the light thrown upon them by the discovery of Mr. Grey's Greek papyrus.—*Ed.*

king. Under the governor is the Dicæodotes, that is the law-giver, or chancellor: another officer is called the Privy purse, or private accountant, whose business it is to take charge of everything which is left without an owner, and which falls of right to the emperor. These two are also attended by Freedmen and Stewards of Caesar, who are intrusted with affairs of greater or less magnitude. There are also three battalions of soldiers, one in the city of Alexandria, the others in the country. Besides these, there are nine companies of Romans; three in the city, three in garrison at Syene, upon the frontiers of Ethiopia, and three in other parts of the country. There are also three regiments of cavalry, similarly distributed, among the fittest places. But of the natives, who are employed in the government of the different cities, the principal are the Exegétes, or Expounder, who is dressed in purple, and is honoured according to the usages of the country, and takes care of what is necessary for the welfare of the city; and the Register or writer of commentaries; and the Archidicastes, or chief judge; and fourthly, the Captain of the Night. These same magistracies existed in the time of the kings: but the kings governed so ill, that the welfare of the state was disturbed by all kinds of irregularities. Polybius, who was in Egypt, expresses his horror of the condition of the country at that time: he says there were three kinds of inhabitants in Alexandria; the Egyptians, or the people of the country, a keen and civilised race, and the mercenary troops who were numerous and turbulent; for it was the custom to keep foreign soldiers in their pay, who, having arms in their hands, were more ready to govern than to obey: the third description of people were the Alexandrians, not very decidedly tractable, for similar reasons, but still, better than the last: for those who had mixed with them were originally Greeks, and remembered the habits of their country. This part of the population was however then dwindling away, more especially through Evergétes Physcon, in whose reign Polybius came to Alexandria: for on several occasions, when there had been some seditious proceedings, he attacked this plebeian multitude with his troops, and destroyed

great numbers of them. Polybius could not therefore help exclaiming, that he had "To Egypt come a long and weary way," with but little pleasure or comfort. The subsequent sovereigns administered their governments as ill, or still worse. The Romans may be said to have effected a great reformation in many respects, and to have regulated the city very effectually; and in the country they appointed persons as Commanders, and Monarchae, and Ethnarchae, that is, masters of single places, and of districts, without very extensive powers .. With respect to the revenues of the country, we may judge of them from Cicero, who mentions in one of his orations, that Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, had an income, from the taxes, of twelve thousand five hundred talents, [between three and four millions sterling]. If then a king, who administered his government in the worst and most negligent manner possible, received so large a revenue, what are we to suppose it must be at present, when it is managed with so much care, and when it has been so much increased by the enlargement of the Indian and African commerce? In former times, there were not twenty vessels, that ventured to navigate the Red Sea, so as to pass out of the Straits: but now there are great fleets, that make the voyage to India, and to the remotest parts of Ethiopia, returning, laden with very valuable cargoes, to Egypt, whence they are distributed to other parts; so that they are subjected to a double duty, first upon importation, and then upon exportation: and the customs upon these valuable articles are themselves proportionally valuable; besides that they have the advantages of a monopoly: since Alexandria alone is so situated, as to afford in general, the only warehouse for receiving them, and for supplying other places with them."

From a comparison of the Enchorial names, which are here inserted, we may confidently add to the alphabet a semicircle, open above, as a form of the P; we have also several variations of the T, and perhaps of the TH; and the character which is sometimes represented by Z, and sometimes by S, must, in all

probability, be the Coptic SH; so that ZMINIS ought rather to be written SHMINIS, meaning OCTAVIUS from SHMEN *eight*. The same character is found in the phrase of the Pillar of Rosetta, "who has *received* the kingdom from his father;" and may probably have belonged to the word SHEP, if it is allowable to pursue the analogy so far: it is also remarkable, that the hieroglyphic, which corresponds to this character, has very nearly the same form with that, to which Mr. Champollion attributes the power of SH or X in the name of Xerxes. His Enchorial form of the CH is wholly unsupported by any of these names.


A

B *

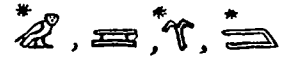
K, Γ

T, Δ *

E

I, H *

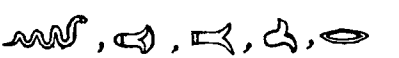
Λ *


M *

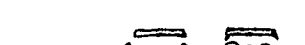
N *

Ω, O *

Φ, Π *


P

Σ *

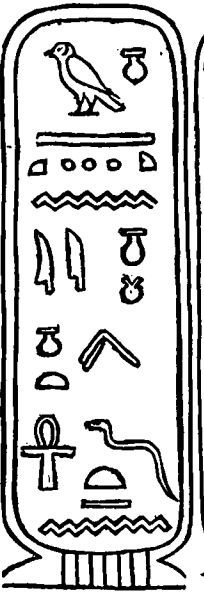

TO

* Y. † B.

ADRIANUS:
CAESAR.

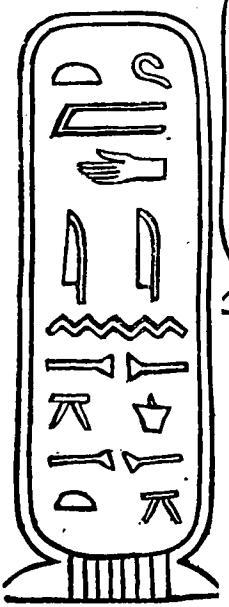
ALEXANDRUS.

ANTONINUS:
(*c. sempiternus.*)



AUTOCRATOR:
CAESARIS.

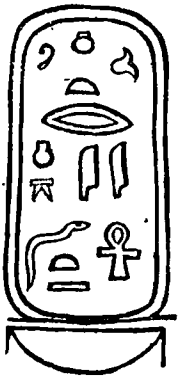
DOMITIANUS:
SEBASTUS.



CLEOPATRA.

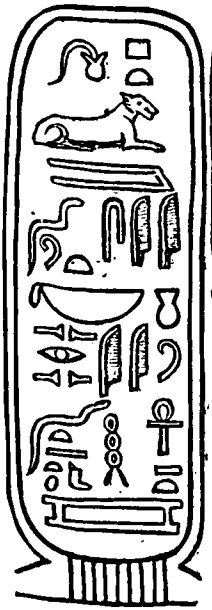
CAESARIS.

NERVA:
TRAJANUS:
sempit.



BERENICES.

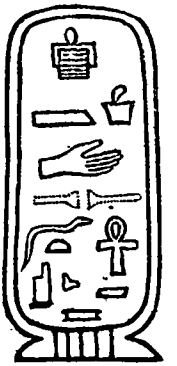
PTOLEMAEUS :
C. NEOCAESARIS :
semp : dil : Is : Phth.



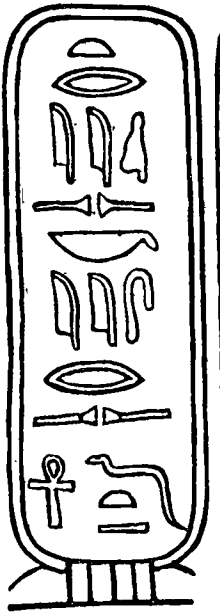
SABINA.

SEBASTE :
sempiterna.

SEBASTUS :
semp. Is : Phth.



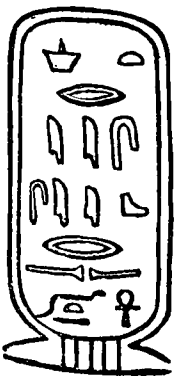
TRAJANUS :
CAESARIS : *semp.*



TRAJANUS : C.
GERMANICUS :
DACICUS.

VESPASIANUS :
PIUS ?

TIBERIUS :
CAESARIS : *semp.*



COGNOMINE.

AËTUS

ALECIS, LEÇIS?

ALEXANDER

ALEXANDRIA

AMENOTHÈS

AMMON, JUPITER

AMMONIUS

AMONORYTIUS

AMONRASONTHER

ANTIGENES

ANTIMACHUS

APOLLONIUS

AREIA

ARM"ENIS"

ARSIESIS

ARSINOE

ASUS, ASYS, ASOS

ATHYR

BERENICE

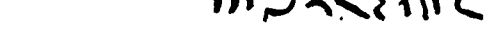
BUSIRITES

CHAPOCHONSIS

CHAPOCRATES

CHIMNARAUS

CLEOPATRA

DIOGENES 

EIRENE, IRENE

ERIEUS

HORUS

ISIS

LUBAIS

LYCOPOLIS

MAESIS

MECHIR

MESORE

MIRSIS

MUTHES

NECHTHMONTHES

ONNOPHRIS

OSIRIS

OSOROERIS

PACEMIS

PANAS

PATEUTEMIS

PETEUTEMIS

PECHYTES

PETEARPOCRATES

PETEARTRES

PETECHONSIS

PETEMESTUS

PETENEPHOTES

PETEURIS

PETOPHOIS

PETOSIRIS

PHABIS

PHANRES

PHIBIS

PHILINUS

PORTIS

PSENAMUNIS

PSENCHONSIS

PTOLEMAEUS

PYRRHA

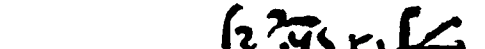
PYRRHIUS

SENERIEUS

SENOSOR

SENPOERIS

SNACHOMES

SNACHOMNEUS 

SOTER

SPOTUS

TBAEAIS

TEEPHBIS

THOTH, HERMES

THOYTH

THYNABUNUN

TOTOES

ZMINIS

ZTHENAËTES

ZOGLYPHUS

From these specimens, we are also enabled to make some further inferences respecting the "popular" system of writing among the Egyptians. They show incontestably that the employment of the alphabet, discovered by Akerblad, is not altogether confined to foreign, or at least to Grecian names: it is applicable, for example, very readily, to the words Lubais, Tbaeais, Phabis, and perhaps to some others. But they exhibit also unequivocal traces of a kind of syllabic writing, in which the names of some of the deities seem to have been principally employed, in order to compose that of the individual concerned. Thus it appears that wherever both M and N occur, either together or separated by a vowel, the symbol of the god Ammon or Amun is almost uniformly employed: for example, in AMENothes, AMONorytius, AMONrasonther, CHIMNaraus, PsenAMUNis, and SnachomNeus, in which we find neither M nor N, but the symbol for AMMON, or Jupiter. It follows, therefore, that such must have been the original pronunciation of the word, and that this deity was not called either HO or NO, as Akerblad was disposed to imagine. In the same manner we have traces of Osiris, Arueris, Isis, and Re; in *Osoroeris*, *Petosiris*, *Senpoeris*, *Arsiesis*, *Maesis*, and *Peteartres*. The SE, in PSenamunis and SEnerieus, is the symbol for a child, and is probably a contraction of SHERI: the gender seems to be distinguished in the enchorial name, while the distinction is lost in the alphabetical mode of writing.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE PTOLEMIES, EXTRACTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS.

I.—*EXTRACT from* PORPHYRY, *an author of the age of Diocletian, as quoted in Scaliger's* EUSEBIUS, *and probably* thence *in the Armenian Translation.*

Alexander, the Macedonian, died in the CXIVth Olympiad, after a reign of 12 years in the whole; and was succeeded in

his kingdom by Aridaeus, whose name was changed to Philip, being brother to Alexander by another mother; for he was the son of Philip by Philinna of Larissa: and after a reign of seven years, he was killed in Macedonia by Polysperchon the son of Antipater.

Now Ptolemy the son of Arsinoe and of Lagus, after one year of this reign, by an appointment derived from Philip, was sent as a Satrap into Egypt; which he governed in this capacity for 17 years, and afterwards, with Royal authority, for 23; so that the number of all the years of his government, to the time of his death, became 40; but since he retired from the government two years before, in favour of his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, and considered himself as a subject of his son, who had been crowned in his place, the years of this first Ptolemy, called Soter, are reckoned not 40, but 38 only.

He was succeeded by his son, surnamed, as already mentioned, Philadelphus, who reigned two years during his father's life, and thirty [six] afterwards, so that his whole reign occupied, like his father's, 38 years.

In the third place, the throne was ascended by Ptolemy surnamed Evergetes, who reigned 25 years.

In the fourth by Ptolemy called Philopator, whose reign was in the whole 17 years.

After him, the fifth Ptolemy was surnamed Epiphanes, and reigned 24 years.

Epiphanes had two sons, both named Ptolemy, who reigned after him; the elder was surnamed Philometor and the younger Evergetes the Second; their reigns together occupy a period of 64 years. We have placed this as a single number, because, as they were at variance with each other, and reigned alternately, the dates were necessarily confounded: for Philometor first reigned eleven years alone; but when Antiochus made war upon Egypt, and deprived him of his crown, the Alexandrians committed the government to the charge of his younger brother; and, having driven back Antiochus, set Philometor at liberty. They then numbered the year the [twelfth] of Philometor and the first of Evergetes; and this system was continued till the seventeenth: but from the eighteenth forwards, the years are attributed to Philometor alone.

For the elder, having been expelled from his kingdom by the younger, was restored by the Romans; and he retained the crown of Egypt, leaving his brother the dominion of Libya, and continued to reign alone for 18 years. He died in Syria, having conquered that country: Evergetes being then recalled from Cyrene, and proclaimed King, continued to number the years of his reign from his first accession to the crown; so that, having reigned [29] years after the death of his brother, he extended his dates to 54: for the 36th year of Philometor, which should have been called his 1st, he determined to make the 25th. In the whole therefore we have 64: first 35 of Philometor, and the remainder of Evergetes: but the subdivision may lead to confusion.

Now Ptolemy Evergetes the second had two sons, called Ptolemy, by Cleopatra; the elder Soter, and the younger [Alexander]. The elder was proclaimed king by his mother: and, appearing to be obsequious to her wishes, he was beloved for a certain time: but when, in the tenth year of his reign, he put to death the friends of his parents, he was deposed by his mother for his cruelty, and driven as a fugitive into Cyprus.

The mother then sent for her younger son from Pelusium, and proclaimed him sovereign together with herself; so that they reigned in common, the dates of public acts being referred to both: and the year was called the eleventh of Cleopatra, and the eighth of Ptolemy Alexander: comprehending the time as a part of his reign, which began with the fourth year of his brother; during which he reigned in Cyprus: and this custom continued during the whole of the life of Cleopatra, but after her death the epoch of Alexander alone was employed; and, though he actually held the sceptre for eighteen years only, from the time of his return to Alexandria, he appears, in his public records, as having reigned twenty-six. In his nineteenth year, having quarrelled with his troops, he went out into the country in order to raise a force to control them; but they pursuing him, under the command of Tyrrhus, a relation of the royal family, engaged him by sea, and compelled him to fly, with his wife and daughter, to Myrae, a city of Lycia:

whence crossing over to Cyprus, and being attacked by Chaereas, who had the command of the hostile fleet, he was killed in battle.

The Alexandrians, after his flight, sent an embassy to the elder Ptolemy, Soter [or Lathurus], inviting him back from Cyprus to take possession of the kingdom. During the seven years and six months that he survived, after his return, the whole time that had elapsed since the death of his father was attributed to his reign: so that the number of years became 35, and 6 months, of which, however, only 17 and 6 months properly belonged to him, in the two separate portions of his reign: while the second brother, Alexander, had reigned 18 in the intermediate time: and although these could not be effaced from the annals, they suppressed them as far as it was in their power; since he had offended them by some alliance with the Jews. They do not therefore reckon these years separately, but attribute the whole 36 to the elder brother, omitting again to assign to Cleopatra, the daughter of the elder and wife of the younger brother, who took possession of the government after her father's death, the six months that she reigned, which were a part of the 36th year; nor did they distinguish by the name of the Alexander that succeeded her, the nineteen days that he retained the crown.

This Alexander was the son of the younger brother, Ptolemy Alexander, and the step-son of Cleopatra: he was residing at Rome, and the Egyptian dynasty failing of male heirs, he came by invitation to Alexandria, and married this same Cleopatra [his step-mother]; and, having deprived her by force of her authority, he put her to death after 19 days, and was himself killed in the Gymnasium by the guards, whom his barbarity had disgusted.

Alexander the second was succeeded by Ptolemy, who was called Neus Dionysus, or the young Bacchus, the son of Ptolemy Soter, and the brother of the Cleopatra last mentioned: his reign continued for 29 years.

His daughter Cleopatra was the last of the family of the Lagidae, and the years assigned to her reign are 22.

Neither did these different reigns fill up the whole series of

years from beginning to end in a regular order, but several of them were intermixed with the others. For, in the time of Dionysus, three years are attributed to his two daughters, Cleopatra Tryphaena, and Berenice; a year conjointly, and two years, after the death of Cleopatra Tryphaena, to Berenice alone; because in this interval Ptolemy was gone to Rome, and was spending his time there, while his daughters, as if he were not about to return, took possession of the government for themselves; Berenice having also called in to a share of her dominions some men who were her relations: until Ptolemy, returning from Rome, and forgetting the indulgence due to a daughter, took offence at her conduct and deprived her of life.

The first years of the reign of his successor Cleopatra were also referred to her in common with her elder brother Ptolemy; and the following to other persons, for this reason: Ptolemy Neus Dionysus [or Auletes], left at his death four children, two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra, and Arsinoe; appointing as his successors his two elder children, Ptolemy and Cleopatra: they were considered as joint sovereigns for four years, and would have remained so, but that Ptolemy, having departed from his father's commands, and resolved to keep the whole power in his own hands, it was his fate to be slain in a sea fight near the coasts of Egypt, by Julius Caesar, who took part with Cleopatra.

After the destruction of this Ptolemy, Cleopatra's younger brother, also named Ptolemy, was placed on the throne with his sister, by Caesar's decree, and the year was called the fifth of Cleopatra, and the first of Ptolemy: and this custom continued till his death, for two more years. But when he had been destroyed by the arts of Cleopatra, in his fourth year and in the eighth of his sister, the subsequent years were distinguished by the name of Cleopatra alone, as far as fifteen. The sixteenth was named also the first, since, after the death of Lysimachus, king of Chalcis in Syria, the "Autocrator" Marc Antony gave Chalcis and all the neighbouring country to Cleopatra; and from this time the remaining years of her reign, as far as the 22nd, which was the last, were reckoned in the same manner, with an additional number, the 22nd having been called also

the 7th, [as the Armenian has very properly read, for the 27th].

From Cleopatra the government devolved to Octavius Caesar, called also Augustus, who overcame the power of Egypt in the battle of Actium, the second year of the CLXXXIVth Olympiad. And from the first year of the CXIth Olympiad, when Aridaeus Philippus [or rather Alexander] the son of Philip, took possession of the government, to the second of the CLXXXIVth, there are 73 Olympiads and a year, or 293 years. And so many are the years of the sovereigns that reigned in Alexandria, to the time of the death of Cleopatra.

II.—*Blair's Chronology of the Ptolemies.*

Year of Nab.	Olympiad.	B.C.		
413	CXI, year 1	336		Aug. Alexander succeeds Philip.
426	CXIV, 2	323		Apr. 21: Alexander dies: Ptolemy S. I.
464	CXXIII, 4	285	39	Ptolemy Soter.
465	CXXIV, 1	284	1	Ptolemy Philadelphus.
502	CXXXIII, 2	247	38	
503	3	246	1	Ptolemy Evergetes.
527	CXXXIX, 3	222	25	
528	4	221	1	Ptolemy Philopator.
544	CXLIII, 4	205	17	
545	CXLIV, 1	204	1	Ptolemy Epiphanes.
568	CXLIX, 4	181	24	
569	CL, 1	180	1	Ptolemy Philometor.
579	CLII, 3	170	11	
580	4	169	12	Ptolemy [Eupator.]
600	CLVII, 4	149	35	Ptolemy Philometor.
604	CLVIII, 4	145	1	Ptolemy [Eupator].
632	CLXV, 4	117	21	
633	CLXVI, 1	116	9	Ptolemy Lathurus and Cleopatra.
642	CLXVIII, 2	107	10	
643	2	106	1	Cleopatra and Alexander.
660	CLXXII, 4	89	18	
661	CLXXIII, 1	88	1	Ptolemy Lathurus.
667	CLXXIV, 3	82	7	

Year of Nab.	Olympiad.		B.C.		
668	year	4	81	[1]	Cleopatra II., 6 months; Alexander II., 19 days.
669	CLXXV,	1	80	1	Ptolemy Alexander III.
683	CLXXVIII,	3	66	15	
684		4	65	1	Ptolemy Auletes.
697	CLXXXII,	1	52	14	
698		2	51	1	Ptolemy Dionysius II. and Cleopatra III.
702	CLXXXIII,	2	47	5	
703		3	46	1	Cleopatra III., Ptolemy jun.
704		4	45	2	
705	CLXXXIV,	1	44	3	Ptolemy dies, leaving Cleopatra III.
719	CLXXXVII,	3	30	17	Sept. 2. Battle of Actium. Augustus makes Egypt a Roman province.

III.—*Chronology of the Ptolemies, according to Champollion-Figeac.* Annales des Lagides, 2 v. 8. Par. 1819.

B.C.			
323	May 30 .		Death of Alexander. Nab. 424. Ol. CXIII. 4.
323	Oct. . .		Ptolemy Soter arrives in Egypt.
285	End . .	39	Ptolemy places Philadelphus on the throne.
284	Nov. 2 .	1	Philadelphus.
246	Summer.	38 : 1	of Evergetes.
221	Summer.	25 : 1	of Philopator.
204	March 29	17 : 1	of Epiphanes.
180	March .	24 : 1	of Philometor.
146	Autumn.	35 : 1	of Evergetes II. [Eupator.]
117	Oct. . .	29 : 1	of Lathurus.
107	Summer.	10	Lathurus expelled; Alexander reigns.
88	Summer.	29	Lathurus restored; Alexander dies.
81	Middle .	36 : 1	Lathurus dies; Berenice reigns 6 months; Alexander II.
72	Beginning	8 : 1	Ptolemy Auletes, "22 years" only.
51	Spring .	"22": 1	Cleopatra with her brother Ptolemy.
47	July . .	5	of Cleopatra; 1 of Ptolemy the Younger.
44	July . .	8	Ptolemy poisoned early in the year.
41	July . .	11	Caesarion takes the title of king. [The Neocaesar of the Hieroglyphical alphabet.]
30	Sept. 2 .	22	Battle of Actium.
29	August 1	22	Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt a Roman province.

IV.—*Mr. St. Martin's Chronology of the Ptolemies.* Recherches sur la Mort d'Alexandre, 8. Par. 1820.

Nabon.	B.C.		
424	324	June 22	Death of Alexander, Ol. CXIII., 4.
	323	Nov. 8	Ptolemy Soter governor of Egypt, 17 years.
	306	Nov. 1	Ptolemy Soter king; reigns 21 years.
	285	Nov. 7	Soter and his son Philadelphus reign, 2 years.
	283	Oct. 17	Philadelphus; reigns alone 36 years.
	247	Nov. 8	Ptolemy Evergetes; reigns 25 years.
	222	Nov. 2	Ptolemy Philopator; reigns 17 years.
	" 210	Oct. 9	Ptolemy Epiphanes associated in the crown."
	" 208	Oct. 28	First year named after Epiphanes with his father."
	205	Oct. 13	Epiphanes reigns alone, 24 years.
	199	Mar. 28	Anticipated coronation of Epiphanes.
	181	Oct. 28	Ptolemy Philometor reigns alone 11 years.
	170	Oct. 29	With Evergetes II. [Eupator], 6 years.
	164	Oct. 21	Alone again, 18 years; Evergetes at Cyrene.
	146	Nov. 2	Evergetes II. alone 29 years.
	117	Nov. 10	Soter II. [Lathurus] with Cleopatra, 10 years.
	114	Nov. 8	Alexander I. reigns 7 years in Cyprus.
	107	Oct. 21	Alexander reigns 18 years; Soter in Cyprus.
	89	Nov. 1	Soter II. restored, reigns 8 years.
	82	Oct. 17	Last of Soter: Berenice reigns 6 months; Alexander II. 19 days.
	81	Nov. 4	Ptolemy Auletes; reigns 29 years.
	59	Feb. 24	In the Roman year beginning this day, Auletes was acknowledged king by the Senate.
	58	Feb. 14	He was driven out of Egypt after this day, which was the beginning of a Roman year.
	58	Oct. 21	Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice; 1 year.
	57	Nov. 7	Berenice; 2 years with Cybiosactes and Archelaus.
	55	May 2	Auletes had been re-established.
	52	Nov. 12	Cleopatra with the elder Ptolemy; 4 years.
	48	June 29	Battle of Pharsalia.
	47	Feb. 6	Alexandria taken by Caesar; death of Ptolemy.
	47	Oct. 18	Cleopatra with the younger Ptolemy.
	44	Oct. 15	Cleopatra alone; 14 years.
	31	Sept. 2	Battle of Actium.
		Oct. 21	Last year of Cleopatra begins.
	30	Aug. 1	Alexandria taken by Augustus: end of the Lagidae.

Mr. St. Martin being the latest Chronologist, that has examined these dates, I have thought it right to insert his table, which I suppose to be correct in the principal part of its foundation, although I cannot readily believe that he is right in attributing to the Ptolemies the observance of the Macedonian year rather than of the Egyptian. He says that in Egypt, as all the world knows, the years of the sovereigns were reckoned from the first day of the year in which they took the reins of government: meaning by this the first day of the Macedonian year: it appears, however, unquestionable from almost every inscription and manuscript found in Egypt, which exhibits a date, that the Egyptian months and years were employed almost exclusively in that country. It happens, however, that about the time in question, the beginning of these years did not vary very exorbitantly from each other: the Egyptian year having begun in September, October, November, or December: and the Macedonian, according to Mr. St. Martin, in October or November.

V.—*Genealogy of the Ptolemies, from Champollion-Figeac, I., p. 231.*

Reigns.	Names and Descriptions.	Reigned. Yrs. M.	Death.	Wives.	Children.
I.	SOTER. Son of Lagus and Arsinoe, first governor, then king.	39 5	Natural.	1. 2. 3. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater. 4. Berenice, died old.	[Arsinoe.] Ceraunus: seized the crown of Macedonia. Philadelphus: succeeded him.
II.	PHILADELPHUS. Son of Soter and Berenice.	37 11	Natural.	1. Arsinoe, d. of Lysimachus, and of his sister. 2. Arsinoe, her mother.	Evergetes. None.
III.	EVERGETES: Tryphon; son of Philadelphus and Arsinoe.	25 0	Poisoned by his son.	Berenice, daughter of Magas.	Philopator. Magas: put to death by his brother. Arsinoe.
IV.	PHILOPATOR: Gallus: son of Evergetes and Berenice.	16 5	Natural.	Arsinoe, his sister: killed by her husband.	Epiphanes.
V.	EPIPHANES. Son of Philopator and Arsinoe.	24 0	Poisoned.	Cleopatra, d. of the king of Syria, survived him 8 y.	Philometor. Cacergetes. Cleopatra.
VI.	PHILOMETOR. Son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra.	11 0			
VII.	EVERGETES II. Physcon Cacergetes. Philologus. [Eupator.] Brother of Philometor.	4 0			
VIII.	PHILOMETOR and EVERGETES.	2 0			
IX.	PHILOMETOR.	18 0	Fall from his horse.	Cleopatra, his sister.	A son: killed by his uncle. Cleopat. Cocce.
X.	EVERGETES II.	29 0	Natural.	1. Cleopatra, his brother's widow, repudiated. 2. Cleopatra Cocce, her daughter.	Memphites killed by his father. Lathurus. Alexander Tryphaena: married Antiochus. Cleopatra: m. Lathurus, k. by Tryph. Selene: mar. Lathurus; afterwards Antiochus.

Reigns.	Names and Descriptions.	Reigned. Yrs. M.	Death.	Wives.	Children.
XI.	SOTER II. Lathurus: Pothinus. With Cleopatra Cocce, his mother.	10 0	(Deposed.)	1. Cleopatra, his sister, repudiated.	Berenice.
				2. Selene: repudiated, and given to Antiochus.	
				3. A concubine.	Auletes.
					Another son, who reigned in Cyprus, and killed himself.
					Cleopatra.
XII.	ALEXANDER, Parisactes, his brother. With Cleopatra Cocce.	17 6	Killed in battle, after killing his mother.	Uncertain.	Alexander II.
					A daughter; killed with him.
XIII.	SOTER II., again.	8 0	Natural.		
XIV.	BERENICE, daughter of Soter.	0 6	Killed by Alexander II.		
XV.	ALEXANDER II. Son of Alexander.	"8 3" [19 d.]	"Dies at Tyre."	Berenice; whom he killed.	
XVI.	NEUS DIONYSUS: Auletes. Natural son of Lathurus.	"16 0"		Cleopatra.	Berenice.
					Cleopatra.
					Ptolemy: drow.
					Ptolemy: pois.
					Arsinoe, left Egypt.
XVII.	BERENICE, daughter of Auletes.	2 0	Killed by her father.		
XVIII.	AULETES.	2 0	Natural.		
XIX.	PTOLEMY the elder and Cleopatra, children of Auletes.	3 0	Drowned after a battle.	Cleopatra, his sister.	
XX.	PTOLEMY the Younger and Cleopatra.	4 6	Poisoned by his wife.	Cleopatra, his sister.	
XXI.	CLEOPATRA, alone.	14 3	Killed herself.	By Julius Caesar.	Caesarion.
				By Antony.	A son.
					A son.
					A daughter: carried in triumph by Augustus.

VI.—*Approximate dates of the various Reigns; according to Porphyry and to the Medals.*

B.C.	Ptolemy Soter.
323	1
322	2
321	3
320	4
319	5
318	6
317	7
316	8
315	9
314	10
313	11
312	12
311	13
310	14
309	15
308	16
307	17
306	18
305	19
304	20
303	21
302	22
301	23
300	24
299	25
298	26
297	27
296	28
295	29
294	30
293	31
292	32
291	33
290	34
289	35
288	36
287	37
286	38
	Soter and Philadelphus.
285	39
284	40
	Philadelphus.
283	41
282	42
281	43

B.C.	Philadelphus.
280	44
279	45
278	46
277	47
276	48
275	49
274	50
273	51
272	52
271	53
270	54
269	55
268	56
	{57? {19?
267	
266	20
265	21
264	22
263	23
262	24
261	25
260	26
259	27
258	28
257	29
256	30
255	31
254	32
253	33
252	34
251	35
250	36
249	37
248	38
	Evergetes.
247	1
246	2
245	3
244	4
243	5
242	6
241	7
240	8
239	9
238	10
237	11
236	12
235	13

B.C.	Evergetes.
234	14
233	15
232	16
231	17
230	18
229	19
228	20
227	21
226	22
225	23
224	24
223	25
	Philopator.
222	1
221	2
220	3
219	4
218	5
217	6
216	7
215	8
214	9
213	10
212	11
211	12
210	13
209	14
	Philopator and Epiphanes.
208	15
207	16
206	17
	Epiphanes.
205	1
204	2
203	3
202	4
201	5
200	6
199	7
198	8
197	9
196	10
195	11
194	12

B.C.	Epiphanes.
193	13
192	14
191	15
190	16
189	17
188	18
187	19
186	20
185	21
184	22
183	23
182	24
	Philometor.
181	1
180	2
179	3
178	4
177	5
176	6
175	7
174	8
173	9
172	10
171	11
	Philometor and Evergetes II.
170	12—1
169	13—2
168	14—3
167	15—4
166	16—5
165	17—6
	Philometor.
164	18
163	19
162	20
161	21
160	22
159	23
158	24
157	25
156	26
155	27
154	28

B.C.	Philometor.
153	29
152	30
151	31
150	32
149	33
148	34
147	35
146	36
	Evergetes II.
146	25
145	26
144	27
143	28
142	29
141	30
140	31
139	32
138	33
137	34
136	35
135	36
134	37
133	38
132	39
131	40
130	41
129	42
128	43
127	44
126	45
125	46
124	47
123	48
122	49
121	50
120	51
119	52
118	53
117	54
	Lathurus and Cleopatra.
117	1
116	2
115	3
114	4
113	5

B.C.	Lathurus and Cleopatra.
112	6
111	7
110	8
109	9
108	10
	Cleopatra and Alexander.
107	11— 8
106	12— 9
105	13—10
104	14—11
103	15—12
102	16—13
101	17—14
100	18—15
99	19—16
98	20—17
97	21—18
96	22—19
95	23—20
94	24—21

B.C.	Cleopatra and Alexander.
93	25—22
92	26—23.
91	27—24
90	28—25
	Alexander.
89	26
88	27
	Lathurus.
88	30
87	31
86	32
85	33
84	34
83	35
82	36
81	37?
	Berenice.
81	1

B.C.	Alexander II.
81	1
	Auletes.
81	1
80	2
79	3
78	4
77	5
76	6
75	7
74	8
73	9
72	10
71	11
70	12
69	13
68	14
67	15
66	16
65	17
64	18
63	19

B.C.	Auletes.
62	20
61	21
60	22
59	23
58	24
	Cleopatra and Berenice.
57	1
	Berenice.
56	1
55	2
	Auletes.
54	28
53	29
	Cleopatra and Ptolemy.
52	1
51	2

B.C.	Cleopatra and Ptolemy.
50	3
49	4
	Cleopatra and Ptolemy jun.
48	5—1
47	6—2
46	7—3
45	8—4
44	9
43	10
42	11
41	12
40	13
39	14
38	15
37	16—1
36	17—2
35	18—3
34	19—4
33	20—5
32	21—6
31	22—7

APPENDIX I.

I.—Greek Papyrus of Mr. Grey.

(1) ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦον συΝΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΣ περι νεκΡΩΝ εν ΘΥν̄. γενοΜΕΝΗΣ (2) ΚΑΤΑΔ Υ...

(3) ΕΤΟΥΣ Λϛ αθυΡ|Κ̄ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΤΑΔΕ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΧΟΛΧΥΤΗΣ (4) ΤΩΝ Δουλων ισιδος ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΣ ΩΡΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ (5) ΣΕΝΠΟΗΡις ως L Μ ΕΥΠΕΤΕΣΙΟΣ ΜΕΓας μεΛΙΧΡΩΣ ΚΟΙΛΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ (6) ΑΝΑΦΑΛΑΝτος ΩΡΩΙ ΩΡΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΣΕΝΠΟΗΡΙΣ ΗΥΔΟΚΗσΕ ΑΣΜΕ [νως?] (7) ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜης του ΗΜΙΣΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ της ΛΟΓΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ (8) ΝΕΚΡΩΝ εν ΘΥΝΑΒΟΥΝΟΥΝ· ΕΝ τηι ΛΙΒΥΗΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΘΗΒΑΣ (9) ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΙΟΙΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΜΙΣΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΩΝ (10) ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΩΝ ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ | ΜΟΥΘΗΣ ΣΠΟΤΟΥΤΟΣ ΣΥΝ (11) ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ πΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΑΠΟΧΡΑΤΗΣ ΝΕΧΘΜΩΝΘΟΥ ΣΥΝ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ (12) ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩν αΡΣΙΗΣΙΣ ΝΕΧΘΜΩΝΘΟΥ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΠΕΤΕΜΕΣΤΟΥΣ (13) ΝΕΧΘΜωνθου ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ ΑΡΣΙΗΣΙΣ ΖΜΙΝΙΟΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ (14) ΟΣΟΡΟΗΡΙΣ ωρου οΜΟΙΩΣ ΣΠΟΤΟΥΣ ΧΑΠΟΧΩΝΣΙΟΣ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ (15) ΖΩΓΛΥΦΟΣ ΑΦ ΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΕΙ ΑΣΩΤΙ ΩΡΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΣΕΝΠΟΗΡΙΣ (16) ΤΩΙ ΝΕωτΕΡΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΧΟΛΧΥΤωΝ ΤΟ ΗΜΙΣΥ (17) ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΕΙρηΜΕνΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ (18) ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩν σΠΕΔΟΤΟ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ λϛ̄ . . αθΥΡ ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (19) ΑΙΩΝΟΒιΟΥ εις ΠΛΗΡΩΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΜΙΣΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΠΕΙΩΝ (20) ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩν νεΚΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΥ. ΠΑΤΕΥΤΗΜΕΙ ΣΥΝ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ (21) ΠΑΝΤΩΝ Και ηΜΙΣΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΠΕΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ (22) ΠΕΤΕΧΩνσΙΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΚΤΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΑΣΙΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ (23) ΦΡΕΚΑΓΗΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤωι ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΑΦ ΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΕΙ (24) ΤΩΙ ΛΥΤΩΙ ασΩΤΙ ΤΟ ΗΜΙΣΥ ΑΠΕΔΟΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΣΑ ΕΙ-

ΣΙΝ (25) ΚΑΙ ΕΧΩ ΑΥτΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΚΟΥΘΕΝ ΣΟΙ ΕΓΚΑΛΩ (26) ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ αΠΟ ΤΗΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΣΟΙ ΕΠΕΛΘΗΙ (27) ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ υΠΟΣΤΗΣΩ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΣΤΗΣΩΙ (28) ΑΠΟΣΤΗΣΩ ΕΠΑΝΑΓΚΟΝ ΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ ΩΡΟΣ ΦΑΒΙΤΟΣ Ο ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ (29) ΙΕΡΕΙΩΝ του ΑμοΝΡΑΣΟΝΘΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΝΑΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΜΟΝΟ(30)ΓΡΑΦΟΣ ΜαρτυΡΕΣ ΕΡΙΕΥΣ ΦΑΝΡΕΟΥΣ ΠΕΤΕΑΡΤΡΗΣ ΠΑΤΕΥΤΗΜΙΟΣ (31) ΠΕΤΕΑΡΠΟΧΡΑΤΗΣ ωροΥ ΣΝΑΧΟΜΝΕΥΣ ΠΕΤΕΥΡΙΟΣ ΣΝΑΧΟΜΗΣ (32) ΨΕΝΧΩΝΣΙΟΣ ΤΟΤΟΗΣ ΦΙΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΡΤΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΖΜΙΝΙΣ (33) ΠΕΤΕΜΕΣΤΟΥΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΕΥΤΗΜΙΣ ΑΡΣΙΗΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΟΝΟΡΥΤΙΟΣ (34) ΠΑΚΗΜΙΟΣ ΩΡΟΣ ΧΙΜΝΑΡΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΡΜΗΝΙΣ ΖΘΕΝΑΗΤΙΟΣ (35) ΜΑΗΣΙΣ ΜΙΡΣΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΤΟΦΩΙΣ ΦΙΒΙΟΣ (36) ΠΑΝΑΣ ΠΕΤΟΣΙΡΙΟΣ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ Ιϛ
(37) ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΠΤΩΜΑΤΟΣ/ ΕΤΟΥΣ Λϛ ΧΟΙΑΧ $\overline{9}$ τ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΣΘ (38) ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ Κ ΕΓΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦηΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ (39) ΚΑΙ ΖΜΙΝΙΟΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΩΝ ΕΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΡ ΩΡΟΣ ΩΡΟΥ (40) ΧΟΛΧΥΤΗΣ ο π. ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΜΕΝΩΝ Δι αυΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ (41) ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΥΝΑΒΟΥΝΟΥΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΙΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ λΙβυΗΣ (42) Τηϛ ΠΕΡΙΘ ΤΑΦΟΙΣ ΑΝΘ ΗΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ Α ΕΩΝΗΣΑΤΟ (43) ΠΑΡΑ ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΟΥ ΧΑΛΚοΥ ΖΓ $\overline{Τ}$ Τ,Τ
(44) ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧ . ΥΓ$\overline{Ρ}$

II.—Papyrus of Anastasy and Böckh.

(1) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΙΒ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Θ ΕΦ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ (2) ΕΝ ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ

ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ (3) ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΑΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ [ΙΕΡΕΙ]ΑΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ (4) ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ ΤΗΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΔΟΣ ΕΦ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣΩΝ (5) ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΤΥΒΙ $\overline{\text{ΚΘ}}$ ΕΠ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕ̄ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΩ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΘΥΡΙΤΟΥ
(6) ΑΠΕΔΟΤΟ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΗΣ ΩΣ ʟ ΜΕ ΜΕΣΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΧΡΩΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΦΑΛΑΚΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΟΓΓΥΛΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΝΑΧΟΜΝΕΥΣ ΩΣ ʟ Κ ΜΕΣΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΧΡΩΣ (7) ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΣΤΡΟΓΓΥΛΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΜΜΟΥΘΙΣ ΠΕΡΣΙΝΗΙ ΩΣ ʟ ΚΒ ΜΕΣΗΙ ΜΕΛΙΧΡΩΣ ΣΤΡΟΓΓΥΛΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΝΣΙΜΟΣ ΗΣΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΘΛΥΤ (8) ΠΕΡΣΙΝΗΙ ΩΣ ʟ Λ ΜΕΣΗΙ ΜΕΛΙΧΡΩΣ ΣΤΡΟΓΓΥΛΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΡΙΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΑΠΟΔΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΟΙ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ (9) ΤΩΝ ΠΕΤΕΨΑΙΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΙΩΝ ΣΚΥΤΕΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟ ΝΟΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΩΝ ΠΛΑΚΟ"Υ"Σ (10) ΨΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΠΗΧΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ Η ΓΕΙΤΟΝΕΣ ΝΟΤΟΥ ΡΥΜΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΒΟΡΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΚΟΝΣΙΗΜΙΟΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ (11) ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ [or ΤΟΙΧΟΣ] ΛΙΒΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΑ ΤΑΓΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΟΜΗ ΡΕΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΝΑ ΜΕΣΟΝ ΔῙ ΦΕρΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ Π$\bar{\text{Ο}}$ ΓΕΙΤΟΝΕΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΘΕΝ ΕΠΡΙΑΤΟ ΝΕΧΟΥΤΗΣ ΜΙΚΡΟΣ (12) ΑΣΩΤΟΣ ΩΣ ʟ Μ ΜΕΣΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΧΡΩΣ ΤΕΡΠΝΟΣ ΜΑΚΡΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΡΙΝ ΟΥΛΗ ΜΕΤΩΠΩΙ ΜΕΣΩΙ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ $\overline{\text{ΧΑ}}$ ΠΡΟΠΩΛΗΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ (13) ΒΕΒΑΙΩΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΩΝΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΙ ΑΠΟΔΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ ΝΕΧΟΥΤΗΣ Ο ΠΡΙΑΜΕΝΟΣ .

ΑΠΟΛ . Κ . Α$\overline{\gamma\rho}$.

L. 9. ΠΛΑΚΟΥΣ for ΠΛΑΚΟΣ. L. 10. ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ seems inserted parenthetically. L. 11. ΔΙ for ΔΙΩΡΥΓΟΣ.

L. 13. Possibly O ΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ, but not ΟΝ. L. 14. The signature somewhat resembles the Κ′ ΕΓΚυ, which occurs in almost all the registers; but from the interpretation of that contraction, afforded by the Parisian manuscript, it would be inapplicable here; and these characters may probably be part of *κατ' ἀγοράν*. The term λόγεια, or λογία, of the former manuscript, was afterwards applied to the collections made for the poor, in the Christian Churches.

III.—Various Registries Compared.

1. GREY. A. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΚΗ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ $\overline{\text{ΚΗ}}$
2. B. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΚΘ ΦΑΜ$^{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\Theta}$
3. C. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΛΕ ΦΑΡΜΟ$^{\upsilon}$ $\overline{\text{Κ}}$
4. PARIS. ENCH. ΕΤΟΥΣ Λϛ ΧΟΙΑΧ $\overline{\Theta}$
5. GREY. ANT. ΕΤΟΥΣ Λϛ ΧΟΙΑΧ $\overline{\Theta}$
6. ANASTASY. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΙΒ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Θ ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ $\overline{\text{Κ}}$

1. ΓΕ$\overline{\Gamma}$ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΕΡΜΩ2ΕΙ
2. ΓΕ$\overline{\Gamma}$ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΕΡΜ$^{\omega}$
3. ΤΕ$\overline{\Gamma}$ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΣϴ ΤΗΙ Μ$^{\epsilon}$
4. ΤΕΓΑΚΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΙ
5. Τ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΣϴ
6. . . . ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ Ε$\overline{\text{Ρ}}$2

1. Τ$\overline{\text{Ρ}}$ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΔΙΌ Κ́ ΕΓ$\overset{\upsilon}{\text{Κ}}$
2. Τ$\overline{\text{Ρ}}$ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΔΙΟ$\overline{\text{Ν}}$ Κ́ ΕΓ$\overset{\upsilon}{\text{Κ}}$
3. Τ$\overline{\text{Ρ}}$ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΛΥΣΙΜ
4. ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΤΗΣ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΥ
5. ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ Κ́ ΕΓ$\overset{\upsilon}{\text{Κ}}$
6. Τ$\overline{\text{Ρ}}$ ΕΦ ΗΣ ΔΙΟ$\overset{\upsilon}{\text{Ν}}$ $\overline{\text{Κ}}$ ΕΓ$\overset{\upsilon}{\text{Κ}}$

1. ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΣΚΛ^{Η}
2. ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΣΚΛ̄ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΤΟΥ
3. ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΟΧΩΝ
4. ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΗΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΖΜΙΝΙΟΣ
5. ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦηΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΖΜΙΝΙΟΣ
6. ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΓΡ̄ μετοχ$^{\omega}$

1. ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΩΝΗΙ ΔΙΑΓΡ̄ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ ΠΤΟΛ$^{\epsilon}$
2. ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΩΝΗ ΔΙΑΓΡ̄ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ̄ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
3. ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΩΝΗΙ ΔΙΑΓΡ̄ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ̄ ΕΡΜΟΦΙΛΟΣ
4. ΤΕΛΩΝΩΝ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ̄ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
5. ΤΕΛΩΝΩΝ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ̄ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
6. ΤΕ$^{\lambda}$ ΥΦ ΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΡ̄ ΗΡ̄ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

1. ΑΝΤΙΓΡ ΩΝΗΣ ΤΕΕΦΒΙΣ ΑΜΕΝ$^{\omega}$
2. Ο ΑΝΤΙΓΡ̄ ΑΣΥΣ ΩΡΟΥ ΩΝΗΣ
3. ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡ̄ ΟΙ ΑΝΤΙΓΡ̄ ΩΝΗΣ ΠΕΧΥΤΗΣ ΑΡΣΙΗΣΙΟΣ
4. Ο ΑΝΤΙΓΡ̄ ασωΣ ΩΡΟΥ ΧΟΛΧΥΤΟΥ
5. ΑΝΤΙΓΡ̄ ΩΡΟΣ ΩΡΟΥ ΧοΛΧΥΤΗΣ
6. Ο ΑΝΤΙΓΡ̄ ΤΗ̂ ΩΝΗΣ ΝΕΧΟΥΤΗΣ ΜΙΚΡΟΣ ΑΣΩΤΟΣ

1. ΤΧΧ | ΑΠΟ Π$^{\prime 2}$ ⊥ Ζ̂ ΑΠΟ Ν̊ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΟΥ ΨΙΛΟΥ Τ̊
2. ΨΙΛΟΥ Τ̊ Β̂_
3. Δ′ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΨΙΛΟΥ Τ̊ Γ̂ ∠
4. ΕΝ Η: ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΩΝ
5. εΝ η. ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΩΝ
6. ΨΙΛΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ Η̄ ΕΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤον

1. ΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΝΟΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ⌒ ΤΗΣ Μ$^{\epsilon}$
2. ΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟ Ν̊ ΔΙΟΣ⌒ ΤΗΣ Μ$^{\epsilon}$
3. ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟ Ν̊ Μ$^{\epsilon}$ ΔΙΟΣ⌒ ΤΗΣ Μ̄ ΑΠΟ ΛΙΒΟ$^{\Sigma}$

4. ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ
5. ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΥΝΑΒΟΥΝΟΥΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ
6. ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟ ΝΟΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΩΝ

3. ΤΟΥ ωΡ° ΤΟΥ ΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΤ
4. ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΙΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΘΗΒαΣ ΤΑΦΟΙΣ
5. ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΙΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΙΒυΗΣ Του ΠΕΡΙΘ ΤΑΦΟΙΣ

1. ΩΝ ΑΙ ΓΕΙΤΝΙΑΙ ΔΕΔ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΚ$^{\epsilon}$ ΣΥΝΓΡ
2. ΟΥ ΑΙ ΓΕΙΤΝΙΑΙ ΔΕΔ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡ ΣΥΝΓΡ
3. ΟΥ ΑΙ ΓΕΙΤΝΙΑΙ ΔΕΔ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΕ ΣΥΝΓΡ
4. ΑΝΘ ΗΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΤΑΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ
5. ΑΝΘ ΗΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ

1. ΟΝ ΗΓΟΡ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΗΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ
2. Ον ΗΓ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΗΚΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ
3. ΟΝ ΗΓΟΡΑΣΕΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ
4. Α ΕΩΝ$^{\eta}$ ΠΑΡ ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΟΥ
5. Α ΕΩΝΗΣΑΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΟΥ
6. ΟΝ ΕΩΝΗΘΗ ΠΑΡ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΗΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ

1. ΛΟΥΒΑΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΒΑΙΑΙΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ
2. ΛΟΥΒΑΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΒΑΙΑΙΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ
3. ΨΕΝΑΜΟΥΝΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΡΙΟΥ
4. ΣΝΑΧΟΜΝΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΤΕΨΑΙΤΟΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΑΙΣ

1. ΣΕΝΕΡΙΕΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦΩΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ
2. ΣΕΝΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦΩΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ

1. ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΝΟΣΟΡΦΙΒΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ
2. ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΝΟΣΟΡΦΙΒΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ

1. ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΙΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ
2. ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ

1. ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΚΗ ΠΑΧΩΝ | $\overline{\text{Κ}}$
4. ΕΝΤΩΙ Λς L ΑΘΥΡ Κ$\eta\varsigma$

1.	$\overline{\overline{\text{Χ}}\,\overline{\text{Χ}}}$	$\tau\varepsilon\lambda o\varsigma$
2.	$\overline{\chi}\,\overline{\chi}\;\alpha\;\delta$	$\tau\varepsilon\lambda o\varsigma$
3.	ΧΑλκ Γι$\overline{\text{Β}}$	$\overset{\varsigma}{\overline{\text{Τ}}}$
4.	ΣΥΙΝΕΤΡΑΠΗΣΘΗΙ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ ¿ΧΣ?	ΤΕΛΟΣ
5.	ΧΑΛΚΟΥ ΖΓ	$\overline{\text{Τ}}$
6.	$\overline{\text{Χ}}$ Ζ α	

1. $\tau\eta\varsigma\;\delta$	Ρ	Ρ	ΔΙΟΝ	$\overline{\text{ΥΡ}}$
2. $o\upsilon\;\overline{\alpha\kappa}$	Φ		ΔΙΟΝ$^{\upsilon}$	$\bar{\text{Υ}}$Ρ
3. $o\upsilon\;\hat{\Lambda}$	R	R	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧ	$\text{Υ}\overline{\Gamma\text{Ρ}}$
4. ΕΝΑΚοιΟΥΣ		$\hat{\text{Ι}}$	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ	$\overset{\epsilon}{\text{Υ}}\chi\rho$
5.	Τ	Τ	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧ	$\text{ΥΓ}\overline{\text{Ρ}}$
6. $\hat{\eta}\;=\chi$			$\underset{\lceil}{\Delta}$	$\text{ΥΓ}\overline{\text{Ρ}}$

APPENDIX II.

SPECIMENS OF HIEROGLYPHICS.*

1. GOD; *powerful* - - - - - - -

2. GOD; *judge* - - - - - - - -

3. GODDESS - - - - - - - - -

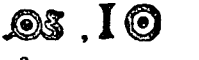
4. GODS - - - - - - - - - -

5. AGATHODAEMON - - - - - - -

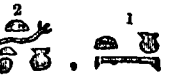
6. PHTHAH - - - - - - - - -

7. AMMON - - - - - - - - - -

8. PHRE - - - - - - - - - -



9. RHEA [*1, Netpe. 2, Tafne] - -



10. IOH - - - - - - - - - - -

11. THOTH - - - - - - - - -

12. OSIRIS - - - - - - - - -

13. ARUERIS [*Atmoo] - - - - -

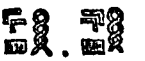
* These specimens of hieroglyphics were selected from the list published in the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica* (see plates to No. III., *supra*). In a brief notice of Dr. Young's *Discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature*, Carl Otfried Müller states in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1825, 2, p. 1097), that "Dr. Young had interpreted a great number of words, written partly in phonetic and partly in ideographic characters, exactly in the same manner in which they were afterwards explained by Champollion," and adds that "in the *Specimens of Hieroglyphics*, here repeated, which the author appended to the article *Egypt* of the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*, in 1819, the eye is directly struck with the characters for God, Goddess, Phre, Ioh, and Thoth, which are written exactly in the same way in Champollion's *Pantheon*."—*Ed.*

14. Isis - - - - - - - - -

15. Nephthe - - - - - - - - -

16. Buto [*Athor] - - - - - - -

17. Horus - - - - - - - - -

20. Apis - - - - - - - - - - 

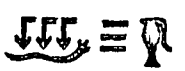
22. Hyperion [*Horus] - - - - -

23. Cteristes [or Cerberus.] [*2 Anubis]

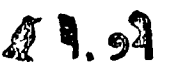
24. Tetrarcha - - - - - - - -

25. Anubis [*Hapi. The Nile] - -

26. Macedo [*not a name] - - -

27. Hieracion [*not a name] - - - - 

28. Cerexochus [*a character of Anubis]

30. Playtypterus [*Moui] - - - - 

38. Memnon [*Amenoph III.] - - -

50. Psammis [*Sethi] - - - - -

52. Amasis [*Rameses II.] - - -

57. Soteres - - - - - - - - -

72. Ramuneus [*Amasis] - - - -

80. Egypt - - - - - - - - -

81. Memphis - - - - - - - -

83. Greek - - - - - - - -

84. Country - - - - - - - -

85. Land - - - - - - - - - -

87. Temple - - - - - - - - -

88. Shrine - - - - - - - - -

91. Column - - - - - - - - -

92. Diadem - - - - - - - - -

100. Tear - - - - - - - - - -

101. Image - - - - - - - - - -

102. Statue - - - - - - - - -

103. LETTERS - - - - - - - - -

108. LIFE - - - - - - - - - -

109. ETERNITY - - - - - - - -

110. IMMORTAL - - - - - - - -

111. JOY - - - - - - - - - -

112. POWER - - - - - - - - -

113. STABILITY - - - - - - - -

114. ESTABLISHED - - - - - - -

116. MIGHTY - - - - - - - - -

117. VICTORY - - - - - - - - -

118. FORTUNE - - - - - - - -

119. SPLENDOUR - - - - - - - -

120. BEARING - - - - - - - - -

121. ILLUSTRIOUS - - - - - - - -

122. HONOUR - - - - - - - - -

123. RESPECTABLE { "ⲙ̀ⲙ?" / "ⲛⲓϣⲧ?" }

125. RITE - - - - - - - - - -

126. WORSHIP - - - - - - - - -

127. FATHER - - - - - - - - -

129. SON - - - - - - - - - - -

133. CHILD - - - - - - - - - -

(128.) [WIFE] - - - - - - - -

[BROTHER; SISTER - - - - - -

134. DIRECTOR - - - - - - -

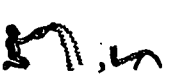
135. STEERSMAN - - - - - - - -

137. KING - - - - - - - - - -

138. CONDITION - - - - - - - -

139. KINGDOM - - - - - - - -

140. LIBATION - - - - - - - -



142. PRIEST - - - - - - - - - -

143. PRIESTHOOD - - - - - - - -

145. ASSEMBLY - - - - - - - -

146. SACRED - - - - - - - -

147. CONSECRATED - - - - - - -

148. GIVE - - - - - - - - - -

149. OFFER - - - - - - - - -

151. LAWFUL - - - - - - - - -

152. GOOD - - - - - - - - -

153. BESTOWING - - - - - - - -

154. MUNIFICENT - - - - - - -

155. UPPER; LOWER - - - - - -

156. OTHERS - - - - - - - - -

160. ENLIGHTENING - - - - - - -

162. LOVING - - - - - - - - -

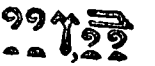
164. SET UP - - - - - - - - -

165. PREPARE - - - - - - - -

166. IN ORDER THAT - - - - - -

167. WHEREVER - - - - - - - -

168. AND
169. ALSO, WITH } - - - - - - -

170. MOREOVER - - - - - - - - 

171. LIKEWISE - - - - - - - -

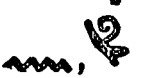
172. IN - - - - - - - - - - -

173. UPON, AT - - - - - - - - -

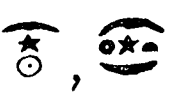
174. OVER, ON - - - - - - - -

175. FOR - - - - - - - - - -

176. BY THE - - - - - - - -

177. OF, TO - - - - - - - - - 

178. DAY - - - - - - - - - -

179. MONTH - - - - - - - - - 

180. YEAR - - - - - - - - - -

181. THOYTH - - - - - - - - -

182. MECHIR - - - - - - - - -

183. MESORE - - - - - - - - -

184. FIRST DAY - - - - - - - -

185. THIRTIETH - - - - - - - -

186. ONE - - - - - - - - - -

187. FIRST - - - - - - - - - -

188. TWO - - - - - - - - - -

192. THRICE - - - - - - - - -

197. TEN - - - - - - - - - -

200. FORTY-TWO - - - - - - - -

201. A HUNDRED - - - - - - -

202. A THOUSAND - - - - - - -

Dr. Young's interpretation of these hieroglyphic groups has, in the majority of instances, been confirmed by the best Egyptian scholars of the present day, but the list contains a considerable number of errors, of which we have pointed out some of the most important by placing what is considered the true reading within brackets, and prefixing an asterisk. It must be admitted, however, that Egyptian philology is not yet sufficiently advanced to enable any one to assign with certainty the true signification of all the above characters.—*Ed.*

No. VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE

UPON

HIEROGLYPHICAL SUBJECTS.

1.—*From* Baron von Humboldt *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur et illustre Ami, Paris, ce 13 Juin, 1823.

Lorsque, dans ma dernière lettre, que très-maladroitement j'ai adressée à Worthing, je vous ai remercié de votre magnifique cadeau et de l'honneur que vous avez daigné faire à mon nom,* je me flattais de l'espoir de recevoir de mon frère le travail de M. Spohn, de Leipsic, sur les inscriptions cursives. On me l'avait promis d'un courrier à l'autre, et c'était à vous, père de toutes les découvertes qu'on fait sur le langage mystérieux de l'Egypte, que je devais offrir les essais de mon compatriote. Aujourd'hui M. Spohn m'écrit que son ouvrage ne pourra être publié que dans l'espace de deux mois, parcequ'il attend de M. Raoul-Rochette des copies du manuscrit de Casati, le même que (je vois) vous a donné lieu à des observations si ingénieuses. Vous avez ouvert la carrière dans une étude dont on n'avait pas même l'idée il y a quinze ans: vos idées fermentent dans toutes les têtes. C'est un événement vraiment miraculeux que de voir le même savant (encore dans la force de l'âge comme vous, Monsieur) étonner le monde par des découvertes sur la lumière et l'écriture mystérieuse des hypogées. L'ouvrage de M. Champollion doit paraître dans quelques semaines. M. de Sacy, qui vous rend, comme vous le savez, toute la justice que méritent des travaux couronnés de tant de succès, va faire l'annonce de votre ouvrage dans le 'Journal des Savans.'† Il s'en occupe en ce moment à la cam-

* This refers to the dedication of the 'Account of some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphics,' *supra*, p. 265, note.—*Ed.*

† The learned Orientalist, however, did not render justice to Dr. Young. The dispute

pagne, et je le presse à le terminer. Puissions-nous vers l'automne jouir du bonheur de vous revoir pour quelques semaines ici! Quelle jouissance pour M. Laplace, qui ne vivra plus long-temps, pour M. Arago, et pour moi que vous avez honoré de tant de marques de bienveillance! Je n'ai pu laisser partir de Paris l'intéressant Sir George Staunton sans vous donner ce signe de vie, et sans vous renouveler l'hommage de ma reconnaissance. Mon frère prend le plus vif intérêt à vos découvertes; il est d'ailleurs tout enfoncé dans le Sanscrit. Il vient de publier dans la 'Bibliothèque Indienne' de Schlegel, un mémoire curieux sur les formes grammaticales des Grecs et des Indeux.

2.—*From* Sir W. GELL *to* Dr. YOUNG.

Naples, July 22, 1823.

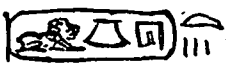
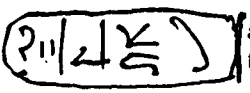
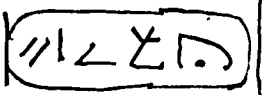
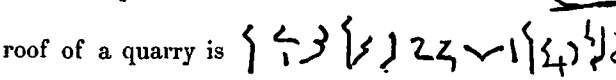
AFTER having thanked you for the kind manner in which you have mentioned me in your new publication, which Hamilton was so good as to lend me, and which, now I have read it, I need not be so troublesome as to importune you to send it to me, I have another sort of proposition to make to you, which may perhaps fall in with your views. But first I must say that Nibby had said from the beginning, "the French will first abuse the hieroglyphical discoveries, and after their establishment will say they were the inventors;" and so it actually has happened. You have not stated sufficiently clearly (in my idea) the date of the first discoveries you made in hieroglyphics; when the first paper was read to the Antiquaries; nor when the article 'Egypt,' which is the real discovery, to the public, was written or printed. All the rest is like making the egg stand on end when Columbus had shown them how.*—Well, my pro-

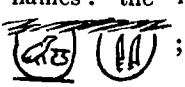
as to the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet had now become a national question, and Baron de Sacy, like M. Arago (*supra*, p. 186, note), sacrificed cosmopolitism to patriotism, probably without requiring to make any great effort, for, to use the words of Peisse (*Fragm. de Philosophie, Pref.*), "La France n'est nullement cosmopolite."—*Ed.*

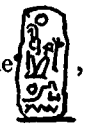
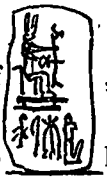
* Chevalier Bunsen, in reference to the same subject, introduces the egg of Columbus, for the purpose of course of exalting Champollion at the expense of Dr. Young. "The two points which in the researches of Young mainly contributed to the discovery of the alphabet were, first, his adoption of and steadfast adherence to the principle that all Egyptian writing originated in the hieroglyphics, and must therefore necessarily contain *symbolic* signs, and not only the alphabetic elements which Akerblad had discovered in

position is this: Wilkinson threatens to send me all his collection to overlook and select for publishing. Now, I am not half so

the enchorial character; secondly, his attempt to apply that principle to the names of the kings." (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, p. 327.) This is a striking instance of the confusion of thought which prevails in Chevalier Bunsen's history of hieroglyphical discovery. If there is any meaning at all here, it must be, that Young, after discovering symbolic signs in the different kinds of Egyptian writing, attempted to discover them also in the (hieroglyphic) names of the kings. But this is a palpable absurdity; and as the author is speaking of the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, he must surely intend to say something else. It may possibly be this: Dr. Young, setting out from the principle established by himself, that all Egyptian writing was derived from the pure hieroglyphics, which he believed to be mainly symbolic, inferred in the first place that the enchorial character, which De Sacy, Akerblad, and Champollion considered exclusively alphabetical, likewise contained symbolic signs; and secondly, by reversing the process, he inferred that as the enchorial character possessed an alphabet, at least for foreign names, so also must the hieroglyphic, which Champollion persisted in believing entirely symbolic; by analysing the hieroglyphic names of Ptolemy and Berenice he was enabled to verify the latter conclusion. These two very important but perfectly distinct discoveries were certainly made by Dr. Young, but we cannot see for what purpose the former is here introduced by the learned author, unless to show that it is possible to render even Egyptian darkness more profound. He proceeds as follows: "Champollion's egg of Columbus was this: discarding all other methods, he sought the key to the whole process of decypherment in the hieroglyphics, and that to the decypherment of the phonetic signs in the royal rings; and by the discovery of the homophone signs he prepared the way for the gradual completion and correction of his entire results."—(*Ibid.*) But this is exactly the course adopted long before by Young, who states in a letter to Silvestre de Sacy, as early as 1815 (six years before Champollion published anything on the subject), that we could only hope "to interpret the Egyptian manuscripts in general by means of the hieroglyphics" (*supra*, p. 55); and in the article EGYPT (*supra*, pp. 156-160) he pointed out the phonetic value of a number of the signs in the royal rings years before Champollion dreamt of the existence of a hieroglyphic alphabet: moreover, there is ample evidence in this volume (see, for instance, pp. 164, 179, 296), that the latter was also anticipated by Dr. Young in the discovery of homophone signs. If Champollion, therefore, made the egg stand, it was only, to use Sir William Gell's expression, after Dr. Young had shown him the way. Chevalier Bunsen repeatedly enlarges on the superiority of Champollion's method to that of Dr. Young; but it is perfectly clear from the above that Champollion was compelled to adopt Dr. Young's, after finding his own of no use during his ten years' siege of the Rosetta Stone, at the end of which indeed he was further from his object than ever, for he came to the conclusion in 1821, that the hieratic as well as the hieroglyphic character possessed no phonetic element. At length he discovered the truth in the article EGYPT, and then, and not till then, did he "discard all other methods," or, to use Klaproth's words, "the thousand systems of interpretation which he tried without avail." Nevertheless, Chevalier Bunsen, immediately after having unconsciously assisted in demonstrating the essential identity of Champollion's system with that of Young, asserts that "Young's method became completely useless," and that in consequence of the superiority of Champollion's the whole hieroglyphic research now lay in the hands of the latter. In addition to what we have just said, nothing further is needed in the way of refutation, than to refer to a former part of this volume (*supra*, p. 183, note) for the true reason why Champollion was enabled to outstrip his (unacknowledged) master in the career of discovery. But whether indebted to any peculiar method or not, Champollion undoubtedly deserves great credit for what he accomplished after he had obtained the key, and it is impossible not to admire the ingenuity and success with which he thenceforward pursued his investigations. The best proof of the importance of his services to Egyptian philology is to be found in the fact that his Grammar, published since his death, is still referred to by the best Egyptian scholars as an indispensable guide. —*Ed.*

au fait as any body of the most moderate abilities must be in England, for here one's wits are perpetually at grass, there being no provender for them. Still less can I know what is wanting, in the fiftieth part of the degree in which you will at first sight be capable of judging what is useful and what superfluous: and I think that if I examine them myself, and then put them into your hands, all the objects of Mr. Wilkinson will be much more effectually obtained with your comments than in any other possible way, as his collection will at once be introduced to all the Philo-Egyptians. He has, I believe, copied all the hieroglyphics wherever he has been in Egypt; and as the French hieroglyphics, even in the great work, are notoriously false, he could not have done a more useful thing for all the purposes of hieroglyphical inquiry. He has probably by this time finished his tour to the Oasis, to which he was going when I heard from him last. Please to let me know whether the idea of this gives you pleasure or not. I conclude I shall be capable of judging whether or not these are worth sending to you when they arrive, but I cannot doubt that Wilkinson, who is an accurate observer, will produce something new on the subject, and I am sure that your remarks will be most acceptable to the public. He says he does not mean to put his name to what he produces; but that is idle. Who is  , or , or , so common on the quarries of the Mons Troicus? Where is also ? The  and the  from the said quarries, I think I sent you; but on the roof of a quarry is  , which perhaps may be intelligible.

With regard to the tablet of Abydos, has what you have got three lines of names: the first on the left at the top, a fragment, thus  ; the last of second

or middle line, on right ; and the last or right corner in lower line  , our old friend the son of  , who is father to the whole line? Should you not have this, let me know if you want it.

I cannot help thinking your Amasis could not have been so late, and hope your objection with regard to so many of his ancestors beginning with Re, or even Remesses, will be overruled by the Phre and Re, and even Ramesses, being the titles of many of the kings. The great statue and the tomb are much in favour of the change, and if you must have a queen for the supposed vocal statue of the later Greeks, the views of it certainly seem more like that of a woman than a man.

Wilkinson says that near Shendy or Merse is a Roman Egyptian temple, but the door-way is Egyptian. That is, the repairing is Roman, and not Greek. He adds the great temple of Ebsambul was dedicated to Aroeris, and the smaller one to Athor. I think there is an inscription in Greek which settles the latter with , as the sign of Athor. All the present Egyptian travellers have made a strong party against Buto's possession of the bird cage as her distinctive mark.

I hear of two Egyptian stones, full of hieroglyphics, just arrived here at the museum; but they are very jealously kept, and I have not seen them, having been gouty and being the great object of their fears. They say they will publish them in the first fasciculus of the 'Museo Borbonico,' which will come out in about six years! Sir Humphry Davy may be congratulated on the way in which the custodi of the museum treat his memory; as they relate how his plan of unfolding the papyri totally failed, except in those instances where the chemical means employed obliterated every trace of the writing. Nice people they are; and this they gravely state to all travellers.

I die to see Champollion's ancient kings, though you don't believe in them. I have hopes, and that would really make Egypt interesting.

August 7, 1823.

P.S. 2nd.—Mr. Wigget with Wilkinson's hieroglyphics is arrived at Messina, and is now going round Sicily, so that in a month or less he will be here. Pray write soon, and tell me what seems best to be done about them, the author being necessarily absent.

3.—*From* M. Champollion *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Paris, le 21 Août, 1823.

Je viens de recevoir, par l'entremise de MM. Treuttel et Würtz, la suite de votre intéressante collection d'*Hiéroglyphes** que vous avez bien voulu me destiner: recevez mes remercîments de cet envoi. J'ai reconnu, par un examen rapide de votre comparaison des trois textes de la pierre de Rosette, que le travail semblable que j'ai soumis il y a un an à l'Académie des Belles-Lettres, se rapportait au vôtre sur un très-grand nombre de points relatifs à la division et à la valeur des groupes de caractères, tant hiéroglyphiques que démotiques, mais qu'ils différaient essentiellement sur beaucoup d'autres, soit pour la division, soit surtout pour la signification. Mon projet bien arrêté est de ne publier ma comparaison de ces trois textes, qui, dans l'état actuel, n'est qu'un travail tout matériel et purement préparatoire, que lorsque je pourrai joindre à tous les groupes démotiques leur *lecture* en lettres Coptes, comme nous pouvons déjà le faire pour les noms propres, soit Grecs, soit Egyptiens, et placer sous chaque hiéroglyphe sa

* This work, which is repeatedly referred to throughout this volume, was published in 1823 in a folio vol., entitled 'Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society.' It consisted of a collection of plates of Egyptian antiquities subservient to the study of hieroglyphical literature, lithographed at the expense of about fifty subscribers, but not at that time publicly sold. The second number, Plates 16 to 40, contains nearly all that was known of the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, the evidence for each word being exhibited in a comparative Index. The work was entirely carried on by Dr. Young; but the subscriptions not being adequate to the expenses, it was afterwards made over to the Royal Society of Literature, he undertaking to continue the supervision as before.—*Ed.*

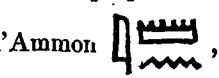
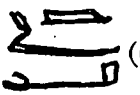
prononciation s'il est phonétique, et sa valeur d'idée s'il ne l'est point; car je persiste plus que jamais à croire, ou plutôt je suis maintenant certain, qu'une *très grande partie* des signes employés dans les inscriptions *hiératiques* et *hiéroglyphiques* de tous les âges ne sont autre chose que des signes *de son*,* ainsi que *la plus grande partie* de tout texte *Démotique* ou *enchorial*. J'ai développé et prouvé, j'ose le croire, cette assertion dans un grand mémoire communiqué à l'Académie dans les mois d'Avril, Mai et Juin passés. Ce travail, qui formera un volume, sortira dans deux mois au plus tard des presses de l'imprimerie royale.† L'impression en est déjà à moitié exécutée, et je m'occupe des nombreuses gravures qui doivent l'accompagner. J'ai discuté dans le premier chapître de ce livre votre système de lecture des noms propres Ptolemée et Bérénice, et celui que j'en ai présenté moi-même. J'eusse désiré éviter ces discussions de propriété, qui importent d'ailleurs fort peu au public, qui demande seulement la lumière, sans s'inquiéter de qui elle lui vient.

Je joins à cette lettre la première livraison de mon 'Panthéon Egyptien,' qui vient de paraître, et que je vous prie d'agréer; vous recevrez très-prochainement la suivante. Mon but en publiant cette collection est de discerner les divers personnages mythiques représentés sur les monuments de l'Egypte, de les distinguer les uns des autres; sans prétendre entrer encore au fond de leur signification emblématique ou symbolique. C'est simplement une *reconnaissance* poussée dans le labyrinthe jusqu'ici inextricable de l'Olympe Egyptien. Le reste dépendra des progrès véritables que nous ferons dans le méthode hiéroglyphique.

Vous pourrez voir, Monsieur, que je persiste, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le dire, à *lire* phonétiquement, et au moyen de l'alphabet hiéroglyphique, dont j'ai donné les bases dans ma lettre à M. Dacier, où je trouve la lecture d'une foule de noms propres et de mots Grecs, non-seulement les noms propres

* It is curious to contrast Champollion's opinions on this subject in the above letter with those which he entertained two years before, when he published his memoir 'De l'Ecriture Hiératique.' See note †, p. 74.—*Ed.*

† It was published in 1824 under the title of 'Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Égyptiens.'—*Ed.*

Egyptiens, mais encore la plupart des noms même des dieux. Tels sont ceux d'Ammon  , ou (ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ); (ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛⲣⲏ), *Amon-ré* ou *Amon-ra;* ou (Ⲏⲟⲩⲛ), le *Chnoumis* des Grecs; (Ⲏⲟⲩⲃ), *Noub* ou *Nouf*, le *Chnoub-is* ou le *Chnouph-is* des Grecs; et  (Ⲥⲑⲏ), la déesse ΣΑΤΗΣ de l'inscription des caractères (see infra, p. 372). Ces noms, les seuls de cet ordre que renferme ma première livraison, les suivantes devant en contenir beaucoup d'autres, se lisent sur des monuments élevés sous le règne des princes de la XVIIIe dynastie Egyptienne dont la table d'Abydos, que M. Cailliaud a copiée et m'a communiqué, contient, selon moi, la série généalogique. J'ai d'autant plus d'obligation à vous, Monsieur, et à M. Cailliaud, pour m'avoir fait connaître ce monument, que M. Bankes, auquel j'en ai d'abord demandé communication par votre entremise, n'a pas même daigné m'honorer d'un refus, quoique toute lettre mérite réponse.*

Notre voyageur Français a de plus rapporté une momie du temps de la domination Græco-Romaine en Egypte. Le nom du défunt, ainsi que celui de sa mère, l'un Egyptien et l'autre Grec, se lisent sans difficulté, soit au moyen de l'alphabet hiéroglyphique annexé à ma lettre à M. Dacier, soit au moyen de celui plus étendu que j'ai présenté à l'Académie il y a quelques mois, et avant l'arrivée de la momie à Paris. Les deux noms qu'elle porte en hiéroglyphes sont reproduits dans une inscription *Grecque* tracée à côté de la légende hiéroglyphique. Le défunt se nomme (ⲡⲧⲉⲙⲉⲛ), *Pétémen* (ΠΕΤΕΜΕΝ-ΟC dans l'inscription Grecque); et sa mère

* See infra, p. 371.

(ΚΛΙΠΤΡ-Τ,) *Cléopatre:* le Grec ne porte plus de ce nom que les lettres ΚΛ . . . . . : le reste a péri. Le fond du cercueil de cette momie contient (ce qu'il y a de tout aussi favorable à la date que j'ai assignée au zodiaque de Dendéra) un zodiaque commençant par le *Lion* et finissant par le Cancer.

En parlant de cette momie Ægypto-Grecque ou Ægypto-Romaine, je prendrai la liberté de vous demander des copies exactes des inscriptions, soit hiéroglyphiques soit Grecques, que portent les momies de ce genre que vous avez en Angleterre, et surtout celles de M. Salt. Je désirerais beaucoup savoir si celle donnée à M. Salt par M. Grey ne contient d'autre inscription hiéroglyphique que celle que vous avez publiée dans la pl. 35 des *Hieroglyphics.* Il est inutile de dire que je ne ferai de ces copies et de ces renseignements aucun usage public.

Je joins aussi à ma lettre la copie lithographiée des protocoles de deux contrats du règne de Ptolémée-Epiphane, antérieurs à l'inscription de Rosette; l'un de l'an 4, et l'autre, je crois de l'an 8. Ils offrent une particularité fort digne de remarque. Ce sont les noms propres de tous les prêtres, et de toutes les prêtresses des rois et reines Lagides: tous ces noms sont Grecs, comme *Démétrius, Ptolémée, Apelles, Diogène, Démétria, Areia,* etc., etc.; celui même d'une des prêtresses mentionnées dans l'inscription de Rosette. Mon frère imprime un mémoire sur ces protocoles Egyptiens, et se propose de vous l'envoyer aussitôt qu'il paraîtra.

4.— *From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

MY DEAR SIR, 13 Sept., 1823.

I DO not know with how much activity Mr. Hamilton's agent, Passmore of the Foreign Office, will have catered for his antiquarian appetites, but I desired my collector to inform him that the second number of the collection of Hieroglyphics was ready for the subscribers, so that I hope you may possibly have seen it about this time; as I trust you received the copy

of my little book which Lydia White undertook to send you through an old servant of hers: but if you have seen the second fasciculus with its advertisement, you will have observed that it professes to be the last of the collection for the present. It had cost me about 100*l.* a number beyond the receipts, and though one of my friends* chose to pay one hundred, and now offers to pay the other, I do not think the public has a right to the more than gratuitous services of me and my friends in any extra-professional capacity: besides that, as the second fasciculus contains the Rosetta inscription and every thing else that is really valuable in the investigation, I could not expect to be able to produce anything else that would be of sufficient importance to continue the series: and in the third place Champollion is doing so much that he will not suffer anything of material consequence to be lost. For these three reasons I have now considered my Egyptian studies as *concluded;* and you may infer from this statement what answer I must return to your proposal respecting Wilkinson's things: "that I *cannot* at present attend to them." But since the appearance of my second fasciculus, I have had some negotiation with the Royal Society of Literature through their President, the Bishop of St. David's, respecting a continuation of the collection, which would afford an object highly desirable to be incorporated with the hitherto undefined pursuits of this nascent Society; and I believe they would be very ready to undertake the pecuniary cost of the thing if I would undertake to direct the work as I have hitherto done: this proposal would indeed remove the first of my three objections, but the two others would remain; still I think it probable that I may offer to do enough to induce them to take up the work, and in this case Wilkinson's collection would afford us some very valuable materials in addition to those which are already in the British Museum and elsewhere. When the negotiation is concluded, I shall take care to let you know the result, but nothing will be done before October. If you look again at my "Account of Discoveries," you will see that I have mentioned the years and months in which my successive papers were printed: the article Egypt was an extension, but the real

* Mr. Hudson Gurney is probably the friend here referred to.—*Ed.*

solution of the problem was contained in the paper printed in the Archæologia, which gives the division of the Rosetta Inscription into the lines of the sacred characters, and this is the true groundwork of all that has been done: *I sent it at the time to Champollion, as I have stated, and he acknowledged the receipt of it.* To have placed more emphasis on the precise dates than I have done, would have been to display more parade than the thing required, or to have shown too much hostility to Champollion, to whom I would rather give up something that is my right, than take from him anything that ought to be his. I cannot answer your questions respecting the Mons Troicus: except that the characters beginning with must be a date; "the year ¿viii? of the king..." whose name I cannot exactly tell you: perhaps you have not copied the inscription very carefully: perhaps it was originally indistinct: perhaps I *might* make it out in time: or perhaps I *may*. I know nothing of a second tablet of Abydos: what you mention seems to belong to Bankes's, though I have it not here (at Tunbridge Wells). The whole of the last line is a repetition of Dr. Eady's name and his father's written in two or three different forms, and giving some valuable synonymies. The other lines Champollion says he can read, and he triumphs a little over Bankes, to whom he wrote a letter begging for a copy of the Tablet, which Bankes would not give him, because he thought him a dirty scoundrel, and would not answer his letter: but now Cailliaud has sent him a perfect copy. I do not care much about the shape of the Vocal Memnon, but certainly the name on it is not that of a queen. I have no objection to make my Buto into Athor; but I do not yet know of any evidence that can decide the question: I am, however, most happy to find that all the Egyptian travellers have now so confident an opinion of any kind upon a subject to which nobody paid the least attention only ten years ago. I fear that Davy has himself to thank, in some measure, for the calumnies of the Custodi del Museo; he seems to me to have greatly overrated the powers of his process, and it followed *of course* that other people underrated them. I wish you safe through your

survey of the Campagna without a fever and without a broken leg. Sickler's map, erroneous as it may be, I found a great comfort: no doubt yours will be still more comfortable, when it appears. By the way, I forgot to say, apropos of the *Hieroglyphics*, that I had sent you a copy of both parts by Dodwell, who I suppose will convey them to you within a twelvemonth. I have sometimes sent you messages in a letter to Hamilton, and now I will beg you to be the bearer of my thanks to him for his interesting letter; and to tell him any part of what I have been writing to you, that you think may serve as a substitute for a more direct answer. Champollion has sent me the first number of his Pantheon, which must on the whole be an important collection; but he appears to me to be much too hasty; and he does not add to his deities enough of the hieroglyphics found with them to enable one to judge of the name intended to be applied to them. The lady that he calls SATIS, for example, is so designated from three hieroglyphics which he reads Σ. T. H. (*supra, p.* 368), but which I think I have seen similarly combined in places where they must have a very different meaning.* He has also sent me a copy of the beginning of two enchorial deeds, of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, which are

* Dr. Young was perfectly correct in this suspicion, and Champollion's behaviour in reference to these characters not only justifies the charge of rashness brought against him by the former, but shows besides, like many other instances which might be adduced, that Chevalier Bunsen must have taxed his imagination to the utmost when he praised Champollion for the good faith with which he conducted his researches. A stele was found at Sehele by M. Rüppell, containing the names of various Egyptian divinities in Greek characters; and the passage ΣΑΤΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΙ shows that Saté or Satis was the name of the Egyptian Hera or Juno: now Champollion rushed at once to the conclusion that a certain group of signs often met with on monuments, and sometimes accompanied by the figure of a goddess, must be the hieroglyphic name of Saté; he accordingly entered the three characters of which it is composed in his phonetic alphabet as Σ T H or Σ T I; and the above assumption led him into many others equally hasty. He devotes to the newly found deity three plates and three articles in his Pantheon, and building on a passage in Horapollo, he often speaks of her in his Letter to the Duc de Blacas as "dominatrice de l'hémisphère inférieur du ciel," and "régente et protectrice de la région inférieure terrestre," &c. At length he discovered that he was completely wrong, and that the characters in question represented the name of the goddess of Truth, Tme. He appears, according to Klaproth, 'Examen Critique,' p. 57, "n'avoir fait cette découverte malencontreuse que quand il était à la moitié de l'impression du second volume de la nouvelle édition de son *Précis*, puisque jusque-là cette divinité est encore, comme dans la première, Saté; ce n'est qu'à la page 265 qu'elle devient Tme, et elle garde ce nom jusqu'à la fin du volume (*voy.* p. 267, 268, 271, 281, 295 et 429); mais, fille de l'incertitude, elle est dans les planches et leur explication (No. 79) la déesse Sme." Now all these mutations of name, and the consequent alterations in the value of the signs in his alphabet, are made without the slightest intimation to the reader that any change has been effected. 'Examen Critique,' pp. 55-64.—*Ed.*

extremely valuable and interesting: they contain some Greek and Egyptian names of priests. Cailliaud has brought, he says, a Græco-Romano Egyptian mummy, with the name of the deceased and that of his mother in hieroglyphics and in Greek, which may be read by means of his hieroglyphical alphabet on the one hand into PTMN, while the Greek on the other has πετεμενος, and into CLEOPATRA where the Greek has ΚΛ ... The bottom of the sarcophagus of this mummy contains a zodiac, beginning with Leo and ending with Cancer, which he thinks is equally favourable to the date which "he" has assigned to the zodiac of Dendera.

5.—*From* Sir W. GELL *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MY DEAR DOCTOR, Terracina, March 10, 1824.

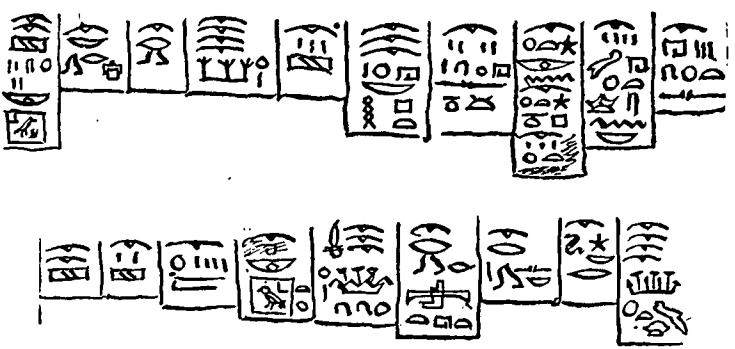
WHO the deuce can write to me from Terracina? I think I hear you say; but the mystery is plainly this, that Hamilton had a method of sending to you a few days ago a certain packet of mine from Egypt, and I had not then time to write to explain circumstances so fully as I wished; moreover I had the gout in my hand and could not draw out the real or supposed months of Esnè, which before I close this I will put in some part of this letter. Wilkinson has sent to me, and I have forwarded to you among other things, a long inscription from the sanctuary, as it would appear, of a temple of Aroeris at Karnak. It appears that King is the dedicator, of whose name, till you have given a sound to , I can make nothing but Re——mesh. If he dedicated so many things to a temple as you will there find, such as captives with their arms tied behind them, vases of ointments, horses, sheep, long and short-horned bulls, &c. &c. &c., and thousands of goats, it must have been the richest of temples. It may have been a list of the conquests of the king and of the tributes paid, as I think Herodotus says Sesostris wrote down a list of all his

conquests and the tributes he levied. All this happened in the twenty-ninth year of the king, and continued regularly, at least where the record is preserved, I think to the year 33 and 34. I think you will find it a most interesting document, and will be delighted to see it. Wilkinson wishes to have one copy himself, one for you, one for Sir John St. Aubyn, one for Hamilton, and one for your humble servant, and cares nothing about the rest. I hope and trust you will be able to get the things decently lithographised by the Royal Literary Society, and I beg you will not only expunge all that might be unpleasant to the said Society, but that you will add anything to the notes (which Wilkinson put together in a very hurried manner to suit the departure of a messenger) which you may, and doubtless will, observe, the moment you cast your eyes over the sheets. I think you will find them quite well drawn enough for the purpose; and that the hand of a man like Wilkinson now long practised in hieroglyphics is more likely to give the real character of the objects, than if they were all drawn over again to make the birds and beasts more like the animals they are intended for. Please to judge between Buto and Athor from what he says, and make a note upon it according to your opinion, after having read his reasons. In short, pray take the trouble to make the best you can of it before M. Cailliaud publishes it and swears he is the original inventor of it all. For my part, I cannot help thinking what I now send you a treasure; and as Wilkinson says that after copying sixty large sheets he has as yet done nothing, I expect we shall have more, and still more valuable, materials before another year is past. You have perhaps heard that Mr. Bankes's man has purchased for a dollar a papyrus, on which a continuation of Homer's Iliad, after the burial of Hector, is clearly written. What can this mean? But I give it with my authority, Mr. Wiggett, Wilkinson's friend, just arrived at Naples from Egypt.—I hope Messrs. Clapperton, Oudney, and Denham will contrive shortly to find out whether the Bahr-el-Abiad runs out of their great lakes TZAADE or FITTRE towards the east. Instead of going on a slave expedition, they might have built a boat and examined that most important circumstance. Belzoni, who is

put on shore in the Bight of Benin, near Old Calabar, is very likely to fall in with and be intercepted by the Fellati, who were attacked by Major Denham and Co. The Pasha of Egypt's expedition seems either to have failed or have been checked, for I understand he will not now permit Franks to proceed beyond Assouan. We shall never have a real and true account of the obelisks and pyramids at Meröe, near Shendy, for I am too infirm to go there myself, and the other people are too idle. I had at one time fixed on an expedition to Egypt in September next, and to have stopped ten days at Jerusalem in my way; but the rich people of the party failed, and between the Greeks and the Algerines the Mediterranean cannot now be traversed in safety without a large ship, and consequently a large purse; for, to say nothing of being carried into Barbary, the Greeks scuttle and sink the whole concern, that none may remain to tell tales. I am therefore at present very uncertain as to my tour, but have several strings to my bow. In the mean time Dr. Watson knows a missionary, Mr. Wolff, in Syria, to whom we have written for an exact copy of all that can be made out at the Nahr-el-Kelb, whether hieroglyphic or Persepolitan. Speaking of which, has Professor Grotefend, who figures so much in Sir Ker Porter's Persia, made out the letters or not? He there talks of Darius as if that were the king's real name in Persian, instead of Darah, or Darab. Then there is another German Professor, just dead, who has found out a much better way of reading hieroglyphics than either Dr. Young or M. Champollion. I conclude the whole is fudge; or, as it was known to the Classical Journal that some German said he understood long ago, we should have heard more of it. Dr. Watson, of whom I spoke, is a great Oriental scholar, and is returned from Syria, whither he went with Mr. Way to convert the Jews, of whom he met with only one, on a mountain, who said he thought it a great piece of impertinence, and that he, the Jew, would set up another society for the conversion of Mr. Way to Judaism.

I am now going to Rome, to pass three months, so that if you should be graciously pleased to tell me what is going on in the Egyptian and other learned worlds, you will do me a great kindness, lighten my darkness, and fill my pope's vacuum, as Mrs. Higginbottom says.

Will it ever be known what Messrs. Beechy and Co. did or did not see at Cyrene? Twenty years ago I did all I could to get up an expedition to that country, and once thought I was near succeeding with Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta, under pretence of sending the Bey of Dernè to his government. Pray observe, in Wilkinson's papers, the good king with two fathers — rather a misfortune, unless the fathers can be shown to be synonymous, or one of them a name or titles given after death.



I have here sent you all the moons of Esnè, out of which you will discover that some may be duplicates, and perhaps some have adjuncts which do not belong to them. I have met with Dr. Wilson here at Rome, who has been all over the world, and seems to know well what he has seen. He swears Professor Grotefend has really made out the Persepolitan characters.

Rome, March 25.

I have got from Dodwell the beautiful plates you sent me, which I wish had been more explained. The Rosetta inscription too, translated, is delightful.

6.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

My dear Doctor, Rome, 6 June, 1824.

It is past twelve at night, but I must write you a line to show you the wickedness of the Egyptian Society in coming to an end when there is such a mass of most curious and interesting matter just coming to hand, instead of copying those abominable falsities which abound in the great French work. I send you a work of Wilkinson's, which gives an account of the Roman works and quarries of granite and porphyry, near the Red Sea, with their stations, roads, pillars ready cut, &c., &c., &c., all which, with the inscriptions, is new and interesting matter. Nobody has ever done so much for hieroglyphics in the country. You will find one or more inscriptions in the two characters, which will be of great use. In short, I think you cannot but be pleased at seeing what a stock of ancient lore I send you, and perhaps you will set the Society again a-foot. If not, stir up your Royal Literaries, who cannot reject a thing so curious to the world, when the author desires no profit, and only wishes to see his things lithographised. You will observe a very curious physiognomy of the Memnon and his family—his gods, his goddesses, and his blacks—in the sacred boat in one of the plates. You have all the detail of Abousambul and both temples. In short, you will find most of what you have been desiring to see for some years. You are hereby authorized to cut out and put in whatever you think fit; particularly as there are some statements which are incorrect, such as the dissertation about Epiphanes, &c., &c. If you should find the poverty of the booksellers such that all cannot be undertaken, perhaps some one would execute the most interesting plates. In short, if you will do the best you can, and at all events take care of the drawings and manuscript, you will oblige me and the hieroglyphic world. You will see that where it was necessary Wilkinson has taken pains to give the faces and figures accurately.

7.—*From* M. LETRONNE *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 11 Juin, 1824.

MON ami M. Arago m'a communiqué, il y a quelques jours, un passage d'une de vos lettres où, en parlant de ma dernière brochure sur les représentations zodiacales des anciens, vous témoignez le regret de ce que je n'aie pas cité une opinion de vous qui est analogue à celle que j'ai développée dans cette opuscule. Vous y attribuez ce silence de ma part à quelque disposition peu bienveillante envers vous.

Les témoignages d'amitié que nous nous sommes donnés mutuellement, la haute estime que j'ai toujours professée publiquement et dans mes relations privées pour vos lumières et vos profondes connaissances, auraient dû, je pense, vous faire hésiter dans une telle opinion, et vous faire attendre un éclaircissement que je me serais empressé de vous donner.

Je commence par déclarer que j'ignorais complètement que vous eussiez donné des zodiaques Egyptiens une explication semblable à la mienne. N'ayant pas sous les yeux votre article 'Egypt' dans l'Encyclopédie, et ne pouvant me le procurer, je ne puis vérifier si c'est là que vous en avez parlé. Il me reste toutefois dans la mémoire, que vous y avez approuvé et corroboré l'explication de Visconti, qui pensait que le signe initial du zodiaque était relatif à l'année vague, mais je ne me souviens pas que vous ayez dit autre chose. Si vous avez enseigné ailleurs une opinion différente, veuillez me le faire connaître, et indiquer précisément l'ouvrage où je pourrais le trouver: je réparerai à la première occasion l'omission que j'ai faite.

Au reste, il faut s'entendre sur ce qui caractérise une opinion: la mienne ne consiste pas à avoir avancé comme d'autres, que les zodiaques Egyptiens pourraient bien n'être qu' *astrologiques*. Si je me fusse arrêté là, je n'aurais pas fort avancé la question; en effet, il n'y a qu'un très-petit nombre de conjectures à former sur l'objet de tels monumens; car ils sont nécessairement ou *astronomiques*, ou *astrologiques*, ou *religieux*, ou *symboliques;* quand on a épuisé ces quatre conjectures, on n'a encore rien dit. Dupuis est le premier qui leur

ait soupçonné un but *astrologique ;* cette conjecture a été remise en avant, simplement comme une possibilité, par S. Martin et l'abbé Hulma ; mais elle est demeurée tout-à-fait stérile. L'idée fondamentale développée dans mon opuscule a un tout autre caractère ; et vraisemblablement je n'y aurais pas été conduit, sans l'heureux hasard qui nous a fait connaître la momie de Pétéménon. J'ose avancer que les conséquences que j'en ai déduites : 1°. de l'existence du zodiaque dans cette momie ; 2°. de son époque bien déterminée par l'inscription ; 3°. de son objet ; 4°. de son rapport avec les zodiaques de Dendéra ; 5°. de la date récente des quatre autres zodiaques ; 6°. enfin, de l'histoire des idées astrologiques depuis l'époque voisine de l'ère vulgaire, et de la date également récente des autres représentations zodiacales des anciens ; que ces conséquences, dis-je, sont entièrement nouvelles, et qu'il n'y a trace nulle part du système général d'idées auxquelles elles conduisent.

Voilà du moins ce que je pense ; si je me trompe c'est de bonne foi et je suis prêt à reconnaître mon erreur. Comme je suis occupé à remanier ce sujet, pour une seconde édition qui ne se fera pas attendre, je me ferais un devoir, et j'ajoute un grand plaisir, de citer tout ce que vous avez écrit sur ce sujet, si vous me faites la grace de me l'indiquer.

Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous assurer que vous vous êtes trompé beaucoup sur ma manière de voir en toutes ces choses. Jamais les discussions littéraires dont je suis témoin n'altèrent mes sentimens pour les personnes. Quant aux questions d'intérêt, ou, si l'on veut, *d'orgueil national,* elles me sont complètement indifférentes : que la vérité se découvre, il n'importe par qui, je m'en applaudis sincèrement, et j'en profite de quelque part qu'elle vienne. Le mérite, partout où il se trouve, a mon sincère hommage ; et pour reconnaître le vôtre je n'ai pas besoin de savoir si vous êtes Français ou Anglais.*

* Letronne, who was a very estimable man, may have been sincere in making these professions, but he certainly had not the courage to act always in accordance with them ; for in his brief account of the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet (*Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Egypte,* Introduction, p. xxx.), he makes no reference whatever to Dr. Young, whether from fear of displeasing Champollion, or offending the national vanity of his countrymen. He speaks of Champollion as the sole discoverer, taking credit however to himself for having made a suggestion

Borné à la carrière de l'antiquité, je ne suis qu'un très-faible appréciateur de toutes vos autres facultés brillantes; mais Arago vous dira que nous parlons souvent de vos ouvrages et de vos découvertes, et que nous prenons part à vos succès avec autant de plaisir que si vous apparteniez à notre nation. Tels sont mes sentimens, et il s'écoulera du temps avant que l'on m'en voie changer.

Un dernier mot sur un passage de votre dernière lettre. Vous citez comme une preuve de la *partialité* des philologues de Paris, ce que M. Raoul Rochette a dit dernièrement du MS. de M. Grey; et vous semblez voir parmi nous une espèce de *coalition philologique* prête à entamer une guerre nationale. En vérité il n'y a rien de tout cela. Ce que vous appelez de la *partialité* est tout simplement *oubli* et *inadvertence*. M. Raoul Rochette, au moment où il a écrit, aura perdu de vue le fait relatif au MS. de M. Grey; autrement il se serait plu à vous rendre justice: j'en suis pleinement convaincu.

Je désire que ces éclaircissemens puissent dissiper les doutes que vous avez conçus sur mes dispositions à votre égard; et je souhaite d'apprendre par un mot de vous que vous continuez de croire aux sentimens de haute estime, &c.

8.—*From* Dr. Young *to* M. Letronne.

Je vous remercie beaucoup, Monsieur, de la peine que vous vous êtes donnée pour me convaincre que j'avais tort de supposer la possibilité d'une altération de votre amitié pour moi. Quant aux zodiaques je supposais que vous connaissiez bien mon article sur l'Egypte, et que, dans toute probabilité, vous n'auriez pas oublié l'explication que j'avais donnée du symbole de la génération d'un côté du plafond, et de la naissance de la personne nommée de l'autre côté, avec l'intervention des 270,

which led his friend to the discovery (see note, p. 293). Notwithstanding this he dedicated his work to Young as well as Champollion, giving precedence to the name of the former, perhaps as a sort of atonement for his injustice. But even this he did at some risk, for, according to Klaproth, the linking together of Dr. Young's name with Champollion's in that order gave mortal offence to the latter (see note †, p. 252).—*Ed.*

désignant les jours de la gravidité de la mère. A Dendérah le nom de la nouvelle mariée est Isis, et dans ce cas le plafond est proprement mythologique, ailleurs je le considère comme simplement allégorique. Vous avez ajouté des preuves très heureuses et très frappantes que cette allégorie était astrologique, et je suis charmé d'entendre que vous allez republier votre ouvrage. Quant à M. Raoul-Rochette, si c'est un oubli c'est un oubli très extraordinaire. J'avais annoncé ma découverte casuelle avec tant de parade et de réjouissement presque enfantin que je pouvais avoir peur qu'on ne se moquât de ma simplicité, mais il ne m'est jamais venu dans l'esprit qu'on pût faire honneur à un autre de cette petite bonne fortune littéraire, quoique je ne la dusse qu'au hasard; car certainement si M. Grey vous avait montré son manuscrit vous l'auriez lu sans beaucoup de difficulté, et après cela M. Champollion aurait reconnu les trois noms de ses témoins, quoiqu'il les ait écrits un peu moins exactement que je n'avais fait en parlant du même texte enchorial de l'inscription de Rosette.

J'avais copié l'inscription sur la caisse de Tphoutoc avec quelque soin; elle est en partie effacée, et j'ai donné une double leçon d'une des dates, comme vous pouvez voir sur la planche dans la Bibliothèque du Roi.

9.—*From* M. Kosegarten *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Jéna en Saxe, le 28 Juillet, 1824.

Vous devrez m'accorder pardon de ce que, quoiqu'inconnu à vous, je viens vous importuner. J'ai lu avec grand intérêt et admiration les écrits que vous avez publiés relativement à l'explication des écritures anciennes Egyptiennes, c'est-à-dire vos lettres dans le Museum Criticum, et votre '*Account of some recent Discoveries*,' &c. C'est certainement à vous que l'Europe doit les premiers renseignemens sûrs par rapport à ce sujet aussi nouveau qu'intéressant; et c'est surtout dans votre '*Account*,' que vous avez communiqué d'importantes

pièces de ce genre de littérature. Je désirerais vivement de voir le texte enchorial des pièces que vous avez traduites dans l'*Account;* c'est-à-dire, du papyrus, dont vous avez reçu la copie de Paris, traduit dans l'*Account*, pag. 72; et des trois contrats, qui appartiennent à votre ami M. Grey, traduits pag. 76, 80, 83. Ne voudriez-vous pas avoir l'extrême complaisance de m'envoyer une copie du texte enchorial de ces pièces? Aussi vous faites mention d'une copie lithographiée qui devait se faire de ces pièces: si celle-ci a paru peut-être vous pourriez avoir la bonté de m'en faire parvenir une copie ou un exemplaire. Aussi vous m'obligeriez infiniment si vous voulez me communiquer tous les signes numériques enchorials.

10.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

MY DEAR GELL, Spa, 13 Aug. 1825.

As you wish me to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Wilkinson's packet, I see no reason for any further delay in complying with your request, though it will be a month or two before I shall be able to look at it. I see no reason why the whole or the best part of Mr. Wilkinson's drawings should not become part of the *Hieroglyphics*, continued by the Royal Society of Literature: I have finally undertaken to direct the continuation, and they have authorised me to use my own discretion in the selection of materials. What you before sent me of Wilkinson will make the first five plates, which Scharf is executing: a man whom I before employed has already done the sixth, which is a Greek MS. of the year 326, brought over by Sir A. Edmonstone, containing a manumission of some slaves, in the seventh Consulship of Constantine and third of Constantius Cæsar. The seal I gave to Leake for the Council of the Royal Society, to insert in their Transactions; but when these Transactions will be published, or in what form, I cannot say, and I really cannot undertake to make myself responsible for the admission or exclusion of any discussions which Mr. Wilkinson or any other ingenious antiquary may have thought right to introduce. If

my engagements permitted me to enter fully into the examination of the documents, something more original would be expected of me; and without such an examination I have no right to become a Procrustes. On the other hand I dare say Mr. Wilkinson would not like that his drawings should appear without any of the explanations which he has annexed to them; and the plan of the collection of Hieroglyphics is to admit nothing but original documents into the series: the only exception that I have made being the interlinear translation of the Rosetta Stone, which I think I had a right to consider as a singular case of some importance. You will therefore oblige me by telling me how far I am authorized to select such of Mr. Wilkinson's drawings as I may think the most important for Scharf to lithographize as a part of the collection, leaving the text for future consideration.—Perhaps a bookseller might be found to undertake the publication of the whole in a form more agreeable to Mr. Wilkinson. By the middle of October I shall probably be in town and can ascertain this point; and by that time I hope to get your answer.

11.—*From* Baron von Humboldt *to* Dr. Young.

À Tegel, près de Berlin,
ce 24 Août, 1825.

Monsieur,

Je profite du départ de M. Struve, docteur en médecine, pour Londres, pour me rappeler à votre souvenir, et vous dire combien j'ai été charmé de voir par vos '*Discoveries*' avec quel zèle vous continuez à étendre vos découvertes sur la langue et l'alphabet des anciens Egyptiens. Vous vous souviendrez, Monsieur, que pendant mon séjour à Londres j'étais entièrement étranger à ce genre d'études. J'ai étudié depuis avec soin la langue Copte, et me suis occupé du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes sans la prétention d'y faire moi-même des découvertes, mais simplement pour savoir les vôtres et celles de M. Champollion.

L'alphabet démotique a trouvé maintenant un interprète de qui vous avez déjà entendu parler, Monsieur, et qui a été

ravi trop tôt à la littérature. Je veux parler de M. Spohn, de Leipzig. Le premier volume de son ouvrage vient de paraître. C'est le Professeur Seyffarth qui publie cet ouvrage posthume d'après les papiers de Spohn. Le volume qui vient de paraître renferme le texte Egyptien, écrit en lettres Latines, de l'inscription de Rosette et de plusieurs autres textes Egyptiens, avec une version littérale en Latin. Vous voyez par là que Spohn a été, ou a cru être, en possession de l'alphabet démotique. Cependant le premier volume qui a paru à présent ne renferme pas encore cet alphabet. Quant à la traduction il faut avouer que Spohn est resté incertain sur le sens précis de plusieurs mots, et qu'il y en a même un bon nombre dont il n'a pas osé déterminer la signification. Le premier volume ne renferme pas assez de matériaux pour pouvoir porter un jugement définitif de l'ouvrage; mais à juger de ce que j'ai pu examiner de ce volume, et par la connaissance que j'ai de l'érudition solide et du caractère de Spohn, je crois que sa découverte est véritable. Je dis découverte, en autant qu'il a donné la prononciation de textes entiers écrits en langue démotique. Car d'ailleurs je n'ai pas encore pu comparer sa façon de lire les mots que vous, Monsieur, avez déchiffré longtemps avant lui. Cette comparaison est trop pénible avant que M. Seyffarth n'ait donné l'alphabet de Spohn. M. Champollion n'a presque rien sur des textes démotiques, si vous exceptez cet alphabet même qu'il ajoute à l'alphabet hiéroglyphique, mais dont il n'a donné que très peu d'applications dans son ouvrage. Ce qui est sûr c'est que Spohn n'avait point profité de ses travaux, qu'il connaissait à peine. Je ne sais pas précisément s'il a eu une connaissance spéciale des vôtres. On ne pourra porter un jugement solide sur tout cela que lorsque la publication de ses ouvrages aura été faite en entier.

12.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Baron von HUMBOLDT.

MY DEAR SIR, London, 22 Sept., 1825.

I HAVE to thank you for the favour of your letter sent me by Mr. Struve: I have delayed making this acknowledg-

ment, until I could return you some answer on the subject of Mr. Spohn, whose posthumous work you mention as having engaged your attention. We might suppose it to be almost impossible that a man possessed of any talents should spend some years of his life in a field of literature not wholly barren, without obtaining some few fruits of his labour, which had escaped the researches of others; but I have looked in vain for any one addition to what even Mr. Akerblad had made out, more than thirty years ago, that can justify the pomp and ceremony with which Professor Seyffarth's Prodromus is issued into the world.

The most satisfactory evidence on this subject is that of the papyrus of Casati, which I discovered to be the original of Mr. Grey's Greek antigraph, a little *after* I had printed, and distributed among a few friends, my attempt to translate some parts of the original, which appeared in the *Philosophical Journal* for January, 1823. You will find in it Nebonen*chus* as a proper name, twice over; Apollonius, Antimachus, and Antigenes: the three last having been read nearly in the same manner by Champollion. There is also a phrase, *et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus*, frequently repeated.

Of these, Professor Spohn has made out the letters *nebonen*, and *etplonies*, without marking them as proper names; and he has put down Antimaus and Antigenes as a part of his translation: but he has not attempted any explanation of the phrase, which is repeatedly rendered in the antigraph, *with his children and all his family*, nor has he rightly translated a single word besides, after the preamble, which is not in the Greek.

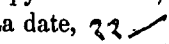
With respect to his mode of reading the words, by an alphabet, which, the newspapers tell us, is like the Armenian, this manuscript affords an undeniable criterion of its accuracy, as it consists almost entirely of proper names, originally Egyptian, not one of which has been read by Professor Spohn in any way at all approaching to the truth. For example, instead of Maesis Mirsios, he gives us Eumolme Nnelleme; for Petcutemis Arsiesios, Ischre pepo eepô nenee; and for Petearpocrates Hori, Nearschneoe hne. If his Egyptian dedication to the King of Saxony is equally happy with these specimens, it may

happen to pass current in the other world for an address to Sesostris or to Osiris himself, or for a confession of faith in all the gods and goddesses of Ombos and of Tentyra; and thus to have procured him admission into the blessed communion of those deified Egyptian kings, who are occasionally represented, according to Mr. Bankes's drawings, as *offering sacrifices to themselves.*

13.—*From* M. Kosegarten *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Greifswald en Poméranie, le 12 Décembre, 1825.

Je vous fais mes remercîmens les plus sincères pour vos *Hieroglyphics.* C'est un présent aussi beau par sa rareté que par son contenu, et dont j'ai tiré déjà grand profit pour mes études Egyptiennes. Lorsque je fis imprimer ici mes *Bemerkungen* je n'avais pas vos *Hieroglyphics;* car si je les avais eus, vous sentez bien que j'aurois parlé autrement sur beaucoup de points. Dans le printemps de cette année je fis imprimer dans le journal *Hermes,* 1824, je crois numéro XXII., un rapport sur vos travaux pour l'explication des écritures Egyptiennes, et sur ceux de M. Champollion. Je pense avoir rendu dans ce rapport quelque justice à vos mérites, quoiqu' alors je n'eusse pas encore vos *Hieroglyphics.* Mais après avoir reçu cet ouvrage, j'ai publié une critique de l'ouvrage de MM. Spohn et Seyffarth, à Leipzig, sur les écritures Egyptiennes, dans la *Gazette Littéraire de Halle,* 1825, numéros 159, 160, 161. Dans cette critique j'ai tâché de sauver vos droits par rapport à l'explication de l'écriture enchoriale, et de montrer que M. Spohn n'a rien dit de vrai, que vous n'ayiez dit et lu avant lui, et que M. Spohn n'a ajouté à cela qu'une masse d'erreurs. M. Spohn avoit reçu une copie du papyrus Casati, et avoit essayé de le traduire; il n'a rien compris de ce qui est écrit dans ce papyrus, excepté quelques noms et titres dans le préambule. M. Spohn aussi fait une traduction de l'inscription de Rosette, qui est très-différente de la vôtre, et qui, à mon avis, fourmille d'erreurs. Néanmoins M. Seyffarth parle des travaux de feu son ami Spohn qu'il continue, avec la plus extravagante flatterie.

Maintenant je vais publier un ouvrage sur l'écriture enchoriale et les papyrus de Berlin, accompagné de fac-similés lithographiés et en bois. Dans cet ouvrage un de mes premiers soins sera de dire que vous êtes celui qui le premier a publié des notions exactes sur les lettres enchoriales et le contenu des contrats Egyptiens. J'aurai le plaisir de vous en envoyer un exemplaire aussitôt que le premier cahier sera achevé. J'y joindrai aussi le fac-similé complet du papyrus de Berlin, numéro 36. Vous verrez comme il diffère quelquefois un peu du papyrus Casati, et combien j'en peux expliquer en détail. La date,  doit être traduite ainsi; car

18. | Athyr.

est 18 dans les jours de mois, aussi dans l'inscription de Rosette et le papyrus de Grey. Dans la douzième ligne du papyrus Casati le jour n'est pas marqué; il y a simplement le mois Athyr. Dans l'antigraphe il y a , qui doit être lu ιη, 18; car le kappa est écrit de cette façon . Le papyrus de Berlin est souvent écrit plus lisiblement que celui de Casati. Vous avez eu bien raison de publier vos documens aussitôt que possible, sans vous en laisser détourner par la crainte de commettre quelques fautes. Les fautes ne peuvent jamais être évitées entièrement, surtout dans des matières aussi neuves et obscures que celles-ci. De commettre quelques fautes ce n'est pas là ce qui détruit tout le mérite d'un travail. M. Müller à Göttingen, homme assez hautain, juge des travaux sur les écritures Egyptiennes sans en entendre la moindre des choses, et il a eu bien tort de parler de vous de telle manière.* Au reste ce n'est rien d'extraordinaire chez nous que d'entendre sur ces recherches Egyptiennes les plus

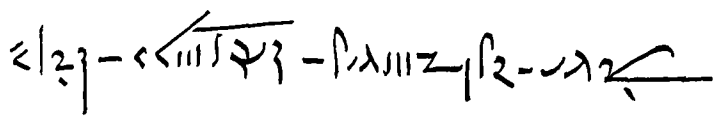
* This refers to a short review of Dr. Young's *Account of Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature*, written by the celebrated author of 'The Dorians,' in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1825, 2, p. 1097, in which Müller charges Dr. Young with inaccuracy in his translation of the Greek papyrus of Anastasy, although he does not point out a single instance. On the other hand he vindicates Dr. Young's claim to priority in hieroglyphical discovery. "It cannot be denied that he attained by his own researches to the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphs in foreign names, and acquainted the public with it at least before Champollion. Besides, he decyphered a great number of words, some of them written phonetically and others ideographically, and these were afterwards interpreted exactly in the same way by Champollion." It appears that Müller did not know of the existence of Champollion's Grenoble Memoir (see supra, p. 157, note), otherwise he could have spoken with absolute certainty of Dr. Young's priority in the actual discovery, as well as in the publication of the hieroglyphic alphabet.—*Ed.*

sots raisonnemens ; les uns prétendent pouvoir lire tout comme MM. Spohn et Seyffarth ; ils ne sont en embarras par rapport à la prononciation d'aucun mot, et ils créent de cette manière étonnante une langue Egyptienne tout-à-fait surprenante ; les autres ne veulent rien croire de ce qu'on a lu avec sûreté. M. Spohn a aussi de grands amis chez nous, et on a même voulu me faire défense de rien dire contre lui, ou contre son disciple Seyffarth. Quant à M. Müller, il a déjà lui-même essuyé des attaques des plus violentes par rapport à son savoir Grec. Je consacrerai encore dans la Gazette Littéraire de Halle un article à l'annonce de vos *Hieroglyphics*. Dans la ligne dix-sept du papyrus Casati je ne comprends pas plus que vous, et je crois qu'il se passera encore du temps avant que nous soyons en état de déchiffrer complètement les textes enchorials. C'est la connaissance de la langue qui fait le plus de difficulté. Vous devriez tâcher d'obtenir d'Egypte autant de papyrus que possibles, parceque ce n'est qu'à l'aide des traductions Grecques et des comparaisons que l'on peut faire quelques progrès sûrs.

J'ai joint les accens à l'antigraphe, parcequ'en Allemagne on croit que pour donner un texte Grec complètement il faut y mettre les accens. Je crois aussi qu'il faut lire των Διοσπολεως της μεγαλης ; mais j'aimerois bien savoir quel est le groupe enchorial qui répond à Διοσπολις, pag. 17. Je le trouve aussi probable, que le λογευομενων se rapporte plutôt aux Cholchytes. Le papyrus de Berlin a aussi la liste des témoins sur le dos, comme j'ai remarqué depuis, mais écrite très illisiblement. Je ne l'avois pas remarqué d'abord, parceque les papyrus de Berlin sont collés sur des planches et entre des vers. Il me semble que vous allez un peu trop loin, en considérant comme ennemi chacun qui se sert du nom démotique, au lieu d'enchorial. On peut reconnaître la priorité de vos découvertes par rapport à cette écriture, et cependant croire que démotique soit un nom plus commode et plus expressif. Columbus jouit de la gloire de sa découverte quoique le pays ne porte pas son nom. Au reste, pour moi, je n'ai rien contre la dénomination enchoriale, et j'ai déjà observé, dans le *Bemerkungen*, ce qui peut principalement recommander cette dénomination.

Si peut-être vous avez découvert le groupe qui répond à

Διοσπολις, et que vous vouliez me communiquer votre opinion là dessus, je vous en serois extrêmement obligé, et vous pouvez être sûr que tout ce que je tiens de vous sera aussi publié par moi comme venant de vous. Dans le papyrus de Berlin, les groupes qui répondent à "Cholchyte de Diospolis la grande" sont écrits très clairement, et reviennent trois fois, de cette façon-ci :



4 | 3 | 2 | 1

Ce sont clairement quatre mots. Le troisième a quelque ressemblance avec le mot "tombeau," et le second avec le mot "temple," dans l'inscription de Rosette. Mais néanmoins il se peut bien qu'ici ce sont d'autres mots. Cependant il me semble très vraisemblable qu'un de ces groupes doit signifier *Cholchyte*, un autre *Diospolis*, et un autre *grand*.

14.—*From* Chevalier San Quintino *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur le Docteur, Turin, 20 Avril, 1826.

Pour vous prouver et le plaisir que j'aurais à vous obliger en quelque manière et la haute estime que je vous professe, j'ai tiré moi-même deux ou trois calques de nos papyrus enchoriques, avec toute la diligence dont j'ai été capable. Vous les recevrez avec cette lettre par mon ami le Chevalier d'Aglié, frère du ministre de mon roi à la cour de St.-James, qui vient passer quelques semaines à Londres. De ces papyrus il nous en reste encore huit à dix que peu-à-peu je copierai aussi : mais nous n'en avons pas avec des registres en Grec. Je désire que ces trésors puissent entre vos mains réussir de quelque utilité au progrès de la science. Pour ce qui est de notre stèle trigrammatique, ni le professeur Peyron, qui a réussi à lire assez bien la partie qui reste encore du texte Grec, ni M. Champollion, qui l'a essayé plusieurs fois, n'ont pas réussi à copier un seul mot du texte enchorique. A peine y voit-on encore quelques lettres éparses çà et là parmi les restes des

signes hiéroglyphiques sur lesquels les caractères enchoriques ont été gravés postérieurement en palimpseste. J'en ai parlé dans une note de mon mémoire sur notre momie de Pétémenophis. Hier encore j'ai voulu examiner ce stèle malheureux, et je me suis convaincu de plus en plus que ce précieux monument est désormais tout-à-fait perdu pour la science. Ne regrettez donc pas, Monsieur, que M. Mompurgo n'ait pas voulu vous obliger lorsque vous fûtes à Livorno.

Si dans mes écrits je ne vous ai pas rendu toute la justice que j'aurais dû, vous ne devez l'attribuer qu'à la privation presque totale dans laquelle nous vivons en Italie des productions Anglaises. Comme vous savez, votre langue est très peu connue parmi nous, et nos libraires n'ont aucune correspondance directe avec l'Angleterre, à cause du haut prix de vos livres. Nous sommes au contraire inondé de tout ce qu'on publie en France, et on ne voit ici que par les yeux des Français. Il n'est donc pas étonnant si je n'ai jamais eu connaissance de votre *Archéologie*;* et c'est même par le plus grand des hasards que j'eus le bonheur de connaître vos *Discoveries*, à Gènes, chez la Comtesse de Westmoreland, en 1824. J'ai voulu les faire connaître tout de suite à notre Académie des Sciences, en faisant droit à votre cause, mais ma voix fut étouffée par les deux ou trois partisans que M. Champollion a dans l'Académie même, et qui s'occupent de ces études. Mr. Young n'a jamais répondu, dit-on, aux observations que Champollion lui a adressées dans le premier chapître de son *Système*, surtout sur la distinction entre les simples lettres alphabétiques et les signes des syllabes. J'ai été contredit par eux, et par l'effet de leurs intrigues mon Mémoire n'a pas été passé pour l'impression. Je n'ai plus voulu assister depuis lors aux séances académiques; car j'aime tout autant la vérité et la bonne amitié, que je déteste l'esprit de parti. J'ai pourtant déjà réparé en partie mon injustice en envoyant à la *Rivista Inciclopedica* de Naples un extrait de ce que vous avez bien voulu m'observer là-dessus dans votre dernière lettre. Et comme je me propose de donner dans quelques uns de nos journaux une analyse du

* Chevalier San Quintino here refers to Dr. Young's contribution to the *Archæologia*, which forms Art. No. I. of this volume.—*Ed.*

dernier ouvrage de Mr. Salt, que mon jeune ami le savant Mr. Talbot Fox vient de me porter de Londres, je saisirai cette occasion pour y répéter encore les mêmes choses. En Italie on ne vous rend pas assez justice parcequ'on ne vous connaît, Monsieur, que par les ouvrages des Français, et surtout de M. Champollion, qui, en me parlant un jour de son voyage d'Angleterre, et du Musée Britannique, me disait que les Anglais sont des barbares. Ce savant illustre est maintenant à Livorno, pour expédier en France la belle collection de Mr. Salt, que les Anglais n'ont pas voulu. Je l'avais proposée à mon gouvernement; nous l'aurions eue pour 200,000 francs. La France en paye 250,000 francs; quoiqu'elle ne vaille pas le cinquième de la nôtre, même privée du sanctuaire monolite qui en faisait partie, et que nous avons payé, bien qu'ensuite M. Drovetti crût de sa convenance de le régaler à la France sans nous rien dire. Et cette libéralité, malgré mes réclamations, n'a pas trouvé de difficulté à être ensuite approuvée ici par notre ministre, qui ne s'entend pas plus des monumens de l'Egypte que des pagodes de la Chine et du Japon. La collection de Mr. Salt est assez riche en bronzes, en petits ouvrages tenant aux arts, mais elle est infiniment au-dessous de la nôtre en grandes statues; notre seul admirable Sesostris vaut le Memnon-Amenophis, le Sabacon et le Sesostris même, de la collection achetée par la France. J'y ai remarqué une vingtaine de scarabées montés en bagues, en or ou en argent; mais ils peuvent être l'ouvrage des temps postérieurs: l'année dernière on en a trouvé un aussi monté dans une fouille faite en Piémont. Les manuscrits ou inscriptions en Grec y sont au nombre de vingt à trente, mais aucune n'a son texte ou traduction en Egyptien. Le professeur Peyron, qui a fait une course ces jours derniers avec Champollion à Livorno, les a toutes copiées, et peut-être nous les donnera-t-il traduites et illustrées, avec les treize papyrus Grecs de notre musée qu'il nous fait attendre depuis deux ans. Il est capable de le faire parfaitement. Il me paraît de vous avoir déjà envoyé le premier *Saggio* qu'il en a présenté à l'Académie il y a deux ans. En tout cas il existe dans le volume vingt-neuf ou trente de ses Actes Académiques. Quelques papyrus enchoriques ont des registres en Grec, mais je n'ai eu le tems que de les voir à la hâte.

15.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

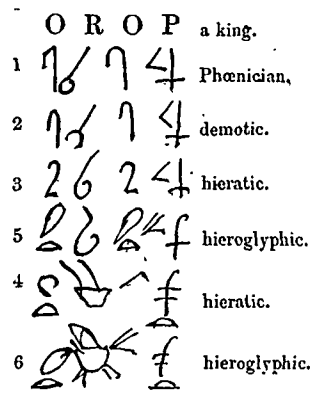
My dear Doctor, Naples, August 5, 1826.

Even though you had not written to me as you have been so kind to do by Professor Buckland, I should about this time have been tempted to address you, being somewhat anxious to hear the fate of the Wilkinsonian hieroglyphics. Dr. Buckland has been in Sicily all the time I was at Rome, and now I am come here he goes to Rome, so that I can be of no use to him except what can be done in two days, and in giving him letters to help him on the Latin road which he intends to follow to the holy city. He tells me my brother gave him a rhinoceros, which ought to establish my claims to his protection. I am quite delighted with his enthusiasm and intelligence. There is not a word too much in the review, and I thank you for sending it; as to Salt's claims to originality, they were only fit to set up in the region of Humbugia, for I myself have sent to Egypt all the inventions of yourself and Champollion as fast as they came out, and particularly wrote four years ago or thereabouts to advise Salt not to publish a Pantheon which he talked about, because all his new knowledge had been printed long before in Europe, and moreover I doubt whether anything printed existed that I had not sent to Wilkinson. I understand from Mr. Scoles the architect, that Salt went crazy on the subject of *his own inventions*, and told them all that you and Champollion knew nothing about it, and that he was the only real discoverer. Wherever Champollion had not published Salt is generally wrong, which corroborates the proof of his having seen what was printed: Nectanebus or Nekthanebph, for instance.

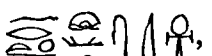
I am not aware whether you have any communication with Champollion, but we have just had him in full swing at Rome, where he was preceded about ten days by Mr. Professor Seyffarth, his antagonist. Seyffarth is a very nice gentlemanly sort of a Lord Palmerston, and as we had several meetings under the auspices of o Conde de Funchal, né black-eyed Susan in

England, to decide on the accuracy of certain drawings of the obelisks at Rome, I had very good opportunities of examining him medically. When in company he allowed that some of Champollion's names were probably right (this, however, he denied when he was quite alone to Dodwell). I tried him with names, *i. e.* with prénoms, and when he knew what Champollion had called the other shields, for instance, Ramesses VI. or Sesostris, he said made the letter *w*, that is also *w*, that is O and , making Shesos or Sesos for Sesostris. I tried him with Thothmosis, which he did not remember, so he made it N SH O. I then tried him with Amenophis Memnon, which he did know, and he said were the letters M E M. But when I tried him with those he had never seen or heard of fresh from Egypt, he could do nothing, though he had his great quarto book full of plates in his hand. I then took the liberty of asking where he got his Phœnician alphabet, as I had not seen any monuments containing the like, and he said he got it at Wirtemberg. He says is Cham or Egypt, and no Osiris. I showed him , which he said was only , another with an ornament, not knowing that now we have seen a hundred keys of brass of that shape (probably to lock up the treasure). As to it is not a bit of Pthah, but hoa = vivens, as is or Vivens. Don't be astonished that is sometimes and yet enters into the composition of hoa, because it might equally be an X, a Q, or a T, if placed near some

other figures. The only decent invention of his that I could discover was this, which if reversed might answer some good purpose; now reversing the case it might be possible that a succession of bad draughtsmen might corrupt hieroglyphic into his Phœnician, but not the contrary. Well, I had settled in my own mind that the said Mr. Sighpoop was crazy when Champollion came, and I proposed that they should fight with two obeliscs for swords, and the labrum of Monte Cavallo for a shield. They met at Italinsky's, and Nibby, who owned the influence of the great quarto very powerfully, says Italinsky was on the side of Sighpoop, but all the spectators say the contrary, and I met them next day at the French minister's. Champollion asked him into what language he translated his hieroglyphics, to which he said "Coptic." Then says Champollion, "I will not say there is no sentence, but there is no word of Coptic in your translation." "Oh," says Seyffarth, "it is a more ancient Coptic than that of the books." C. "Where did you learn it?" S. "In the Rosetta inscription." C. "In the two lines you have published?" S. "Yes." C. "Then give me leave to say that as you have published them they are so falsely copied that they give no idea of the real figures, and that no ten figures together are correct. Moreover, the name you have chosen is the one ill written in the original, and wants the " (all which is true). The fact is, Seyffarth knows nothing of the monuments and never saw any. He answered nothing, and told Nibby he thought it was better to be silent, as Champollion was so violent, which I understand he was not. All I can say is, that even the Germans did not support him, and that as all his figures may mean any letter of the alphabet according to their position, if his scheme be true it cannot be worth learning. In one point, however, he had the advantage, Champollion having attacked the word ΑCΦΟΥΙ



for "a year," which we found in La Croze, and Sighpoop says is in Isaiah, but even this Champollion swore was a mistake of the copy. It is a wretched thing that there is no good dictionary. Seyffarth has invented a whole language and Champollion many words for which no printed authority can be found, as, for instance, Nitocris with the sign of the goddess Neit, and the word OKR, victory, corresponding with the victorious Minerva of Eratosthenes (I think). I have already written to Hamilton on the subject of a map of the Holy Land, the geography of which is really in so deplorable a state that it is impossible to read the Old Testament satisfactorily, and as I have this summer finished my map of the neighbourhood of Rome I should really, though absolutely legless, like to undertake it before I die.

We expect Champollion and Seyffarth here soon, for they had agreed to come here together. I dare say you have observed how well Hermapion agrees with the pyramidion of the obelisc of Monte Citorio. I am quite astonished to find how Champollion has *progressed*, as the Americans say, this year, in applying the Coptic words to the figures. He was wrong about Sate, as he owns. That girl is Sme or Smet, the goddess of truth; and among twenty other proofs a judge's tomb has been found with the goddess hung round his neck. I am in great anxiety to know whether in line 5 of the Rosetta stone the signs exist or not, in "the gods give victory, life, strength," &c., thus  , which Champollion swears by for strength, and says means strong among the strong, and which certainly he makes come in beautifully, as fortis, κραῖος, and among the chiefs or brave. But it is all founded on what at present exists in no engraved copy of the stone. Do send somebody to look at the stone if you have any compassion for my weakness.

Wilkinson's name is J. G. Wilkinson. I long to see his

things in print and to send some of them to him—they are worth all the hieroglyphics in the French work.

16.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

London, 9, Park Square, Portland Place,
2 Sept. 1826.

MY DEAR GELL,

I WAS quite amazed at the coolness with which you ask me to send a person to look at the Rosetta stone, when you had my own plates in your portfolio. I went however yesterday, to satisfy your incredulity, and I assure you that my copy of line V. is perfectly correct, and that there is no trace of M. Champollion's "strong among the strong" between the two characters where you introduce it. You must have misunderstood him, for he has, or had, a very accurate knowledge of the true state of the inscription.

As to my friend Seyffarth, he is really a most delectable creature. When he published Spohn's discoveries, the words which ought to be Maesis, Mirsios, or some such thing, I think he reads "Ischre Pepo Nepo Neleme;" and I pointed this out in *Brande's Journal*,* in a few lines addressed to Wilhelm von Humboldt. The *Göttingen Anzeigen* had found the same flaw before, from the copy of Grey's Antigraph, which I had sent there. His *Chemi* for Osiris is equally admirable; and though he ought to have known that Champollion agrees with me in this word, and that if we are right he must be wrong, he addressed to me a few months ago a very humble petition to be admitted as the third in our illustrious triumvirate! I must give you his own words:—

"Quemadmodum Roma ita Ægyptus quoque suos habuit triumviros. . . . . Laudes Ægyptiacorum longe superant laudes Romanorum, nec dubito quin si historia Augustum, Lepidum, Antonium oblivioni tradiderit eorum nomen vivat et vigeat, qui bona Ægyptiaca dudum quæsita in vitam usumque hominum reduxerunt. Tu, V. E., ex tribus es illis, quorum memoriam nulla aetas, nulla obscura oblivio deleat. Spohnio enim b. tibique et Champollioni contigit quod frustra quæsiverunt tot

* Supra, p. 385.

nationes, tot sæcula, aperire aditum ad scripta Ægyptiorum. Spohnius....obiit....quo facto... accidit ut nescio quo fato protinus atque invitus in vestram societatem, adhuc superstitem et salvam triumviratus partem, recipiendus essem. Non decet virum honestum armis expetere principatum et societatem principum, quare ante omnia vestra et quidem sua imprimis suffragia roganda habeo."

As for his ⲁⲥⲫⲱⲟⲩⲓ it may be Coptic, but I have no access to a manuscript of Daniel, and it has never been printed: but it does not help us in reading the at the beginning of all the deeds. By the way there are some Egyptian papyri in Greek stuck up in the Vatican, in a small ante-room, which we ought to have: I observed the word κληρονομοι in one of them: would not they give us a copy in return for the *Hieroglyphics*, of which Mr. Stewart is to take them the third number? but Dodwell can keep it back for you to look over before he presents it. The principal part is copied from Wilkinson's drawings, and they will be enough to fill eight or ten more numbers; but I do not find that his notes are considered as in a fit state to print. Leake has been looking them over on the part of the R. S. L., and thinks them scarcely admissible in their present state: that is the former cahier relating to the first six plates of this fasciculus.

I wish I could do anything to promote your views of a crusade to the Holy Land; but I have no notion by whom such a thing could be taken up. The Royal Society of Literature ought to do it if they had funds and if anything were to be got by it, either in money or in members, I dare say they would not object. But Hamilton knows more of them than I do.

In Nitocris, I have fancied the latter part of the word might be related to ⲟⲩ ϭⲣⲟ Neith, oschschro-is —·. Did I tell you my reading of , which I well knew means *price*? I think it must be ϭⲟⲩⲛ; as is certainly the beginning of ϭⲱⲧⲏⲣ. The Germans had read "talents," in the Greek registries, and I find in the corresponding enchorial.

My best hopes now are in their endorsements, if the jealous fools at Paris and elsewhere would have the courage to make them public.

I am glad you like Buckland. He is certainly a very interesting person, though I do not know him intimately. There is, I think, some ingenuity in Seyffarth's ש from [illegible] which I have sometimes written SES, from ϣⲏϣ, a pair. I am still a little sceptical about PTAH, having so completely satisfied myself that the corresponding part of the enchorial ⲡⲧⲁϩⲙⲉⲓ is found in "father-loving" and "brother-loving;" and for the present I am contented to leave the thing in suspense. It is, I acknowledge, marvellous that [illegible] should never be found as the name of a deity; but I thought I had once found it in some plates which Dodwell lent me: time will show. I suppose if I keep four copies of Wilkinson's plates for him, it will be sufficient. Pray ask him what I shall do with them.

Nitocris may also be for Neith-chor-is. ϫⲟⲣ is "strong," and probably "victorious." ⲟⲕⲣ can scarcely be a word any where.

17.—*From* Dr. Young *to* Count Pollon.

My dear Sir, Park Square, 20 Dec. 1826.

Considering the readiness which you can bear witness that I have always shown, to comply with any wish of your countrymen, to obtain information respecting the progress of literature and of science in this country, I confess that I did expect to have been generally treated by them with indulgence rather than with severity; and I am quite sure that you were as fully persuaded as myself, that they would have justified this expectation. I am not, however, about to enter a protest with the public on the occasion; I wish only to explain a few particular circumstances which appear to have been mistaken; and to make some admissions which my friends may think due from me to my opponents: for opponents, it seems, I have; and I cannot help feeling that the learned and ingenious Mr.

Peyron is one of them; at least, such is the unavoidable impression that is produced by the *manner* in which he has pointed out several imperfections in my attempts to illustrate the antiquities of Egypt, which *further documents* only have enabled him and others to correct.

In his essay, read the 27th May, 1824, he says of my attempt to obtain a cast of Drovetti's pillar, then lying unnoticed at Leghorn, " sebbene allegasse i diritti del suo sapere, dicendo *essere lui il solo uomo vivente, che potesse compiutamente apprezzare il valore di tal monumento.*" Now this passage, printed as it is in italics, has the manifest tendency to accuse me of a degree of *presumption* which its author thought unwarrantable; and there is no doubt that the majority of his readers will have been easily influenced by such an insinuation.

I must however observe, that as a perfect stranger, writing, as I did, without introduction, to a merchant, not conversant with literature or with literary men, it was necessary to say something that should make my correspondence worthy of his notice; and with regard to the truth of the fact, it would have been a little more candid if M. Peyron had stated his own belief whether I *was* or *was not* at that time " the only person living that could fully appreciate the value of the object in question."

Akerblad was dead: Champollion had not *then* done any thing worth mentioning on the subject of hieroglyphics. I had published, *seven years* before, and had sent directly to Champollion, a literal translation of the two Egyptian inscriptions on the pillar of Rosetta: I had sent the name of Ptolemy and the interpretation of many other characters to the English travellers in Egypt; it was *after* my return from Italy that Champollion received the name of Cleopatra, as ascertained in Egypt by Mr. Bankes from my letters; it is hence that *he himself* dates the origin of his system: *Ergo opera illius mea sunt!* And I willingly add, of this new Achilles, *fortemque in fortia misi!*

However this may be, it was late in 1822 that Champollion published his letter to M. Dacier; and I shall be very much surprised if M. Peyron can produce a single page in any work that I could have seen in 1821, which could have convinced me that I was mistaken in the grounds of my *presumption:* nor do

I feel that I ought to be ashamed of the impression, or of the purpose to which I attempted to apply it.

The most serious *error* that has been directly laid to my charge, in Italy and in Germany, is the introduction of the name of Isis, instead of Thebes, where there was a defect in Mr. Grey's manuscript, at present in the British Museum. On this M. Peyron observes, "*Lacunam vix decem litterarum ita supplebat; των δουλων Ισιδος της μεγαλης,*" which, if it means any thing by the *decem litterarum*, means that I had inserted twenty-four letters instead of ten: for he says in the next page, "mallem tamen *τῶν ἀπὸ Διοσπόλεως*," as if he thought that eleven letters might safely be admitted; and it is obvious that we cannot estimate the size of the letters in such manuscripts with any thing like accuracy. It is easy to count the letters in the passage as he has quoted it; and I have inserted *exactly ten* letters instead of eight; and for these ten there would have been ample room. I naturally thought of Isis as preceding "the great" and following the first letter of "servants," from the frequent occurrence of such epithets in the Greek inscriptions still extant in Egypt; and having made up my mind that it was a happy conjecture, it never occurred to me to discard it, as I might otherwise have done, when I found "Diospolis the great" so frequently mentioned in other passages. The second letter of the first word was but imperfectly effaced, and it *might* have led me earlier to the true reading: but the great manuscript of Turin, now published by Mr. Peyron, leaves no doubt on the question; and with this point ascertained, it was easy for Mr. Champollion to make out the name of Diospolis, "the splendid temple of Amun," in the contracts of Mr. Grey, as well as in that of Casati, and to find the numbers of the contracting parties preceding it. I had already observed my mistake of son for daughter, in the epithet of Lubais and Tbæais, before I received Champollion's translation of the same passages, which is of course copied in great measure from mine, but with the advantage of documents more lately discovered.

Mr. Peyron remarks, with an air of triumph, "*jam corruit quidquid Cl. Anglus de Hierostolistis templa aut simulacra deorum ornantibus* COMMENTUS *fuerat:*" as he had before

observed, " *Così i Colchiti non sono più* DRESSERS, *sacri paratori delle Divinità, come sospettò il Y.*" He confesses, however, that " *Etymon tamen acute vidit;*" and adds, that " *dicti sunt ab* INVOLVENDO *cadavere;*" as I had said that " Cholchytes may possibly be a derivative of DCHOLH or JOLH, to *dress*, to *put on*."

I had lately been looking over the Enchorial deeds of Mr. Grey, with the hopes of advancing a few steps in the study of the language. I had observed the agreement of the numbers in the registries and in the Egyptian text; I had found the " talent" of the German critics expressed by an Egyptian symbol nearly resembling that of the Greek lines; and I had ascertained that the Enchorial character, for what is called a cubit in this manuscript of Turin, contains a part like the " Arura" of the inscription of Rosetta. It will be obvious, from a brief abstract of this invaluable document, how much may hereafter be expected from a patient and repeated study of the Enchorial manuscripts with its assistance.

The record begins with a date: " In the year LIV, the 22nd of Athyr, at Diospolis. Before Heraclides, one of the captains of the body guard, the commander of the Perithebaic Nome, and chief officer of the customs: in the presence also of Polemo, a captain of the body guard, Heraclides, of the same rank, and Gymnasiarch, Apollonius the son of Apollonius, and Hermogenes, as his friends, Pancrates, a lieutenant, Comanus, a general, Paniscus, son of Ammonius a colonist, and several others:

" There appeared Hermias the son of Ptolemy, of the Ombitic Nome, as a plaintiff against the Cholchytæ of the place, Horus, and Psenchonsis, and Chonopres, and their family."

" A memorial was read, which had been addressed to Hermias, Strategus, or commander in chief and governor of the Nome," in which the plaintiff Hermias accuses the Cholchytæ, and mentions a former memorial addressed to Demetrius, the Epistrategus, or high commander, in the preceding year. The latter memorial had been referred by Hermias the Strategus to the judgment of Heraclides. The cause having been pleaded by Philocles for Hermias, and by Dinon for the Cholchytæ,

Heraclides sums up the evidence, discusses the arguments, and gives sentence for the defendants.

The claim of Hermias seems to have been founded on an assertion of property only, supported by an admission of Lobais or Lubais, who was one of the vendors of the house, that she neither had nor had ever had any title to the property in question.

He had asserted in his memorials (p. 1) that his ancestors had held possessions in Diospolis throughout their lives; and that the defendants, whose proper habitation was confined to the Memnonia, where their ancestors had resided, knowing that he had been induced by the troubles of the times to change his residence, had usurped his house, which was situated in the south-western part of Diospolis, to the north of the course leading to the canal of the great goddess Juno, to the south of the course leading to the temple of Ceres, the walls of which were left standing (p. 2), and when they had repaired it they continued to occupy it . . . . And not content with inhabiting it, they had received dead bodies in it, not considering the penalties to which they became liable, especially as they bordered on the courses or parades of the great goddesses Juno and Ceres, which would be polluted by dead bodies, and by those who have the charge of them.

The Cholchytæ allege that Hermias had already been non-suited in a similar action on the same grounds: that they had been in possession of the house for many generations, and they produced their Egyptian title-deeds translated into Greek. One of these was dated in the month Pachon, the XXVIIIth of Philometor, in which "Teephibis, the father of Psenchonsis, one of the defendants, and of Chonopres, bought of Elecis and Lobais, and Tbæais, and Senerieus, and Erieus, and Senosorphibis, and Sisois, otherwise called Erieus, in all seven vendors, seven and a half œcopedic cubits, or house cubits, of the southern part of ten "cubits" of unproductive ground which they possessed. By a second deed, Asos, the father of the defendants Nechutes and Asos, and a *younger Nechutes*, and their sister Nechuthis, bought of the same persons two cubits and a half, in the same year and month. A third deed, of the

year XXXV, in the month Mesore, of the same Philometor, attests the sale of a fourth part of the same house, being three cubits and one third, to Pechytes, the father of the others, Panas and Patus, and Pasemis, and Arpchemis, and Senamunis, by Ammonius and Zbendetis, to whom it belonged. The duties on these transactions had also been paid into the Office for the purchase of the tribute; and the parties had kept undisturbed possession of the premises for thirty-seven years. Some passages of the "benevolent edict" were also alleged, in which it was decreed, that such persons as were in possession of property, without being able to produce their title-deeds, should still be allowed to hold it.

It was added by Dinon, that since the plaintiff's father had left Diospolis at the time of the troubles under Epiphanes, that event must have happened eighty-eight years ago, a period too remote to allow of the present controversy. For adding to the twenty-four years of Epiphanes thirty-five of Philometor, and twenty-nine of Evergetes from twenty-five to fifty-three inclusive, we have eighty-eight years. That he produced no document in support of his claim, except a fraudulent sentence obtained by collusion with Lobais, who had no interest in defending the action. That with respect to the removal of the embalmers to the Memnonia, the subject was wholly foreign to the question, for that Horus and his colleagues are not embalmers, but dressers; their business being also on popular festivals, and on other sacred days, to bring ashes or sand, and to strew with them both the course of Ammon and the temple, and to do the same in the temple of Juno: besides, in the annual processions, when Ammon passes over to the Memnonia, it is their business to be the leaders of the ceremony, they act as Cholchytæ, and are rewarded accordingly.

It is obvious, from the contents of this abstract, that many important points in the Enchorial manuscript of Mr. Grey are capable of further illustration from the record. For, in fact, all the *three* deeds of Mr. Grey are the actual title-deeds mentioned in this manuscript, though M. Peyron has identified but *two* of them: the purchasers mentioned in the registry of the third

being Ammonius and Psenamunis, instead of Ammonius and Zbendetis or Zthenaëtis; but it seems probable that Zbendetis or Zthenaëtis had two names, as well as Sisois or Spois, who is also called Erieus; for the date of the deed agrees perfectly, as well as all the rest of the names and the measures.

Thus then this singular train of fortunate coincidences in the revival of Egyptian literature is still marvellously continued. The first Greek manuscript of Mr. Grey, "The Antigraph of an Egyptian deed," arrived, as if by magic, while the copy of the Egyptian original of Casati, which I had just been studying, was still lying on my table; and when, for the few last weeks, I had been accidentally led to resume the consideration of the Egyptian deeds of Mr. Grey, the record came from Turin to my assistance, and offered me a precise confirmation of the date which I had before assigned to the first deed, from the Egyptian text, as the more probable of two possible alternatives, and afforded me an exact description of the very spots of ground to which the three conveyances relate.

I have only to express a hope that M. Peyron will not omit to give the public a fac-simile, if not of the whole record, which he says is written too fairly to present any difficulties, yet at least of the names which appear to differ from the most natural reading of Mr. Grey's manuscripts: for instance, Sisois for Spois, Teephibis for Teephbis, and Zbendetis for Zthenaëtis. It is true, that his readings appear in general to agree best with the Egyptian writing, but it would be satisfactory that, wherever there can be a doubt, the whole evidence should be laid before the public.

18.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Chev. de PARAVEY.*

MONSIEUR, Londres, 18 Février, 1827.

JE vous demande mille pardons de ne pas vous avoir rendu encore les remercîmens qui vous étaient dûs pour le

* M. Paravey, in transmitting a copy of the above letter, in February, 1835, gave the following particulars regarding Dr. Young:—

"Le Chevalier de Paravey connut les beaux travaux sur l'Egypte du célèbre Docteur Young, par ce que lui en dit M. le Prince de Léon, mort naguère sous le titre de Cardinal Duc de Rohan.

"M. le Prince de Léon avait habité Londres, et y avoit connu M. le Docteur Young,

présent que vous avez bien voulu me faire de votre bel ouvrage sur l'origine des lettres; mais il faut que je vous prie de m'excuser, si je me trouve dans l'impossibilité d'entrer dans aucune discussion sur les opinions que vous y avez détaillées avec tant d'industrie et tant de savoir.

Je n'ai aucun nouvel ouvrage à présent qui soit digne de vous être offert. J'attends toujours de nouveaux monuments pour continuer mes études: il paraît qu'on en a reçu de précieux à Paris; puissiez-vous, Monsieur, avec vos savants compatriotes, réussir encore à les éclaircir.

car il aimoit à cultiver les hommes de mérite: et en France, par exemple, il fut l'un des plus nobles amis de M. de Lamartine, à peine encore célèbre à cette époque.

"Faisant un nouveau voyage en Angleterre, vers 1822, M. le Duc de Rohan offrit à M. de Paravey de le mettre en rapport avec le Docteur Young, et M. de Paravey le pria de vouloir bien lui porter l'opuscule où, résumant ses grands mémoires, il montroit par des preuves astronomiques, les seules compétentes en cette matière, que les zodiaques retrouvés en Egypte étaient modernes et de l'époque des Romains, bien que les constellations qui y sont figurées soient très anciennes, et que d'origine Chaldéenne, elles se trouvent, encore en ce moment, employées dans les livres d'astronomie antique et hieroglyphique dont se servent les Chinois.

"En échange de cet *Essai sur les Zodiaques* M. le Docteur Young peu après envoya à M. de Paravey, alors inspecteur de l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique, son *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie d'Edimbourg*," [rather the article 'Egypt,' extracted from the Supplement]; "important ouvrage où le premier il montra que les caractères hiéroglyphiques ont dans beaucoup de cás une valeur alphabétique, et où il s'occupe aussi de l'histoire de l'Antique Egypte, et des méthodes astronomiques de ce peuple fameux. M. de Paravey reçut ce bel ouvrage par l'intermédiaire de M. Arago (professeur à l'Ecole Polytechnique), qui à cette époque revenoit de Londres. Il y admira la science avec laquelle M. le Docteur Young avoit rétabli la chronologie des Rois d'Egypte, ne commençant leur série qu'à la XVIII. dynastie de Manethon, en regardant les séries antérieures comme inadmissibles; résultats auxquels des travaux tout différents avoient également conduit M. de Paravey: et en outre il jugea et il juge encore que le premier il entroit d'une manière plausible et sûre dans l'interprétation des hiéroglyphes, *fournissant ainsi à M. Champollion le Jeune une clef sans laquelle ce dernier n'auroit jamais pu arriver aux résultats importants et curieux que depuis il a obtenu.*

"M. de Paravey n'ignore pas que MM. Silvestre de Sacy et Arago ont voulu depuis revendiquer pour M. Champollion seulement l'invention des hiéroglyphes phonétiques; mais en France au moins, M. de Paravey, qui s'occupe de ces hautes questions depuis 1815, se croit aussi compétent que personne sur ces matières, et il pense entièrement à cet égard comme le savant Écossais M. Browne, qui, à Edimbourg, dans un recueil périodique, a donné une fort bonne analyse de toutes ces découvertes sur les hiéroglyphes, et a fait valoir avec raison les droits de M. le Docteur Young à la priorité—droits que M. de Paravey pourroit établir par d'autres faits jusqu'à ce jour inédits.

"Ayant, en 1826, publié, avec des planches nombreuses, son '*Essai sur l'Origine Unique et Hiéroglyphique des Chiffres et des Lettres de tous les Peuples*,' ouvrage qui n'est pas encore jugé en Europe, parcequ'il s'appuye sur des livres rares et à peine connus, et qu'il suppose la connaissance du Chinois, encore si peu étudié, M. de Paravey se fit un devoir de l'adresser à M. le Docteur Young, et en reçut cette courte et noble réponse, où cet homme célèbre s'empresse de rendre justice même à ceux qui avoient dissimulé tout ce qu'ils lui devoient."

19.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

Dear Doctoribus, Naples, 18th March, 1827.

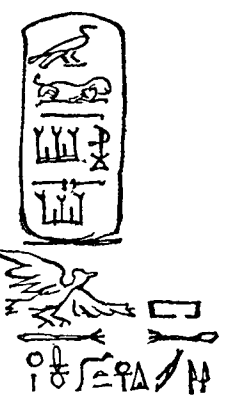
I must answer three of your communications together: one by Mr. Stewart, who either died or was very ill here all his life, and whose letter only came to my hands about a month ago—a little printed letter to M. Peyron,* and a little letter on the heads and tails of it from you: the last arrived at breakfast just as I was ten minutes ago reading the Edinburgh Review on hieroglyphics, in which yourself and Champollion are properly adjusted, but Salt is exalted into the triumvirate with about as little reason as Sighpoop Ishere Pepo Neleme might be, except that he was more open to conviction. He had seen all Champollion had published, for I had sent it to Egypt long before he wrote; and, moreover, he affected to abuse all he and you had discovered for a long time. Moreover, what Champollion had published he repeats rightly, and what Champollion had not published, from not having time, he generally mistakes, as Sabako, which is Sevechus, &c. &c. Sabako seems to be . He calls Nectanebus unknown, and why? because Champollion has not published it. It is in fact your original Proteus. Nektaneb ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉⲃ·ϕ. Your being a sieve, ϩⲁⲓ, or in Memphitic ⲥⲁⲓ, and your sphinx representing Neb. Your friend Amasis the last being child of the moon, and being a Saite protected by Neith , or ; or , the being the ploughshare of your cousin Neith and used for a T. I think one line of kings had always something of Neit in their names, and another had ϩⲉⲣⲓ, equality, which you sometimes see in a scale weighed against truth , thus

* The preceding letter, although chiefly referring to M. Peyron, was addressed to Count Pollon, and appeared in Brande's Philosophical Journal for January, 1827.—*Ed.*

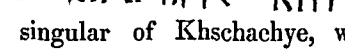
Mrs. Sme or Smet the goddess in the tablet of truth in Belzoni's tomb hung round the neck with the sun and an obelisc, &c., and whose name and figure written together leave no doubt on the subject. Why your friend in the Edinburgh Review should call S a D the Lord knows. I shall now tell you as far as I know about the characters, though I dare say you know ten times more than I do. First, however, I shall give you Artaxerxes, as it was on the name of Xerxes that all the cuneiform theories have been erected. You with me hoped to get one from the Nahr el Kelb, but as Mr. Wolff took to marrying Lady Georgiana Walpole and waiting for the new Jerusalem he did not make the copy I expected of the monuments there, and Champollion will do it next year or the year after. I now see that for want of room I must transfer to the next page my Artaxerxes, premising that Wilkinson is the discoverer, and to him the glory is due, and it should be published soon that somebody else may not claim it, for I glory in communicating all the new discoveries, and take no merit from keeping secrets which are only valuable when divulged, though I always stipulate for the discoverer's honour and his rights. Eccolo quà

also

and also

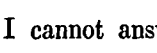


Now that I have written all these characters I perceive they may not be exactly what you want, but they are new and unknown editions of the Persian kings and connected with Xerxes, whose name in the letters was the first hint to he

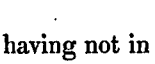
reading of them. Wilkinson thinks the PRS have to do with the word Persian, but if Fars or Phars is intended there, it is different from the name on Champollion's vase, where it is called Iran.  is called the nominative singular of Khschachye, which, I believe, means a king, or a shah; and if you have for the genitive singular Khschaehyeouea, you will find out which way they are to be read. I see given as , also and , and that the same man begins Khschearscha on the right hand, and his Khschaehye also with on right, and consequently reads from the right hand. I confess I don't see how all this applies to Champollion's vase, and don't know how he reads Iranian out of it, not having attended to the subject because Professor Grotefend and others were disputing about it, and I mean to examine it when it is settled who is right. By the way examine the shields above and observe that the sieve and are homophonous. There is a certain triple inscription at Morgab in Persia, of which much is made in Kerr Porter's travels; but of all this you know and have ten times more means of knowing than I have. But M. St. Martin, or some such name, is the reader of the Persian on the vase, and not Champollion. I will write to Wilkinson and tell him of the six copies you have in store for him. I cannot help thinking that as I am (though not one of the triumvirate) purveyor-general to the hieroglyphics, I might have had one copy also, for without me the things would never come to light, my talent at betraying literary secrets being the only thing I value myself upon in the way of hieroglyphics, and if you read Wilkinson's notes he tells you that without me he should have never attended to them. Next, as to loving systems, I love the knowledge whence soever it may come, and am glad you have looked again at . I wish it had been

, but have no doubt it will be shown that × and are cousins or brothers somehow or other, for the quantity of monuments Champollion sees and his knack at catching hold of things (you will say straws) is wonderful. I consider Seyffarth as defunct and Lanci worse. We have here a Sig. Janelli, who is going, as he says, to show the real truth to the world, but he is quite crazy and knows little of what has been done in his subject. What would you call this , and this , or this ? If you will tell me what you think, I shall tell you the sort of picture which these characters seem to give an account of. I hope and trust you have published the Wilkinsonian inscriptions from the statue of Memnon (the sitting statue), as they are a full confirmation of the historical account and talk of the queen, alias royal wife, &c. &c., because if they be not seen as Wilkinson's they must come out by somebody else. I conclude you know that there are two perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics on the left of the tablet of Abydos, which I don't see published, but which Cailliaud copied. If you know them not, I will send them. Wilkinson has, like you, an Amon Re fever. He says " is Amon Re," that is Amon of Thebes. is, as Champollion says, Amon, but with the "addition of Kneph is Amon Kneph, the Amenebis of the Romans, or Jupiter Hammon Anubis of the .... of Esouan." "Amon was a mere title: I have got it prefixed to five or six other deities." I hope you understand this difficulty—I own I do not. I cannot guess your other objection to having ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲛ as the beginning of Diospolis—

"Lincoln you may well call it, for I never was so bitten with fleas in all my life," as the old woman said. What can you object to Thebes being the habitation of Amun, as is Amun's habitation or temple in the sacred tongue, as is Ηλιου πολιν on the obelisc of Heliopolis, that is the sun's habitation or temple, or to the words Phtha's habitation for Memphis; no, I see it is in line 9 of the Rosetta stone, and so on for other sacred denominations of towns in Egypt, Apollinopolis , &c. &c.



I cannot answer your other remark of at present, having not in my memory any instance of for &c. &c.



	ⲙⲉ·ⲁ·ⲛⲁϥ	ⲙⲉⲙⲫⲉⲓ·	ϩⲙ·	ⲛⲁⲁϥ
	to accomplish.	Phtha's habitation	into	He entered

Seromfridevi, as I hear from the great geologist here, is at Ravenna and not well, and that Lady Davy is expected in Italy. I believe my trip to Palestine is, as you say, in a bad way, and the trip to Amon's habitation little better, for Champollion, who was to have had a frigate or sloop in September, will not be ready till November, as he is making his museum at Paris, and November is a bad time either by sea or land. I thought I was going with him, and know nothing now to the contrary except lameness and poverty, which you will say are sufficient reasons. It just strikes me you may have had enough of my little scribble scrabble, so I will end, as my nephew is just come in with my sister-in-law and other folks; and begging

you will write soon, I hope you will believe me most sincerely and truly your admirer and seguace da lontano,

AULUS.

You are quite right in all you say to M. Peyron: you were then the only person who knew what was what, and I shall write and convince Champollion that his fame depends much on acknowledging you as his father-in-law, though he is certainly a very fine child and most promising of his age.

20.—*From* M. LETRONNE *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR ET CHER CONFRÈRE, 25 Mars, 1827.

JE n'étais pas à Paris quand votre lettre du 16 Janvier y est parvenue, et je n'ai pu répondre sur le champ. Aussitôt qu'elle m'a été connue je me suis empressé de prendre des informations sur l'objet qui vous intéresse. Des manuscrits enchoriques ou démotiques qui sont à Paris il est possible d'avoir des copies, au moins de la plupart: ceux du Cabinet du Roi, d'après ce que m'a dit M. Gosselin, l'un des conservateurs, sont à votre disposition. Malheureusement il n'y en a qu'un fort petit nombre. Il y en a davantage dans la collection Drovetti, ou Salt, dont Champollion est conservateur: et il m'a dit de vous assurer qu'ils sont à votre disposition; s'il n'y en avait eu qu'un, il en aurait pris la copie lui-même, et vous l'aurait envoyée; mais la copie de tous lui prendrait trop de temps. Il se bornera donc à donner toutes les facilités possibles pour en procurer la copie. Quant aux papyrus de la collection Passalacqua, comme c'est une propriété particulière, le possesseur, qui veut le vendre, paraît craindre que s'il laissait prendre des copies, elle devînt moins précieuse. Cependant je ne désespérerais pas de vaincre ses scrupules, si vous insistez pour avoir ces copies. Voilà où en est la chose: reste maintenant à trouver quelque homme soigneux auquel on puisse confier ce travail, qui peut-être sera un peu dispendieux; sur votre demande je pourrais m'informer de ce que cela coûterait: on le verrait facilement par l'essai du temps que prendra la copie d'un feuillet.

En demandant à Mr. Leake quelques renseignemens sur

votre papyrus de *manumission* je n'avais d'autre intention que de connaître la lecture que vous en avez dû faire. J'ai demandé à la Bibliothèque du Roi ce que vous m'annoncez y avoir envoyé : on n'a pu le trouver. Cela m'intéressait d'autant plus que vous me parlez d'un manuscrit astrologique dont vous avez donné, dites-vous, la traduction, quand vous avez parlé de l'astrologie de Proclus. Mais je ne sais où trouver ce que vous avez dit à ce sujet. M. Leake me dit que c'est dans un des numéros de *Brande's Journal of Science :* je ne connais pas ce journal.

M. de Humboldt, qui est à Paris en ce moment, a reçu la brochure que vous m'avez chargé de lui remettre. Il vous fait ses complimens et se félicite, ainsi que moi, de ce que vous n'avez pas abandonné les études Egyptiennes, qui vous doivent tant. Il part dans quelques jours pour Berlin, où il va séjourner un an. C'est un homme presque perdu pour nous. Il nous regrette autant que nous le regrettons. Son frère, qui a un génie particulier pour l'étude des langues, s'est aussi beaucoup occupé d'Egyptien, et doit publier quelque chose à ce sujet, je crois, pour montrer la fausseté du système de Spohn et Seyffarth.

21.—*From* Dr. James Browne *to* Dr. Young.

Dear Sir, 21, London Street, Edinburgh, March 29th, 1827.

Our friend Professor Napier having had the goodness to forward to me, immediately on receipt, your letter to him in regard to the article *Hieroglyphics* in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and having also assured me that I was at liberty to make what use of the inclosures I might think proper, I have availed myself of this permission to throw together some "Further Notices of Hieroglyphics," for the forthcoming Number of the abovementioned journal, and now beg leave to inclose a copy of the paper, as finally corrected, for your perusal. You will perceive at the first glance that I have laid you under contribution, and given the principal part of your 'Letter to Count Pollon,' but I trust you will be satisfied with the spirit in which the paper is executed, and believe that I have been actuated by an honest, and

I hope liberal, desire to do justice to the merits of the *Original Discoverer*.

I have to thank you very cordially for your remarks on my former paper, though some of them were abundantly mortifying to me. The fact is that Jeffrey had taken it into his head to pay some attention to the subject. I mean as much as his restless and fidgety disposition will allow him to bestow on a matter of mere erudition; and while the article was in his hands, he had in consequence tortured me with questions and doubts about almost every part of it. I submitted patiently to this annoyance, and gave him, both orally and in writing, all the information he desired. I could not anticipate the use he was to make of it. After the article had been finally corrected for the press by me, he, upon the slender foundation of what he had picked up *en passant* as it were, chose to try his hand upon it, and made several alterations, particularly in the note about the *Enchorial Alphabet*, which certainly had the effect of giving the paper the appearance of having been constructed by a person but imperfectly informed on the subject. I mention this in justice to myself; because if he had had the discretion to let it alone, or to believe it possible that a person who had been giving his attention to the subject for some years previous might know something of what he was about, the greater part of your remarks would have been unnecessary. I wished of course to introduce some corrections into the short paper which I now send you; but I found it could only be done *perforce*, and so gave up all thought of effecting my object.

It may be interesting to you to know that the idea of writing on the subject at all occurred to me after a second perusal of the article 'Egypt' in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica; and it was almost exclusively with a view of directing the public attention to that great effort of scholarship, that, after consulting my dear friend Napier, I began to throw together my notes. How far I have succeeded in carrying into effect my intention is not now the question.

Though but of short standing at the Bar, my profession, I find, renders it impossible for me to pay that attention to subjects of erudition which I have been in the habit of doing for many years

past; but I do felicitate myself on one point—that I have succeeded in paying my tribute of respect to the *real* author of the late discoveries in Hieroglyphics, in the pages of that Journal which, in a fit of wantonness and presumption, had once treated him with injustice.*

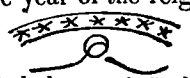
22.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

MY DEAR SIR, London, Park Square, 10th April, 1827.

I AM glad you have seen the Edinburgh Review. It is pretty well done, by a Mr. James Browne, a lawyer, but he says Jeffrey has mutilated and disguised it. Mr. Sighfor't comes in for a few hints in the number about to appear. But you are all too sanguine for me. I shall sooner expect to hear of your being at Jerusalem than in Egypt, or anywhere else with Champollion: I think I see him admitting into his society one who glories in communicating all new discoveries to the public. The nail-headed characters' history

* This refers to the bitter attacks on Dr. Young's optical theories in the early Nos. of the Edinburgh Review (see vol. i., No. X. of this work). It is worthy of remark that the articles in question were universally ascribed to the same critic who attempted to extinguish Lord Byron in that periodical, and who has, therefore, secured for himself an enduring name in the history of science as well as of literature. Indeed M. Arago, in his *Eloge* of Dr. Young (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, vol. xiii., p. cii. 1835), pointedly refers to Lord Brougham as the reviewer, and hints that the motive which prompted such violent and persevering hostility was of a personal nature, Dr. Young having made some remarks on one of his scientific essays, which were supposed to be extremely unpalatable to the author. Although Dr. Young's strictures were not very severe (see vol. i., p. 101, 102), a more courteous tone M. Arago thinks would have better become "the immortal author of the *Natural Philosophy*." "La peine du talion lui fut appliquée avec usure. *L'Edinburgh Review* attaqua l'érudit, l'écrivain, le géomètre, l'expérimentateur, avec une véhémence, avec une âpreté d'expression presque sans exemple dans les débats scientifiques." (p. ci.)

Dr. Browne's articles on hieroglyphics referred to in the above letter, although not free from errors, contained by far the most able and accurate accounts of the recent hieroglyphical discoveries, that had appeared up to that time, and they were accordingly translated into several continental languages. With regard to the French translation, the following remarks occur in a subsequent No. of the Edinburgh Review (vol. lvii. p. 465): "The translation of our first and fullest article in hieroglyphical literature inserted in the 'Revue Britannique,' which was published at Paris, is generally attributed, we believe correctly, to his (Champollion's) pen; and never, certainly, was any literary production more grossly maltreated in a translation. Many pages are wholly expunged, especially from the historical part of the article; others are altered so as to suit the views of the translator, and attribute to us opinions diametrically at variance with those which we had actually expressed, and all the facts and dates tending to establish the priority of Dr. Young's discovery are carefully cancelled. But by this unceremonious method of manipulation he overshot the mark. The garbled translation was soon followed by the one above referred to (supra, p. 158, note) of the article, and the claims of Dr. Young were thus brought fully and fairly before the literary public of France."—*Ed.*

is soon told—Champollion's word is accidentally inverted—St. Martin has given it right; but the curiosity is that even Hermann is a German,* and he has told us that nobody before him knew anything of the matter, though every letter but one agrees with an alphabet which Wilkins has given me, brought from Russia, I believe, by John Walker, twenty years ago, and possibly not yet published; perhaps it is the same as Grotefend's, but I do not know.† It is odd enough that he reads the first letter ⲱ, instead of ⲥ, and my reading of ⲓ is ⲱ or ⲟⲩ in ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲛⲛⲓⲛ: Greek ⲥⲁⲓ is fan, from the sound I suppose, as ⲩⲱ spiro and ⲁⲯⲓ anima: now a sieve does not say *ha-ha*, but *hish-hish*, and is called ϫⲉⲗϫⲉⲗ. I believe Champollion only reads Iranian in the Hieroglyphics. I thought Wilkinson had already expressed a wish that you should have one of *his* copies; my general rule has been to allow six for the author, and I have not now an unlimited command; but I should suppose from what passed before that five would be amply sufficient for his wishes; he certainly deserves five hundred if he wanted them, but I cannot get on very fast in justice to my own ideas of what is best for the public. I am frightened back by the rashness, or the success, or both, of the system-makers, and I am determined to confine my own efforts as much as possible to the enlargement of the *Enchorial* literature, and there will be about fifteen plates in the two next fasciculi, chiefly taken from what Salt has sent to the British Museum, almost every one with "Ptolemy," or "Cleopatra," or "Arsinoe," or "Berenice," and "Autocrator Cesrs" on several, so that their date is identified within certain limits, and in many of them the year of the reign is indicated by the number of stars at the top  thus. They are chiefly from Sacchara, and I find the word Sachar or Sochari on

* This seems to be an allusion to a distich by Porson, which is still remembered in Trinity College,

"The Germans in Greek are sadly to seek,
All except Godfrey Hermann, and he's a damn'd *German*."—*Ed.*

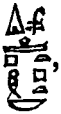
† In Brande's Philosophical Journal, April—June, 1827, Dr. Young published, side by side, St. Martin's and the Russian author's alphabets, with a few prefatory remarks.—*Ed.*

one or two, which was a well-known synonym of Priapus-Paamyles. My objection to [hieroglyphs] as a part of Diospolis, is that I have never found it identified with [hieroglyphs] or [hieroglyphs], the true name of Ammon, which is in Diospolis. I am not yet ready to admit the name of Memphis as proved, nor that of Phtha: the word occurs three times together in one of Salt's Tablets, connected with other deities. I read it ⲡⲧϩ for ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩ or ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁⲕ in the Paternoster, and Petosiris, Petammon, a *Pet* monkey: unluckily, I cannot find that ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩ ever follows, as [hieroglyphs] does in the beginning of the Rosetta stone, so that I must have recourse to my ἐποχὴ again, and hope that time will show me or my heirs the truth. If Brande's Journal of Philosophy ever reaches Italy, you will occasionally find some fugitive pieces in it such as that which I sent you. I ought to thank Lanci for his book, though there is little enough in it. I am sorry that I cannot answer your questions about the picture, as I am under a vow to abstain from everything that is not confronted with Enchorial or Greek, otherwise I should tell you all about them in an instant as correctly as my brother triumvirs and the Duchess of Berry together. There is also on one of the tablets from Sachara, Ptolemy, surnamed Cæsars, not Cæsarion, not Neocæsar, and I have, therefore, some doubts of the accuracy of this last, that is, whether the [hieroglyphs] is rightly read by ⲥ as part of the name. [hieroglyphs] in general, I think, is not ⲱ, but ϣ: i certainly is [hieroglyphs] ϣⲉ = 100, and on the top of a pike-staff it is raised into ϣⲟ = 1000; then the plural hundreds or lots mean simply many or much. [hieroglyphs], says St. Quintin, and [hieroglyphs] Akerblad, and ⲙⲁϣⲟ is = greatly. Their numeration was odd: for 144,000 they said 100,000 and 44,000 saints about the throne ϣⲉ·ϣⲟ, and so forth. But enough of this, till I hear if you care about it.

Did it never occur to you that the question between Champollion and me, ought to be the priority in the great step of identifying the enchorial character, or, at least, the running hand of the demotic manuscripts, with the distinct hieroglyphics? This I undoubtedly published in 1816: when he professes to have discovered the same thing I have never heard. (See *supra*, *p.* 74, *note.*)

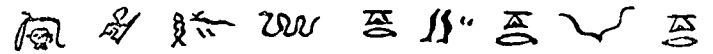
23.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

Dear Doctor, Rome, May 30, 1827.

Your letter, which, from not being quite written in so amiable a temper as usual, made me fear you had got a fit of the gout, gave me nevertheless great pleasure, as it told me several new things, and among others gave me the derivation of the modern name of Memphis, Sakhara, which is, as clear as mud, taken from the title of the god Ptha Soccaris,* who sits before me at this moment in my garden (where I am writing), on a real piece of Egyptian stone from Belzoni's tomb, in this shape, with his name written before and under him, though you will not own that, though yourself discovered that □ was P, and ⌓ T, and you only wanted 𓋴 to make you happy. I will now, out of obstinacy, give you Phtah, in his temple, from a statue at Florence; just as, in the same inscription, is Mrs. Buto, I think, in her temple, and any other of the family. There is at Florence also an inscription with the whole history, name and title, in the temple, and the inscription is called, as I dare say you know, an erpagiome to Phtah; a public commemoration Ρπαχωρε, with the bee for public, to Phtha. Also we have at Florence  , &c., a royal offering of ωτϥ, things proper for Pthah the lord, &c. Also , which it would be much easier to read the good Phtha beside his picture than good loved or loved good. You doubt about , and certainly I don't remember to have seen it, but I will finish

* Dr. Young contributed a series of short papers to Brande's Philosophical Journal, under the title of *Hieroglyphical Fragments*, to which he refers in the preceding letter to Sir Wm. Gell. In one of these he gives a short account of some chalk tablets in the Egyptian room at the British Museum, from the mummy pits at Sachara. One of the tablets, he says, has "a coarse though small enchorial inscription, with three nearly consecutive names of Ptolemy, and with the word SCHR or SOCHAR, probably the Socharis Paamyles of Cratinus, in Hesychius, as Champollion reads it, calling it an epithet of Phthah. The characters are here rather hieratic than enchorial; and it becomes not at all improbable, comparing this inscription with some others, that the name of Saccara is derived from the deity supposed to preside there, and that the name should be written *Sachara*, or Sacchara."—*Ed.*

Ptha by observing that a certain Greek is come here with some hundreds of Egyptian objects and was struck dumb by my saying, "This comes from Memphis, being an offering in Phtha's habitation; and the other from Thebes, being an offering in Amun's habitation, and ;" which I did to 50 or 60 inscribed stones, and which he acknowledged with wonder and delight as the places whence he brought them. Now as to your friend Amun and Amun Re, it seems probable that all the Saite kings had some sign of their own, perhaps a vase without a foot by way of a symbol of balancing or justice. Another race had , who came from the city of that goddess as Amasis of 26 dynasty. The Memphites had a frequent reference to Phtha, and the Thebans to Amun, as in the case of Dr. Eady at Ebsambal. Now how difficult would it be to make anything of the last characters except beloved of Amun Re! Also again at Ebsambal Amun loved Ramses, Amun beloved, like the sun immortal, &c. But you are content, or half content, with Amun, but not with his having to do with the name of Diospolis. I have seen and copied him thus . I will own that on the Lateran obelisk I don't immediately find Amun's house for Thebes, because they always speak there of the parish of Apt, or Opt, which was the quarter of the royal palace, or St. James's, near the river; and if you wish for a derivation, because there was the haunt of ducks and other water fowl. Now you will say ⲟⲡⲧ is not in La Croze: perhaps not, but when I see with written over it, and with ⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ, I have a good right to believe ⲟⲡⲧ a goose, or duck, whether La Croze knows it or not. By way of episode, I dare say neither you nor he know how to draw the serpent, Haphy, who was nevertheless a very pretty person to meet in a narrow lane. On a papyrus the rule is given thus.—First the figure , and under it is

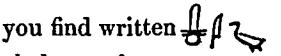
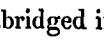
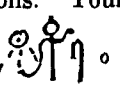
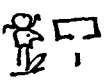


ⲓⲧ ⲉⲛ ⲣⲉ, the disc of the sun.—You will perceive the first group makes ⲧⲁⲓⲧ ϩⲟ ⲛ, &c. To return, now you know how to draw Haphy over your sideboard.

Old St. John Lateran cheats you thus out of the name of Thebes. The good king Thuthmosis makes for ⲉⲣ., ⲙⲉⲛ = offerings, ϩⲉⲙ = in Opt, the land, or place, of the throne, and to ϫⲉⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ, the other gods of Amun Rei, or Amun's habitation: meaning, I think, quite clearly, Thebes so called in holy writing. In talking of the temple of Amun Re on the Lateran obelisk is a passage running thus:

In the habitation of Amun Re, ⲁⲛⲉϥⲁ = to make (referring to offerings), the Pharaoh Thuthmes vivificator. On the obelisk at the Porta del Popolo, the king, or one of the kings, makes his offerings, = ⲙⲉⲛ; = ϩⲉⲙ; = ⲛⲟ or ⲟⲛ, Heliopolis. And again in . He seems also to be the saviour of this, of which that queer divinity Atmon,

a sort of Mars, (and which occurs where Heron does in Hermapion,) seems also to be Lord on another occasion. The title you discovered , ϩⲓⲟⲣⲧ, or Epiphanes, is given to Amun Re at Epsamboul. It is, I must now confess, rather unpleasant to us system-mongers, not to find where one wants it on the Rosetta inscription. But in good truth one finds the ϣ and the ϫ perpetually changed, and your , which I most implicitly believe in, will do just as well, the word being ϣⲁⲟⲩ = force, which is wanting. ϫ is put for ϫ in Champollion's alphabet, but the said letters were perpetually interchanged. A great attention on the part

of the ancient Egyptians to explain what was intended by writing the names of the objects and animals over bad drawings, seems as if it would be of great use. For instance ϣⲁϫ is a cat in Coptic: accordingly, over a pussy, you find written  ϣⲁⲟϫ; and, now I think of it, the whole word ϣⲁⲟϫⲓ = fortis, abridged in the Rosetta stone , is found somewhere written  . By means of the cat the is found to be a ϣ, and ϣϵ is equal, according to Champollion, who, by the bye, has been through every Coptic book in the Vatican, when the manuscripts were taken to Paris. One of the sieves on the Flaminian obelisk has yet its , so there can be no doubt, and it is often changed for It is always almost used in the words "all other things" ϫⲉⲧⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ. I was very near forgetting Heliopolis. Your friend Hermapion talks of the king who illustrated  ο αγλαοποιησας, or some such expression,  Ηλιου πολιν. As to Ηλιος, he is through the whole Ηλιου παις παμφεγγας.

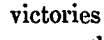
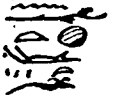
And look at Ammon on an obelisk :—

ⲗⲁ αγαθα
ⲥⲩ
διαμενει
for ever
(I forget the Greek)
ον Αμμων
αγαπα
οι θεοι
εδωρησαντο.

Ηλιος
Θεος μεγας
Δεσποτης ουρανου
δεδωρημαι
σοι
Βιον αποσκαρον
ⲥⲛⲉϩ (snev) pleasant
all.

ⲡⲁ gnat
ⲧⲓⲙⲁⲕ

I think you have, by this time, had enough, so I shall let you off except that you won't allow in Nitocris ΟΚΡ or ΟϪΡ for

victory. Your Greek word NIKH comes from the Coptic ⲛⲓⲕϧⲟⲧ, "great by the victories of his arm," ⲛⲁ · ⲛⲕϧⲧ · ⲥϧⲱ ·  being only to show you that is no vowel, but an arm  —no waiter, but a real Knight-Templar—and this is on many of the obelisks. That brute, La Croze, under the word conqueror or conquest, has the trace of this word in ⲣⲉⲕϧⲟⲧ, as I remember it, or some such thing. As to ϭⲣⲟ, I don't think you will find it on a monument. Commend me to Mr. Seyffarth's new Coptic.

Please to tell Hamilton that his friend Mr. Arnold came to me several times, and I did him all the service I could in so short a time, and promised to give him any information he may want, as to the country, for his history of Rome before the creation, in which he intends to follow Niebuhr, and to prove that all the places grew up without any founders, or any people till the time of the sack by the Gauls. Of Wilkinson I have nothing very new, but in his last he hints the having sent many things to Malta, and seems to think it possible he may come himself. I fear it is not a moment for publishing. I wish you would publish, if you have not, the Memnon, I mean the great statues, for the inscriptions are historic, and mention the mother of the king, the daughter, &c., as one of the Greek authors gives it. Dr. Wiseman here, tells me he has found something, in a Syriac MS., about the reign of Horus being of 28 years, which was a great desideratum of Champollion. I beg to state that so far from hiding his new discoveries, the said Champollion has given me so many things not published, that, if I were inclined, I could pretend I were the inventor of as much again as he is. I have the whole Rosetta stone from line V. divided by him into words, and the Coptic corresponding to every figure under. I have lectured him till I hope he is going to publish what he now knows, which is out of all comparison more than is published. Had he published half what he knows, Klaproth's work about the first letters (See *infra*, p. 462) could not have appeared, for Champollion has known all he says, for years. I have begged that he will print what he knows, and when he is not certain, say so; and this, I think,

he now sees the necessity of doing. I have just looked over your things of 1814, 15, 16, which are quite fatal to his claims as inventor of anything, and I treasure them as an answer to anything appearing in 1822. It is curious that in 1821, Nibby prophesied to me in this place, that though the French abused your discoveries in 1821, they would claim them in less than a year as their own; I conclude no one pretends to rival you in priority of Enchorial. Pray don't be angry with me, and don't discontinue to tell me what you discover, as I am much interested in it. Has the green sarcophagus in the Museum ever been printed in detail? Here they have engraved all the obelisks, and Champollion is to translate them. I have had a good deal of trouble about it, as no one here understands the business. Kind regards to Hamilton, and accept for yourself libations and incense to your divinity from, &c.

I have never seen anywhere, but one can scarcely imagine Champollion dare assert it without having seen it, and he has certainly seen more than any one in Europe. I was on the point of copying a bit of the perpendicular inscriptions on the side of the tablet of Abydos, but I see it is not a case in point, being thus:— Have you got these two side columns?

I have no news of the IIIvir Seyffarth: let us hope he has blown himself quite up, either as a goose or an impostor.

On a scarab:

24.—THOMÆ YOUNG, Viro Clarissimo, AMADEUS PEYRON, S. D.

DOLEO summopere quod nonnulla in Commentariis meis fuerint, quæ tibi, Vir eximie, haud arriserint. Atque imprimis pretium stelæ Taurinensis celebraturus tua vota exposui, tuaque ipsa verba laudavi. Aliquid ne iis addidi commentarii loco, te carpens? Plane nihil. Aliquid ne detraxi ut invidiam

tibi crearem? Ne γρῦ quidem. Interea ais me voluisse te traducere presumptionis reum. Laudavi tua verba, ubi in contextu tuæ epistolæ jacebant, quin ullum de iis judicium proferrem. Jam si hoc accusatoris est, hoc etiam nomine donandi erunt qui aliena verba recitant. Sed literis Aldinis ea excudenda curavi. Atque ita soleo aliena verba interserens, et solent omnes. Triumphum de te cecini. De triumpho ne cogitavi quidem. Si fundamentum nutat, corruit superstructa theoria; logice ergo non superbe scripsi usurpans verbum *corruere*. Fassus sum te etymon acute vidisse. Atque quoties aliorum opiniones laudare possum lubentissime eas celebro, quippequi nullo erga te, neque erga bipedem ullum malo animo utor. Modeste tamen opiniones, quæ mihi quidem falsæ videantur refutandas esse existimo. Quâ in re omnium philologorum exemplum sequor. Unum laudabo. Edidi multas Theodosiani codicis leges ex Palimpsesto Taurinensi, qui lacunis scatebat; eas iterum edidit novis curis Wencking Professor Lipsiensis; næ quandoque refutat, novaque supplementa lacunarum proponit a meis plane diversa. Equidem gratias ipsi plurimas retuli, quod de scientia optime meritus fuerit, neque ut meæ philautiæ blandiretur, meos errores tolleraverit. Ex qua ratione sim comparatus erga eos qui meas opiniones vel refutant, vel refutare sibi blandiuntur, putavi pari etiam ratione te comparatum esse. Tandem scribis te et multum proferisse ex monumentis Taurinensibus, novaque in dies te editurum esse quibus rerum Ægyptiarum scientiam amplifices. Gratulor quam maxime, teque vehementer hortor ut datam fidem impleas. Enimvero (testor Champollionium aliosque amicos quibuscum sæpe de te verba feci) ita semper de te sensi ac plerique sentiunt, te virum summo ac plane divino ingenio præditum, qui facile res pervides acutissime, qui nedum mihi, verum omnibus Philologis Europæis antestare potes, ut dolent omnes te in amplissimo scientiarum orbe versari, medicinæ, astronomiæ, analyseos, &c. &c., ut nequeas inventa tua urgere, eisque illam perfectionem conciliare, quæ ab eximio tuo ingenio jure esset expectanda, quippequi passim a variis scientiis distraheris, atque a mathematica ad Græcam philologiam avocaris, tum ab ista ad medicinam, &c. Ita fit,

ut in libris tuis sint aliqua emendanda, quæ tu ipse emendare potueras. Candidissime ut soleo, meum animum aperui; nollem in hisce verbulum aliquod mihi excidisse, quod meæ in te reverentiæ significandæ minus par esset, quodque te lacessere posset. Sum enim quam qui maxime alienus ab obtrectatione. Quare hisce missis, ad alia transeo.

Dubitas 1° utrum Zbendetis, an Zthenaëtis legendum sit. Scilicet affinitas inter Beta (V vel B) et Theta (θ) tibi fucum fecit in papyro pessime conscribillato. Elementum beta et cetera luculentissima sunt in meo papyro lectu facillimo. Nomen Teephibis ita revera est in Papyro I., atque iterum iterumque videbis in fac-simile Papyrorum qui sequentur. Nomen Sisois est certissimum.

In eo sum ut Lexicon Coptum absolutissimum perficiem, in quo tres dialecti ad suas radices primitivas, demtis vocalibus inutilibus, revocentur. Credo me utilem operam navaturum esse studiis Ægyptiis; quidquid enim est phoneticum illustrari debet ope linguæ Copticæ ab inutilibus vocalibus expurgatæ. Expilavi voces quæ in libris editis occurrunt. Superest ut mihi significes si in Anglia liber aliquis Coptus editus fuerit post Appendicem Woidii quæ complura exhibet fragmenta N. Testam. Thebaica, atque lucem vidit Oxonii anno 1799. Hunc habeo, ceteros, si tamen prodierunt post illum annum desidero, ac vellem ad me mittas; pretium repensabo. Quod si in Anglicis bibliothecis codices sint Copti, maxime vero Lexica Copta, ex quibus ampla vocabulorum messis expectari possit, scire percuperem utrum et quo pretio eorum apographa in usus meos habere possim.

Ære excudendas curo imagines (fac-simile) undecim Papyrorum Græcorum, qui mihi edendi supersunt. Jam omnes illustravi commentario. Statim ac volumen editum sit, ad te mittem; multa videbis quæ Registra tua Græca, numos, siglas numericas illustrant. Ita fiet, ut tu reliqua tua monumenta illustrans possis mea errata emendare, quippequi pluribus monumentis uteris. Emendari porro a te non tantum gravate non feram, sed expostulo.

Habes in me virum tibi addictissimum, tuæque gloriæ studiosum, qui ingenium tuum plane divinum suspicit, tuamque

encyclopediam simul miratur simulque dolet quippequæ litteris Ægyptiis officit;* virum tamen veritatis studium omnibus amicis anteferentem. Si ergo te juvat, me utere; candidam enim fidem, et quodvis officii genus tibi polliceor. Vale.

Taurini, 28 Maii, 1827.

25.—*From* Dr. Young *to* M. Peyron.

Dear Sir,

In your letter of the 28th May you have said enough in the way of compliment to satisfy a much vainer person than myself; but you seem greatly to have misunderstood the tenor of my letter to Count Pollon. I was far from wishing to give you the trouble of a personal justification. I only lamented the want of friendliness in the style of your remarks, and I sought by my own statement to appeal to the justice of the public, and to explain what I think a reader of your paper only, without some such comment, must have considered as *presumption* in my words. You seem to suppose that I am offended with you for having corrected my involuntary errors and supplied my unavoidable deficiencies, so that I still fear you greatly misunderstand the feeling I meant to express.

I send you herewith the few results that I have obtained by means of the manuscript which you have published. I fear I cannot comply with your exhortations to continue the study with any great chance of benefit, nor can I admit that I have hitherto owed my success to any material superiority of talents or quicksightedness, so much as to stubborn perseverance combined with the fortunate coincidence of the discovery of new matter; and whenever any further evidence *of the same kind* shall be obtained I shall quit without reluctance whatever may

* M. Arago also, in his Eloge of Dr. Young, enlarges on the variety of his attainments and researches, "a variety so vast that his works rather resemble the Transactions of a series of Academies than the productions of an individual;" but he does not by any means regard this marvellous versatility as a matter of regret, like M. Peyron, inasmuch as he evidently shares the opinion of Dr. Young entertained by Humboldt (see supra, p. 209), that "wherever he passed his track was marked by discoveries," and even calls him the rival of Newton, in reference to the important advances which he made in optical science.—*Ed.*

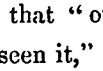
happen to occupy me in order to make the best use of it in my power; but to go on in the determination of inventing something *from my own reasoning only*, would, I think, be laying myself open too much to the chance of being deceived and deceiving others; and it is not that I cannot, but that I would not if I could, *inventa mea urgere*. At the same time, I do not adhere *too strictly* to this rule: but I am endeavouring to methodise at least, and to preserve whatever I have made out in the *Enchorial* character, leaving M. Champollion for the present to wander alone as he pleases through the pure hieroglyphics.

I am delighted to find you engaged on a Coptic etymology. I fear we have *nothing whatever* in this country that can assist you. A few Missals and Lectionaria, or books of lessons, is the utmost of the manuscripts that we possess; nothing whatever has been printed since Woide. I hear a small grammar is in preparation somewhere in the country.

I take it for granted that you read English with facility, otherwise I would have written in some other language.

26.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

MY DEAR GELL, London, Park Square, 27 June, 7 July, 1827.

YOU are perfectly right in saying that I was suffering under a fit of the gout when I wrote last to you, for it certainly gives me both the gout and the spleen to see others running so fast when I can scarcely hobble a step or two on; and I shall not leave off scolding you till I bring you a little more down to plain matters of fact. First of all, I am angry both with you and with Champollion because you say that "one can scarcely imagine he dare assert without having seen it," that  is found for a son. I am angry with you because I believe you misquote him; and I am angry with him for giving you fair provocation to misquote him, by printing the phrase repeatedly as the *supposed* hieratic reading of an enchorial manuscript. And, in the second place, it was your duty to confess your con-

viction whether [hieroglyph] *is* or *is not* ever found *alone* over a ram, or a ram-headed Ammon: if not, why is it not so found? Thirdly, I am a little angry with you for believing in the superior antiquity of the Theban dialect and writing PTHAH for PHTHAH. I do not see why your "beloved of Amun Re" might not just as well be the "approved of Phre and PHTHAH," which would be, or would have been, my translation: and I think I have a right to be angry in being obliged to distrust my own opinions without being able to substitute any others for them with confidence. He that filches from me my *good names* must surely make me poor indeed. But you darken instead of enlightening my way: and you seem to be surprised that I do not like to walk in the dark, but prefer standing still.

Ποίησον δ' αἰθρὴν, δὸς δ'ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι,
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον.

If you persuade Champollion to publish anything, do not let it be the extension of his conjectures and his conjectural Coptic, but the genuine and unsophisticated originals of every thing on which he founds his reasoning. The enchorial name of Memphis can scarcely be reconciled with the reading Mamphtha; indeed, I think not at all, and if the name of Phthah is in it the engraver has most cruelly mangled it:—but time will teach us all things. You recollect that I give [hieroglyph] ϣⲫⲏⲣ, at least I translate it, *a companion;* meaning always ϣⲫⲏⲣ (No. 171) without your pussy. I really cannot find your quotations from Hermapion either in the Flaminian or the Lateran obelisk; but I suppose the fault is either Kircher's or mine.* Do you mean ⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ, a murderer, for a conqueror? I will talk of all your concerns whenever I have an opportunity, and will let you know if I hear anything to the purpose. I like your claiming the merit of Klaproth's discovery for Champollion. *

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* * There are, however, two or three *palpable*

* The passages in question are on the obelisc of Monte Citorio. See Müller's *Ancient Art* (*Leitch's Translation*), 2nd ed., p. 221.—*Ed.*

hits in his second letter. Alexander published about one-third of the green sarcophagus in his Egyptian Monuments, which I have not at present: I gave my copy to Champollion, with my Pentateuch and Woide's Thebaic N. T. I have never seen the sides of the inscription at Abydus: Wilkinson does not give them, unless they are mixed with other things and have thus escaped my notice: it will take some years to bring out all his portfolio. Burton has been sending over some very good things, I believe, from Thebes:—a sort of continuation of the tablet of Abydus backwards, as it seems at first sight; and I am not without hope that it will identify some of the hundred and twenty-three kings in the fragment of Turin, which St. Quintin has shown me.

27.—*From the* Rev. Dr. TATTAM *to* Dr. YOUNG.*

DEAR SIR, Bedford, August 1, 1827.

I BEG to assure you, it will afford me the highest gratification to accede to the very kind proposal you have so obligingly done me the favour to make. I shall be most happy to have my name and humble attempts associated with the name and productions of one who has merited so much in having found the key to so large a portion of Egyptian Literature; to discover which, so much intellect and time have been wasted for ages.

My little work is in English, and is ready for the press, except the Preface; but a part of the manuscript will require to be copied before it goes to the printer, who has had a portion of it for some time.

My Grammar will necessarily proceed very slowly through the press, as I am now superintending an edition of the Coptic Gospels for the Bible Society. I imagine the Grammar will not be ready to appear before your Rudiments are prepared: at all events, I shall be happy and thankful to avail myself of the time your little work will occupy, to carry my Grammar leisurely through the press.

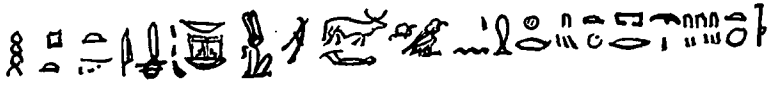
* This letter refers to a proposal made by Dr. Young to publish his Rudiments of an Egyptian Dictionary as an appendix to the Coptic Grammar which he had learned that Dr. Tattam was preparing for publication.—*Ed.*

28.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

August 25, 1827.

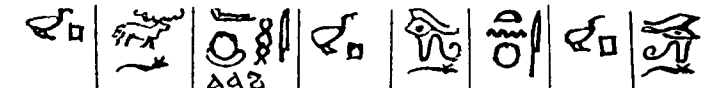
الحمد لله Elhamdo li'llah! praise be to God, at last I find there is something in the world given to me by Champollion, and received by him from Cailliaud, which has not yet arrived in England, and you shall have it, though it seems to me as little intelligible as anything one could well send. It runs down the left side of the Tablet of Abydos, and you may fix it on as you like. I imagine the copy to be correct, only that I don't think, in general, any one's tails to the baskets, or their ○, which often should be , are to be trusted. You will see the king is called , *sont*, the saviour. I am like Michael Angelo Taylor, free to confess that I never saw for the word *son*, which is what you seem to wish; I should call it the son of Re or Phre, if I met with such a passage. 2nd. You ask if I ever saw alone over an Amon? I perhaps never did. The Amon (horned) of Esnè has , and the latter part of it, , is the nearest thing I can at present refer to. I will give you another touch at Phthah, whose name I am quite willing to spell in any way you like, though I should say Theban was

probably spoken while Memphis was an uninhabited marsh. Here is a passage from Abusambal, or Ebsambul, which would be difficult to turn into any channel but that of Phthah:—



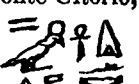
"In the 35th year, in the month of Tobi, 13th day, under the presidence of Aroeris, the mighty friend of Amon, lord of the Panegeries, like his father, the god Phthah, &c." You will say the father is indelicate, but it is not clear, and perhaps might have been better copied . Over a figure of Phthah, at Abusamboul, receiving offerings, is , &c., which, being interpreted, is "this is Phthah, &c.;" and over the king's head is written, in the same picture, , "this is the figure of him, the king, or judge (COTTEN) of the world, or ΘΩ." Also over Athor's head is written , &c., ΤΑΙΤ ΠΕ Athor, "this is of Athor;" so that there can be no doubt of the application of , which occurs over almost all figures whose names are written very naturally. "This is the king." "This is the cow with the crumpled horn," &c. I don't care a straw for your modesty, and when I meet an Amon with written clearly over him, I will send you an express. You say that I contribute very much, by my illuminations, to puzzle all the cases, and render them more obscure; and being anxious always that you should have something to work upon, I will give you a line on the subject of your , or some such enchorial characters, which I think are in your last letter, but which I am too lame to search. According to your own Alphabet it would be ΠΟ. Now is very commonly and strangely used in a great

number of Hieroglyphic inscriptions, and always in situations where it seems to imply some title or epithet like venerable. Here, or rather at Pompeii, was found in the Temple of Isis, an inscription in which thirteen deities venerate the god Noum; a passage of this runs thus: "Noum, king of the 2 regions, moderator of the light, illuminator of the world by*



venerable	his spirit	the moon	venerable	and his left eye	the sun's disc	venerable	his right eye*

Read backwards.

Perhaps you were not aware that Noum does illuminate the world by his ΠΟ, right eye (ⲡⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ, the globe of the sun), and his left eye, ΠΟ, the moon, &c., &c.; but so it is, and I think Kircher himself would have some difficulty in translating a passage less likely to throw any light on the subject: you, however, will translate it "Poh, nonsense," and though astounded at my audacity and credulity, condemn it all to form another chapter in Mr. Seyffarth's work. If my ΠΟ cannot in any way correspond to your , at least you will have learned that ΠΟ intrudes itself in very odd places in hieroglyphic inscriptions: I recollect once . I hope I did not make the mistake and tell you the Lateran or Flaminian obelisc, instead of the pyramidion of the obelisc of Monte Citorio, was the magazine of Hermapion's expressions. It has  which should be . "The sun, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven (ⲧⲓⲙⲁⲕ), gives to you (☥, ⲥⲛⲉϩ or *snev*) a life without care entire (, for ever)." There are several entire passages of Hermapion on the different obeliscs, which, by the bye, you were the first to observe. As to the Coptic and Champollion, I think there are few Coptic books in Europe he has not examined: a very learned friend of mine told me there is no book in the Vatican.

in that language, that has not remarks of Champollion in almost every page, which he made when the MSS. were at Paris, and so far from his not knowing that if is an M, an owl ought in Coptic to begin with an M, and so of all the rest, I know that the only reason for his not publishing the Rosetta inscription dissected, is the want of certain words to correspond with the initials of hieroglyphic signs: of which from his access to materials and his quickness at using them, he is perpetually reducing the number. I don't mean this for an instance, but though ⲛⲁⲓ is used for "good" in La Croze, Champollion rejects it as the word in general very ancient common use, as it is often written at length ⲛⲟⲩϥⲣⲉ, . I have not seen M. Klaproth's second letter, but it is plain he did not know that all the numbers from 10 to 20 began with ⲙⲉⲧ.

29.—*From* M. Champollion *to* Dr. Young.

Monsieur, Paris, le 11 Septembre, 1827.

J'avais prié M. Letronne de vous informer sur le désir que vous lui témoignez de posséder des fac-similés de nos papyrus démotiques, que je m'emploierais avec empressement à vous les procurer. La note que Mr. Magrath m'a communiqué est relative au même objet: mais comme elle est très brièvе je désirerais à mon tour savoir si vous voudriez, Monsieur, un calque du protocole des contrats du Musée Royal, ou bien la totalité des manuscrits. Dans ce dernier cas le travail serait fort considérable, vu qu'au Musée Royal seul nous possédons vingt-un papyrus démotiques, dont un a plus de dix ou douze pieds. J'attendrai que vous veuilliez bien me faire connaître vos intentions positivement, étant tout prêt à tenter tous les moyens de vous satisfaire.

Je charge Mr. Magrath de la dernière livraison de mon 'Panthéon.' J'ignore si pendant mon absence on vous a envoyé régulièrement les précédentes, comme c'était mon intention.

Ayez le soin de me donner aussi la note des numéros qui vous manquent, et je les ferai sur-le-champ parvenir à votre adresse.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, la nouvelle assurance de tout mon affectueux dévouement.

30.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Baron von HUMBOLDT.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM happy to tell you that our prospects of new documents from Egypt are very rapidly increasing: Mr. Burton has had the good fortune to discover at length, in a mosque, the triple inscription for which he has been some years in search; and he has been negotiating with the Pacha for its removal. From its magnitude and state of preservation, there is every reason to believe that it will rival the pillar of Rosetta in its importance; and I sincerely hope that it will tend to check the wildness of conjecture, which has been rioting without bounds in the regions of Egyptian literature. Mr. Tattam is printing a Coptic grammar, and I am preparing an Appendix, which is to contain the rudiments of an Enchorial Lexicon: I ardently wish that Mr. Burton's inscriptions may come to my assistance before I complete it. I have received nothing from France or from Germany for these four years past: even what is published seems by some fatality to have been withheld from me; and the booksellers send no answers to my commissions. I trust your brother will not forget his kind promise to think of me at Berlin.

I have to thank him and you for your obliging present of your *Letter to Abel Rémusat on the Genius of the Chinese Language*, which has greatly interested me: the best return that I can make will be to give you some remarks which have occurred to me on the language of hieroglyphics in general, and on the character of the English language, which seems to approach, in its simplicity, as you have yourself observed, to the natural structure of the oldest languages, immediately related to the hieroglyphical form of representation. I fear,

* This letter was published in Brande's Philosophical Journal, July—September, 1827.—*Ed.*

however, that I must apologize to you for the want of method with which I shall be obliged at present to throw my fragments together: but it may be allowable to make some difference between a letter and a finished essay.

Hieroglyphics, in their primitive form, are scarcely to be considered in any case as simply a mode of expressing an oral language: they may be a direct and independent representation of our thoughts, that is, of recollections, or sentiments, or intentions, collateral to the representation of the same thoughts by the language of sounds. We find, in many of the Egyptian monuments, a double expression of the same sense: first, a simple picture, for instance, of a votary presenting a vase to a sitting deity; each characterized by some peculiarity of form, and each distinguished also by a name written over him; and this may be called a pure hieroglyphical representation, though it scarcely amounts to a language, any more than the look of love is the language of a lover. But we universally find that the tablet is accompanied by a greater variety of characters which certainly do constitute a language, although we know little or nothing of the sounds of that language; but its import is, that "such a king offers a vase to the deity;" and on the other side, that "the deity grants to the king health and strength, and beauty and riches, and dominion and power." It is common to see, in these inscriptions, a number of characters introduced, which are evidently identical with some of those in the tablets: and however some of them may occasionally have been employed phonetically, there can be no question of the nature of the changes which their employment must have gone through before they assumed the character of sounds: but this is altogether a separate consideration, and foreign to the present purpose.

Now it is obvious that objects, delineated with the intention of representing the originals to the eye by their form, must necessarily be nouns substantive; and that the picture, containing no verb whatever, can scarcely be said to constitute either a positive or a negative assertion. At the same time, it must be allowed that a picture of King George the Fourth's coronation, with the date 19 July, 1821, could scarcely be con-

sidered otherwise than as asserting a historical truth; and if any emblem of Truth were attached to it, or if it were deposited among the records of other historical facts, it would be equivalent to the expression, "George IV. crowned in July, 1821," which *scarcely* wants the verb *was* to convert it into a positive assertion of a fact.

Strictly speaking, however, there seems to be no direct mode of supplying the want of the verb *is* or *was* in pure hieroglyphical writing; and if any such sign was employed in the Egyptian or the old Chinese hieroglyphics, its introduction must have been arbitrary or conventional; like the employment of a postulate in mathematics. Every other part of a language appears capable of being reduced, with more or less circumlocution, to the form of a noun substantive; and the English language appears to approach to the Chinese in the facility with which all the forms of grammar may be shaken off.

There is, however, often occasion, in such cases, for a certain degree of metaphor approaching to poetical latitude; and hence it may happen that the least literary nations are sometimes the most poetical. It is, in fact, impossible to exclude metaphor altogether from the most prosaic language; and it is frequently difficult to say where metaphor ends and strict logical prose begins; but by degrees the metaphor drops, and the simple figurative sense is retained. Thus we may say *liquid ruby* with the same exact meaning as *crimson wine;* and yet *ruby* would never be called an adjective, though employed merely to express the colour: in *coral lips*, however, the *coral,* first used metaphorically; is converted by habit into an adjective, and the expression is considered as synonymous with *labri corallini.*

The general custom in English is to place the figurative substantive, used as an adjective by comparison, or by abstraction, before the name which retains its proper sense: thus a chesnut horse is a chesnut like or chesnut coloured horse; a horse chesnut is a coarse kind of chesnut: and in this manner we are enabled to use almost every English noun substantive as an adjective, by an ellipsis of the word *like*, which, if inserted entire or abridged, would make a real adjective of the word, as war*like*, friend*ly*. But this omission of the termi-

nation, like other figures of speech, is easily forgotten in the ordinary forms of language; and the Germans, as well as the English, make use of almost all their substantives in the place of adjectives, though they are more in the habit of continuing them into single long words. When, however, the substantives are so used, they generally become by abstraction real adjectives: for we seldom think of a *chesnut*, in speaking of the colour of a horse; but the idea of a light brown coat, with an ugly pale-red mane and tail, and a fidgety temper, is very likely to occur to us: and in a horse chesnut the idea of a horse is out of the question; we only think of a coarse fruit which a man cannot eat: so that the true sense, in both these instances, is that of a quality; but *coral lips* and *ivory hands* are rather elliptical expressions, composed of two substantives, which might fairly be represented hieroglyphically by the assistance of a branch of coral and an elephant's tusk. But to describe an abstract quality by any hieroglyphic character, representative of form only, would be generally impossible: colours might be imitated, if we supposed coloured figures to be employed; but other simple ideas, such as those of sound or touch, could never be immediately presented to the eye; and some circuitous invention would always be required for their representation.

Horne Tooke has shown, with considerable felicity of illustration, that all the parts of speech may be resolved into the noun and the verb; but he has not pointed out so clearly that every verb may be resolved into a noun and the single primitive verb is or was, which, in this sense, may be said to be the only essential verb in any language; as we find, indeed, in the Coptic, that almost every noun becomes a verb, either by the addition of PE, or sometimes even without it. Thus, *the morning* BLUSHES is synonymous with *the morning* IS *red; he loves justice*, with *he* IS *a lover of justice;* and *I* AM *an Englishman*, with *the person now speaking* IS *an Englishman.* But this must be understood of is, was, or will be, in all its tenses; the idea of time, if expressed, being an essential part of the verbal sense.

I confess that some of these reflections have occurred to me

in looking over a very singular work, which I had the curiosity to take up, in order to see what kind of information could be possessed by a person notoriously and professedly ignorant of the origin and relations of the language which he attempts to teach; and, in short, what kind of light could be diffused by an apostle of darkness. Blunders, and some of them ridiculous enough, must, of course, be found in the works of such a person, but most of them are such as every schoolboy might correct; and there really is so much of sagacity in some of Mr. Cobbett's remarks on the errors of others, that they well deserve the attention of such as are ambitious to write or speak with perfect accuracy.

I shall not attempt to enter into a regular criticism of this *Grammar;* I shall merely make a few miscellaneous observations, as they have occurred to me in reading it, several of which would be equally applicable to the best of the existing works of a similar nature.

In Letter III. we are told that *long* and *short*, though adjectives, do not express *qualities*, but merely dimension or duration; from a singular misconception of the proper sense of the word *quality*. We find, in Letter IV., the rule given by most grammarians, though not by all, that the article A becomes AN, when it is followed by any word beginning with a vowel; but it is surely more natural to follow the sound than the spelling, and, as we should never think of saying an *youthful* bride, it seems equally incorrect to say an *useful* piece of furniture; for the initial sound is precisely the same. In the same manner A *unit* and A *European*, seems to sound more agreeable than AN; and the best speakers appear to adopt this custom.

Letter VIII. gives us a rule for doubling the last letter of a verb in the participle if an accent is on the last syllable; but it should be observed that the L is doubled, whether accented or not, as in *caballing*, *travelled*, *levelled*, *cavilled*, *controlled*. The same letter contains a "List of verbs, which, by some persons, are erroneously deemed irregular," and which have been so deemed from the time of our German and Saxon ancestors, though Mr. Cobbett thinks it would be more philoso-

phical to conjugate them regularly. Thus we may see at once that *freeze* may as well give us *frozen*, as *frieren* gives the Germans *gefroren;* that *hang* may make *hung* or *hanged*, according to its sense, as in German we have *hienge* from *hangen*, and *hängte* from *hängen*, to execute. For *sling* and *slung*, we have authority in *schlingen*, *geschlungen*, for *spring* and *sprung* in *springen* and *gesprungen;* for *swollen*, *swam*, or *swum*, and *swung*, in *geschwollen*, *geschwommen*, and *geschwungen*. And it is quite clear from these examples that "the bad practice of abbreviating, or shortening," has nothing to do with the matter.

In Letter XIV. we have a very distinct examination of a rule in punctuation which has been commonly adopted by good printers, without so distinct a description of its foundation. "Commas are made use of, when phrases, that is to say, 'portions' of words, are 'throwed' into a sentence, and which are not absolutely necessary to assist in its grammatical construction." In a word, two commas are very nearly equivalent to the old fashioned parenthesis. Again, "the apostrophe ought to be called the mark not of elision, but of *laziness* and *vulgarity;*" a remark made in truly classical taste, which might have been extended with perfect propriety to the subject of the next paragraph, the *Hyphen*, the insertion of which is, to make it uncertain whether the words united by it are one word or two. He goes on admirably in the next page. "*Notes*, like parentheses, are *interrupters*, and much more troublesome interrupters, because they generally tell a much longer story. The employing of them arises, in almost all cases, from confusion in the mind of the writer. He finds the matter *too much for him*. He has not the talent to work it all up into one lucid whole; and, therefore, he puts part of it into *Notes*." ..... "Instead of the word *and*, you often see people put *&*. For what reason I should like to know. But to this *&* is sometimes added a *c*; thus, *&c*. *And* is, in Latin, *et*, and *c* is the first letter of the Latin word *caetera*, which means the like, or *so on*. This abbreviation of a foreign word is a most convenient thing for such writers as have too much indolence or too little sense to say fully and clearly what they ought to say. If you *mean* to

say *and the like*, or, *and so on*, why not say it ?...The abbreviation is very frequently made use of *without the writer having* any idea of its import." But it is surely a mischievous maxim, never to "think of *mending* what you write. Let it *go*. No patching; no *after painting*." On the other hand he is right in protesting "against the use of what, by some, is called the *dash*. Who is to know what is intended by the use of these *dashes* ?....It is a cover for ignorance as to the use of points; and it can answer no other purpose."

In Letter XV. there is a singular conceit with regard to the keeping up a distinction between *a* and *an*, where it is insisted that we must not say "*a* dog, cat, owl, and sparrow," because owl requires *an*; "and that it should be a dog, a cat, an owl, and a sparrow;" which is certainly better, and would be so, even if there were no owl in the question.

Letter XVII. The criticism on Milton's "than *whom* none higher sat," is perfectly correct. *Than* is never a preposition, and is simply a variation from the older *then*, both in English and in German. *John is better than James* means simply John is good first, then James: *er* is *eher* or *e'er*. *Who* would sound awkwardly, but would be more grammatical.

Letter XIX. gives a definition of the ellipsis, which would be a lesson to Apollonius himself: the compasses, it seems, "do not take their sweep all round, but leave out parts of the area or surface." The objection to Blackstone's language is very questionable. "The very *scheme and model* WAS settled," may, perhaps, be defended, because scheme and model are considered as one thing, the words being intended to illustrate each other, but not to point out different attributes of the administration of justice; and both words may be admitted, as a collective term, to govern a singular rather than a plural verb. It seems also to be an error to make *with* a conjunction rather than a preposition, and to say, "The bag, with the guineas and dollars in it, *were* stolen," or "zeal, with discretion, *do* much." "I expected to have seen," is justly noticed as a common error for "I expected to see." The meaning of an *active* verb is erroneously confounded with that of a *transitive*

verb, in the remarks on the word *elope*, which means to go off, or to run off, and we should naturally say *was* gone off, but *had* run off.

The nature of the subjunctive mood is dismissed in the same Letter without better success than has been obtained by former grammarians. An essay was published about thirty years ago in a periodical work,* which brings the subject into a small compass; suggesting that the subjunctive mood ought always to be considered as a *conditional future*. The examples given are, "If the Elbe *is now* open, we shall soon have the mails, and *then*, if there *be* any news from the army, I will send it you immediately." "If Catiline *was* generous, it was in order to serve his ambition." The subjunctive past, if I *were*, becomes present, by being the future of the past; going back to the time when the present was future, and therefore contingent; and this conditional sense involves no difficulty, except when a mistaken adherence to the fancied rules of grammar forces it in where it has no business: thus the rules of some grammarians would lead us to say, if Catiline *were* ambitious; which is totally contrary to the true sense of the subjunctive. Mr. Cobbett seems to have some such distinctions in view when he says that "*if* has nothing at all to do with the government of the verb. It is the sense which governs." By this he means that *if* does not require a subjunctive unless it relates to a *future contingency*. He is right in saying "Though her chastity *is* becoming, it gives her no claim to praise:" but most decidedly wrong in adding "she would be criminal if she *was* not chaste;" for *was* is here used as relating to the present circumstances, which are the future of the past, and therefore require the subjunctive *were* to denote the condition intended. He has, however, done signal justice to the cause of this injured verb, by introducing it for *was*, in his sixth lesson, where he says it should have been "Your lordship *were* apprized of every important circumstance."

* The essay referred to is one of a series which embraced a great variety of topics, and was published by Dr. Young in the British Magazine for 1800, under the signature of Leptologist. See vol. I. of this work, p. 99, note.—*Ed.*

Such errors as this, however, are easily corrected, and many of the acute remarks which have been here copied are well worthy the attention of practical grammarians; at the same time enough has been said, without any disparagement of Cobbett's talents, to show that a man cannot be well qualified to teach that which he has not had the means of properly learning. For although the English language appears at first sight to be extremely simple and philosophical in its structure, it has in fact been derived from a variety of heterogeneous sources; it has undergone a variety of vicissitudes, and has served for the expression of a multiplicity of discussions on the most refined subjects in literature and history and science, for the feelings of oratory, and the passions of poetry, and it has been worn away by degrees, as the crystal in the stream is worn to a pebble, till it has returned to a simplicity which wears the aspect of the immediate offspring of the Chinese or Egyptian or Mexican Hieroglyphics. But with all this, it has still some spots, some idioms, which invariable custom obliges us to retain; and which can only be distinguished from corruptions and vulgarisms by tracing their history through the different stages of its progress, including, of necessity, the corresponding idioms in the parent languages out of which it has arisen.

31.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Sir W. GELL.

MY DEAR GELL, London, Park Square, 2 Oct., 1827.

THANK you for your inscription from Abydos: why does not your friend Champollion make Coptic of it? You give me my Anubis, or Apis, for Phthah, without the least remorse. Phtha is or . I dare say Champollion understands Coptic as well as any body; yet Klaproth either lies, or has convicted him of falsely accusing Father Kircher. You may reason about the *probable* antiquity of

the Egyptian dialects as you please; I only speak of the fact from the testimony of Herodotus and his PIROMIS; which he could not falsify because he did not understand it. You explain very rationally why Champollion has delayed publishing his *dissection* of the Rosetta stone: you admit that his system has delayed it: and it is a very natural consequence of all *systems* to retard the investigation of truth. But, like the dog in the manger, these people neither eat their hay nor let me nibble at it. I cannot get a single line of all the demotic contracts on papyrus which I know to exist all over Europe. I ought to have told you before that Burton, with Salt's assistance, is doing prodigious things in discovering inscriptions. Perhaps you have heard of the fine triple inscription which he has found in a Mosque at Cairo, I believe from some account that I sent him, but I am not sure.* The Pacha wants him to pay rather heavily for it in rebuilding the mosque,

* The history of the stone containing this inscription is somewhat remarkable, for although discovered by an Englishman and assigned by him to the British Government, it found its way to Paris through a stratagem of Champollion's. When that *savant* arrived in Egypt, he expressed a strong desire to see the inscription, but Burton, who knew something of his antecedents, suspected a trick, and declined showing it to him. A friend however of Burton's when riding past the Mosque with Champollion, pointed out the stone to him, and the latter, after he had gone to Thebes, wrote to Drovetti, the French Consul-general for Egypt, urging him to take possession of it, alleging as a reason, that as the English had cheated the French out of the Rosetta stone, the French would be justified in cheating the English out of this inscription. Drovetti, however, behaved much more honourably than his countryman, for before taking any steps in the matter, he sent to request an interview with Burton, and endeavoured to persuade him to give up his right to the monument; but the latter declared that it was impossible for him to do so, as he had transferred it to the British Government. Drovetti then represented that though Mohammed Ali had refused to surrender the stone to Colonel Caradoc for the British Government, he was quite certain that if he applied for it to Ibrahim Pasha, he would be certain of success, and that it really mattered little whether it came into the possession of the French or the English, the great object being to place it within the reach of Egyptian scholars. The upshot was that Drovetti applied for it to Ibrahim Pasha, who told him that he might not only take the stone, but the whole Mosque if he liked. But when Drovetti sent to have it removed it had already disappeared, Burton and his friends having carried it off for the purpose of having the inscription carefully copied, after which it was given up to the French. This was done by the consent of Ibrahim Pasha, in consequence of Mr. Burton's representing to him that Mohammed Ali had previously refused it to the British Government; and as a compensation to the discoverer of the monument, he was allowed to take the first copy of the inscription; the Pasha assuring him that his permission to Drovetti to take possession of the stone, was granted in entire ignorance of a previous application to his father, and regretting that it was then too late to remedy the matter. Champollion, however, did not gain much by his trickery, for the stone turned out after all to be of little value.—*Ed.*

but I hope he will rebuild the city rather than lose it, and I think even Bankes* would help to bear him harmless: for my own part I would as soon have a copy as the original, but I fancy the greater part is buried in the wall, and must be dug out even to be copied. I do trust that this monument will decide some points between Champollion and me: I do not care on whose side, for I am at present perplexed with doubts. Good bye. Let me hear from you again soon. Have you seen the third fasciculus, which I sent to the Vatican by Patrick Stewart?

Besides PIROMI we have IOH Memphitic, which is the Argive ιω, and the Chinese iö, I suppose: and I think there are many other instances in Jablonsky's collection of examples.

I do not think I have written to you since the appearance of the translation of Browne's articles in the 'Edinburgh Review,' under the name of L. J. D., of Versailles; but I think it is done by another person; he however laughs at Klaproth and Goulianoff. You will scarcely see it at Naples: I must therefore tell you the contents of the Postscript of the Preface, which gives me the date of Champollion's 'Comparative Table of Hieroglyphics,' containing what I had published in 1816, though I never knew till now how much later his publication was, for he gave it me without the text.† The PS. says:—

"Il existe un ouvrage in-folio de M. C., peu connu et intitulé *De l'Ecriture hiératique des anciens Egyptiens*, imprimé à Grenoble en 1821; ainsi seulement *un an avant* la publication de sa *Lettre à M. Dacier*. L'auteur a fait tout son possible pour soustraire cet ouvrage aux yeux du public, en retirant du commerce et des mains de ses amis le peu d'exemplaires qu'il avait d'abord répandus. La raison qu'on a mise en avant était, '*la crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses*,' mais il ne se trouve dans ce livre absolument rien qui ait trait à la haute antiquité de l'Empire des Pharaons, et il est permis de penser que le véritable motif qui a déterminé M. C.

* Mr. Bankes, father of the Egyptian traveller, was one of the trustees of the British Museum. In that capacity he was chiefly remarkable for the obstinacy with which, on all occasions, he opposed grants of money, whence he was generally called Saving Banks.—*Ed.*

† Supra, p. 74, note.

de supprimer ce livre a été de ne pas donner une mesure trop précise des progrès qu'il avait faits. Cette mesure existe dans la phrase suivante :

QUE LES SIGNES HIÉROGLYPHIQUES SONT DES SIGNES DE CHOSES, ET NON DES SIGNES DE SON ;

phrase qu'il oppose aux membres de la Commission d'Egypte et à d'autres savans.

" Certes, celui qui depuis dix ans avait travaillé sur les hiéroglyphes sans les déchiffrer, et qui faisait, en 1821, imprimer l'axiome précité, avait grand besoin d'être guidé dans ces nouvelles recherches de 1822, par les découvertes de M. Young publiées en 1819.

" On ne doit donc plus douter, que la prétendue découverte de M. C. ne soit entée sur celle du Docteur Young, auquel appartient le mérite d'avoir le premier démontré qu'on s'est servi, en Egypte, de signes hiéroglyphiques pour exprimer les sons des noms propres."

32.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Chev. SAN QUINTINO.*

MY DEAR SIR, London, November 24th, 1827.

YOU will be glad to hear that I have made some little progress in the study of the Enchorial inscriptions which I had lately the pleasure of showing you: my steps have, as usual, been guided by no *system* whatever: they have been wholly *empirical*, and though very slow, I trust they are so much the more sure: and I hope they will at least serve as an excuse for my reminding you of the expectations you kindly allowed me to entertain, that you would send me copies of any thing of the kind that you might find among the objects entrusted to your care at Turin. What I have lately done has only been to ascertain the dates of many of the tablets sent by Mr. Salt from Sacchara, all of them about the time of the last Cleopatra: to identify the Enchorial name of Ptolemy DIONYSUS, and to make out a passage relating to a donation of MUCH

* This letter was published in Brande's Philosophical Journal for Oct.—Dec., 1827.—*Ed.*

GOLD AND SILVER AND GEMS TO THE SANCTUARY OF THE GREAT GOD AT MEMPHIS. The different forms of the characters employed by the writers, in the same words, constitute also a valuable addition to the means of deciphering any new inscriptions of a similar nature, and I have already incorporated many of them with my little Enchorial Dictionary.

The 48th and 49th plates of the Hieroglyphics, already published, contain two tablets, apparently funerary, but without any dates of the reigns: the ages of the persons seem to be expressed in the hieroglyphical lines. In the 49th we find the name Berenice twice in the Enchorial letters, and once in hieroglyphics; followed here by Arsinoe, possibly as her mother.

This tablet, coarse as it is, abundantly shows that Horapollo and Champollion are both correct, independently, as it seems, of each other, in considering the rings, or cartouches, as chiefly confined to the names of royal personages; and that I inferred the contrary somewhat too hastily, from observing that the *imitations* of those rings were attached, in the Enchorial inscription of Rosetta, to several names not royal, and from having found such rings in other hieroglyphical inscriptions, without the usual epithets of kings. I had, indeed, remarked, that a "mysterious" name was *sometimes* observable in the manuscripts without a ring, and I had pointed out the same group as *a* name in Lord Mountnorris's manuscript, which Mr. Champollion considers as the true name: but I am perfectly ready to admit that Mr. Champollion has materially *improved* on this hint, as he has on many others.

The same line of hieroglyphics, however, contributes to add to my reluctance in admitting Mr. Champollion's reading of P.T.H; a group which I considered as very probably representing these letters long before the date of his publications; though I had only fully identified the two first characters; it seems to me to agree better with PETEH than with PHTAH; and I am inclined to think it was the beginning of the names Petosiris, Peteharpocrates, and other similar words, as it is here annexed to the names of two or three other deities. But I am by no means confident on the subject; and beg only to be

allowed a few years more to collect further evidence, without being accused of *resisting* conviction.

I must also claim a similar indulgence for my opinion respecting the bird and the disc, which is so constantly found between two names, that I could not avoid supposing it to mean simply *son;* I confess that the arguments which Mr. Champollion has drawn from the application of this character to some of the Roman names, as well as those which Mr. Salt has deduced from the inscriptions which he has published, are at least sufficient to silence me; I had, indeed, long before observed that the first name of one pair of rings is scarcely ever found as the second of another, though I fancied the Minervean obelisk might afford an exception. On the other hand, I cannot explain, upon Mr. Champollion's theory, the order of the names in the tablet of Abydus, which might be supposed to have been purposely intended to perpetuate this discussion.

It is admitted that this tablet contains the names of a chronological series of kings, each characterized by one ring, containing what I have always considered as the true names of the persons in question. It is easy to grant to him that they are the praenomens only; as is common in all modern chronology. But how comes it that there is one exception to this, and that the reigning monarch is characterized by his second name only, where he first occurs, and where we should expect to find his father? This is precisely what would have been required if the document had been forged to support my opinion; though I should certainly have been very ungrateful for an argument, which is more calculated to increase the difficulty than to remove it.

An objection of a similar nature may be deduced from the tablet found between the legs of the sphinx, and copied by Mr. Salt, H. 80. The "Mesphres son of Thuthmosis" of the Article Egypt is represented naturally enough as doing homage to his deified father, under the form of an Androsphinx; had he been doing homage to himself, the names would scarcely have been so divided. They also occur repeatedly afterwards in the inscription, but never together.

The tablet represented in Plate 51, is remarkable for the confirmation which its date affords of the accuracy of our chronology of the Ptolemies. It has no *pure* hieroglyphics. It begins immediately with *The year* 19, *otherwise* 4, *of Cleopatra* [*Neotera*], *and Ptolemy surnamed Caesar*: that is, the year 34 B.C.; and the same date is repeated in a form somewhat more distinct, four times, in the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 15th lines. In the last it is followed by *the Queen gave to the Priests and High Priests* . . then *Ptolemy* [*Auletes?*] . . *Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy surnamed Caesar.*

It has before been observed, that the word *surnamed*, as it occurs in these tablets, and in Mr. Grey's manuscripts, comprehends the characters which answer to the NEO of Mr. Champollion's NEOCAESARIS. The beginning of the group occurs elsewhere in the sense of *called*, and can scarcely be read "ETO," whether we consider the sacred or the enchorial characters; nor do we find any thing nearer to this in Coptic than ETE, meaning "*that is*," while the characters are more like TENE. Such are the uncertainties which continually beset us in the application of the best established alphabetical characters, even to words of which we know the sounds: to investigate the unknown by them is at present almost hopeless.

There are two tablets, from the caverns at Sacchara, about to appear in Plates 70 to 74 of the Hieroglyphics, which Mr. Salt sent over with particular interest, as being likely to contain some useful materials for the comparison of the different kinds of characters with each other. In this point of view, however, his well-directed zeal has failed of its object: for the sacred characters relate almost entirely to the gods and priests of the temple, while the enchorial inscriptions below them contain dates and records of the successive donations made to those temples. And this seems to be equally true of the generality of double inscriptions, which are scarcely ever identical in this sense, although they may greatly tend to illustrate each other.

The first in order of these tablets (H 70, 71, 74 A) was marked number 50 by Mr. Salt; it has seven stars at the edge of the wings overshadowing the figures. It is first dated very distinctly *In the year* 6 *of Cleopatra*; which ought to have

been 6 *otherwise* 2; but the second date was perhaps omitted after an interval of more than 20 years, which must have elapsed at the time of putting up the tablet, as the subsequent dates demonstrate. The queen seems to be styled *Isis*, but the name of the "younger goddess," which is found on her medals, does not appear in these inscriptions. In the 4th line the word *Memphis* occurs, though less distinctly than elsewhere. It seems to be formed of characters meaning *Temple*, and *Good*, and might naturally be read PHE-NUF; which agrees sufficiently well with the NOPH of Jeremiah, translated Memphis by the Septuagint, as well as with the Coptic PANUF, said to have been *Momemphis*. It is possible that Phthah may have been meant by the Good god, NUF; but there is here no character at all resembling the Enchorial name of Phthah, which approaches to that of a figure of 4.

We next find a notice of the change of dynasty (Line 5) . . year 7 : the *Gods Phre and "Horus" and 'Phthah? gave the victory to* AUTOCRATOR CAESARIS *the Munificent.* The number 7 is indistinct; if correct it must belong to the later of the double dates of Cleopatra's reign, which terminated in the 22nd or 7th, the year of the Battle of Actium, in which the *victory* was obtained by the *Emperor* Augustus *Caesar.* Then follows a date of the *year* 6, probably of Caesar: and the seven stars of the wings may possibly relate to the erection of the tablet in the subsequent year. We have also a donation of *gold and silver gems.*

The second tablet (H 72, 73, 74 B) has first the date of the *year* 19 *of King Ptolemy* [Auletes] the *Defender of the sacred rites* (L. 3) . . *The year* 4 *of Cleopatra 'Neotera?* (4) . . *many years* . . (5) The year 7? *the gods 'Phre and Horus and Phthah? gave the victory to the Emperor Caesar,* 'and Phthah and Horus who loved him gave the dominion of all men to? *Caesar.* (6) . . *gold and gems and silver in abundance, gave them to the sanctuary of the great god in the temple of Memphis* . . The year 7 of Caesar: 'Mechir 18? gave to the sanctuary of the great god in . . (8) . . *gold and gems and silver* . . (9) *Memphis.*

We have here no subsequent year 19 to which the stars of the margin can refer: and it seems therefore most natural to

suppose that they belong to the earliest date, with which the tablet commences: and perhaps the seven stars of the former may have been marked by mistake for six. The interpretation of the marginal stars will be easily brought to the test of future observations.

Plates 75 and 76 contain portions of a large tablet from Sacchara, very fairly written on chalk, of which the upper part is broken off, leaving only a few traces of a hieroglyphic inscription, which seems to have contained a date at the end perhaps the 12th of Mechir.

(1) ⌜In the .. year of Queen Cleopatra⌝ and *Ptolemy surnamed Caesaris,* the divine king .. living for ever. (7) .. *The year* 9, Athyr or Mechir 9, *of the great King Ptolemy* the god 'Brother of Apis? DIONYSUS 'the awful? living for ever .. (19) .. *The great King* Ptolemy the god 'Brother of Horus? DIONYSUS . . . mighty as the sun? . . . (20) . . . living for ever .. (21) In the year 7 Mechir the 14 .. *The Queen Soter and King Ptolemy surnamed Caesaris* living for ever . . gave .. (25) .. children, for ever. 28 .. 'Written and engraved by? . . .

In the 79th plate there are four enchorial lines very distinctly written, and beginning with a date, which must be either 24 or 28, and most probably the latter, as there are 28 stars in the margin: perhaps the 11th of the month, in the reign of *Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy, may he live for ever.* The rest is not intelligible.

In this manner my dear Sir, I have been creeping, while others have been flying, though perhaps a little too near the sun. Possibly my friend Champollion, and *your friend* Seyffarth, would be able to decipher much more of these inscriptions; and it is probable that their versions might differ in almost every particular. In this case it is unnecessary for me to say which of the two explanations I should be inclined to prefer: for it is impossible to deny to Champollion the merit of great industry, and deep, as well as extensive research. I object only to his precipitation, and his love of system, which, I think, cause him to be led away by his own ingenuity, through a series of conclusions unsupported by sufficient evidence.

As an instance of a hasty and undemonstrated assertion, I shall mention his explanation of the group of characters which he considers (Système, p. 82) as "forming the third person plural of the future in all the verbs of the last nine lines of the hieroglyphical text of Rosetta, expressing the different dispositions of the decree, and answering to Greek verbs which are always in the infinitive," and which he naturally enough reads SNE.

There is nothing absolutely incorrect in this statement, but the reader naturally infers from it that the group in question occurs either exclusively or principally in these nine lines. The fact is, however, that in the first five lines, or rather half lines, the group is found ten times, and in the remaining nine, only eighteen, that is, about half as frequently, in proportion to the actual length of the lines: nor can I find any where a context that favours Mr. Champollion's interpretation; though I have lately observed that an enchorial group, resembling O, is found almost uniformly to answer to the Greek infinitive: being read perhaps MNR or MARE: but I cannot make these characters agree either with the hieroglyphics in question, or with the sounds SNE, which Mr. Champollion attributes to them.

So little is Mr. Champollion in the habit of distinguishing *proofs* from *assertions* in his own case, that it is the less surprising that he should sometimes confound them with respect to others. He says, for example, with respect to the nature of the Hieratic characters, which he explained to the Academy of Belles Lettres in 1821, "*Je me suis convaincu depuis que M. le Dr. Young avait publié avant moi ce même résultat, et de plus, que nous avions été* PRÉVENUS *de quelques années, l'un et l'autre, quant au* principe de cette découverte et sa définition, par M. Tychsen de Goettingue." (p. 20.) Professor Tychsen had *asserted* this agreement as a probable opinion: it was amply *demonstrated* in 1816; *five years* afterwards Mr. Champollion thinks he has a right to consider himself as a new inventor of the doctrine,* because he chose to neglect what was done in a

* See *supra*, p. 74, note.

neighbouring country, and to undervalue the actual *proof*, in which he had been anticipated, by classing it with a bare *assertion* to be found in a German publication. Precisely in the same spirit he remarks, in the next page, that Barthélemy and Zoëga had *pointed* out the rings as containing proper names: they had, indeed, *said* that they might be proper names, *or* moral sentences, *or* something else; but the only question was, if it was worth questioning at all, to whom belonged the priority of the *demonstration* that they actually were proper names: which, before the publication of the Archaeologia for 1814, was no where to be found. This publication was the first great step after the discovery of the pillar of Rosetta: the second was the identification of the different kinds of characters, in 1816, by means of the Description de l'Egypte: the third, the application of that identification to the names of Ptolemy and Berenice: the fourth, perhaps, was Mr. Bankes's discovery in Egypt, of the name of Cleopatra, which he sent to Paris: and on these grounds is certainly *founded* ALL that is at present known of Egyptian literature, for a very considerable proportion of which we are unquestionably indebted to Mr. Champollion.

The French translator of Mr. Browne's ingenious articles which appeared in the Edinburgh Review, has certainly gone a good deal out of his way to find matter of accusation against Mr. Champollion. He quotes the text of a memoir published in 1821, and afterwards *suppressed*, in order to show that Mr. Champollion then continued to believe that the hieroglyphics were signs of things and not of sounds; and that he disagreed with those learned persons who had considered the hieratic writing as alphabetical.* The date of this suppressed paper is indeed of some consequence, as determining the period at which Mr. Champollion made his rediscovery of what Dr. Young had published in 1816; that is, the fact of the essential identity of the two systems of writing. But the translator might have found in the beginning of the letter to Mr. Dacier, dated in 1822, the same opinion respecting these systems of

* See *supra*, p. 157, note.

writing; that is, the *hieratic* and *demotic*, which he says are not alphabetic, but "*ideographic*, like the hieroglyphics themselves," expressing ideas and not sounds: and he adds, that *he* (!) has deduced from the demotic inscription of Rosetta a series of characters which have a "*syllabico-alphabetic* value," by which foreign proper names were expressed. (p. 2.)

Nothing can possibly agree better than this with the opinions which Dr. Young had long before published; and which he has since confirmed in his octavo volume; and if Mr. Champollion's ideas upon this subject have sometimes appeared to fluctuate, it has probably been more from a love of system, and a wish to establish originality, than from any new discoveries that he can have made respecting these two modes of writing in particular.

What precise forms of characters may be supposed to answer to the sense in which Mr. Champollion employs the word demotic, cannot very easily be ascertained. It is remarkable that his "SNE" is a group very commonly found in the manuscripts of the Description de l'Egypte, which Mr. Champollion might possibly call demotic; while it cannot be identified in the Enchorial Inscription of Rosetta. This is an instance of the difficulty of finding appropriate terms where we have not exact definitions. The difficulty is not avoided by the use of the word Enchorial, except that it may with perfect safety be applied to such inscriptions as are capable of having any of their words identified with the inscription so called on the pillar itself.

The verification of the chronology of Manetho must naturally be a work of time, even after the complete identification of the names of the kings, which cannot *yet* be admitted to be satisfactory. There is one discordance that it may be right slightly to point out, as it is presented by Plate 43 of the Hieroglyphics: we there find the 29th year of the Sesenchosis of Manetho; and Manetho allots but 21 years to this king, who was the first of his dynasty, and could not, therefore, like Philadelphus, have continued any era from an earlier period.

It is easy to observe, in comparing Mr. Cailliaud's copy of

the Tablet of Abydus, as published by Mr. Champollion, with those of our countrymen, Mr. Bankes and Mr. Wilkinson, contained in the 47th plate of the Hieroglyphics, or with the manuscript copy of Mr. Burton, how much more hastily the French traveller had executed his task than *any one* of the three Englishmen.

Another of Mr. Wilkinson's very valuable inscriptions, from a temple at Kous, must be allowed to give evidence much more favourable to Mr. Champollion, as far as it regards the signification of the *plough*, which seems to enter into the composition of *Philometor*, as applied to Cleopatra and "Ptolemy Alexander," who are called Philometores Soteres, both here and in Anastasy's Greek Manuscript. The name of Alexander had never occurred to the author of the article EGYPT, but he had evidently a foresight in what way it would make its appearance when he observed, N. 55, "it will appear hereafter, that a knowledge of the enchorial forms may possibly contribute very materially, at some future time, to assist us in determining it:" and he immediately proceeds to the subject of PHONETIC HIEROGLYPHICS.

The plough seems to be exchanged on the Minervean obelisk for the dentated quadrant and chain, which may hence have been synonymous with the dentated parallelogram or comb: both perhaps having represented instruments which bore the same name, and served the same purposes, though of different forms: they may, for instance, have been rakes or harrows, and may hence have borne some analogy to the plough or hoe. Whether they had names beginning with M, may still be questionable.

Mr. Champollion has endeavoured to explain the absence of the names of our queens from the tablet of Abydus, by saying that it must be considered as a tablet "purely *genealogical*." First Letter to the D. de B., p. 89. A reader is naturally disposed to acquiesce in this explanation, since Mr. Champollion, who has carefully examined it, asserts it on his own credit; especially as the assertion appears to be supported by a long and minute discussion. Unhappily, however, it is only neces-

sary to compare his brother's chronology in P. 107, with his own Plates II. and III., fig. 5, from which it appears that Amenses, who *reigned* more than 20 years, was the mother of Thuthmosis the second, whose name is in the tablet, while his mother's is *omitted.* It is true that, with his usual ingenuity, Mr. Champollion seems afterwards to change his ground in the same page: for he says, that one only of two brothers or sisters was inserted, in order to keep the number of the *generations* unaltered: and he might have added that Amenses was the sister of Amenophis, whom she succeeded. If he had stated this clearly, the reader might have judged for himself whether such a coincidence was or was not sufficient to support the chronology of Manetho; which was, however, by no means in want of *such* support: in the article EGYPT, for example, Manetho's chronology of this dynasty is fully adopted: and the same 'cartouche' is read *Thuthmosis,* which Mr. Champollion, after all his parade, still admits to be Thuthmosis: nor is there a difference of half a century in the dates assigned to his reign by various chronologists. It was established in the article Egypt, that the name contained that of Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes, and for this reason it was considered as better established than any other of the names of the Pharaohs. Mr. Champollion had never discovered this for many years afterwards: and yet we have been told by an ENGLISHMAN in the last Quarterly Journal, that to Mr. Champollion the *greater part* of the *discoveries* made by the interpretation of hieroglyphics are owing!

33.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* Dr. TATTAM.

DEAR SIR, 6 Dec. 1827.

I AM very glad to find that you have really *begun* printing your Grammar. May I beg you to send me any kind of refuse proof or sheet, that I may know the form and size of the page?

I fully adhere to my former wish of giving my vocabulary as an appendix to your work; and you are at liberty, if you think proper, to insert in any of your advertisements:—"With an Appendix consisting of the Rudiments of a Dictionary of the Ancient Egyptian Language in the Enchorial Character; by Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.S." I can show you my manuscript, whenever you like to call on me between half-past ten and eleven, any morning while you are in town. I could get it ready in a few months; but I should be sorry to be obliged to finish it without obtaining some materials which I know to be in existence, some of them having even been published in Germany. I expect to be at Paris in the course of the autumn, and I think I cannot fail of getting what I want there. At the same time I should be sorry to be the cause of any delay in your publication, and I think it would scarcely be necessary that it should wait for mine. The advantages of the joint concern might still be retained, even if the Appendix were to appear a few months after the principal work. I shall not trouble your booksellers with any negotiation, but I shall send them my Dictionary ready for sale.

You must use your discretion respecting any extracts from Champollion's works. If you can consider yourself as capable to decide on their merits, I believe you are the only man in Europe that *is* capable, not excepting himself or me. But I dare say you must at least yield so far to popular taste as to do something on the subject, and if you will let me see what you mean to publish I shall take the liberty of remarking anything that I may think particularly objectionable. I scarcely recollect a single *Coptic* word that he has clearly made out in his Phonetic hieroglyphics except the articles ⲡ, ϯ, ⲛⲉ, and the pronoun ⲥ; all which I had *completely* ascertained before him. But what do you think of his ϯⲥⲓ as a Coptic word, instead of ⲓⲱϯ? It might as well be אב.

34.—*From* Il Cav. San Quintino *to* Dr. Young.

Torino, 25 Feb., 1828.

Mio pregiatissimo e carissimo Signore,

Ho ricevuta e letta con moltissimo piacere ed istruzione la nuova memoria publicata da V. S., colla quale, convalidando sempre più i gloriosi suoi diritti alla pubblica riconoscenza ed ammirazione, ha voluto metterci a parte del progresso dei suoi studi, e delle nuove sue osservazioni e scoperte intorno alle scritture egiziane. Tutto è ottimo in quello scritto, tutto vi sta bene, fuor chè il mio nome cui le è piacuto di accompagnarlo. Benchè ella mi abbia fatto un onore che assolutamente non merito, tengo per preziosissima questa sua gentilezza qual segno non dubbioso della benevolenza e dell' amicizia colla quale le piace di onorarmi; gliene professo perciò la maggiore riconoscenza.

Questa interessante memoria, dando ragguaglio della maggior parte delle lapidi scritte (*tablets*) del Museo Britannico, serve ottimamente de supplimento alla dissertazione del Sig. Yorck. Pare che tutte quelle lapidi non abbiano ad essere funerali; alcune sembrano essere state piuttosto titoli spettanti al gran tempio di Memfi; ma in questo caso come potevano esse aver luogo nelle spelonche ed ipogei di Sacchara?

Ella mi ricorda la mia promessa di mandarle copia dei nostri papyri in caratteri volgari od encoriali; nè io certamente me ne sono scordato mai. Ma per disgrazia questi papyri non sono molti; e non più di due o tre quelli del tempo della Greca dinastia, per quanto mi pare i migliori li tiene sempre presso di se, già da più anni, il Profess. Abbate Peyron, il quale non mi pare punto disposto a restituirmeli per adesso, non ostante che io gli abbia manifestato il mio desiderio di prenderne copia per mandarla a V. S. Aspetterò ancora un poco per non usare di mala grazia con questo mio collega, ch' io estimo molto per la sua dottrina, non ostante che passi ben poca corrispondenza fra noi. So ch' egli non è stato troppo persuaso

delle ultime osservazioni che per lettera gli furono da V. S. poco fà communicate, non saprei ben quali, nè per quali motivi. Desidero ch' ella ne sia informato per sua norma. Per altra parte fin chè la stazione non sarà fatta più mite non è possibile ch' io mi trattenga o faccia cosa alcuna nelle gelide sale del nostro museo, dove non ho fuoco, non ho libri, non ho dove ritirarmi, ed appena ho modo di scrivere. Si tratta ora di trasportare in altra parte i monumenti, ma per la maggior parte verranno nuovamente collocate provisoriamente presso a poco nel modo in cui sono di presente gli uni sugli altri. Sarebbe stato assai meglio che questa bella collezione non fosse venuta fra noi, per essere poi così trascurata e negletta; io sono costretto a vederla guastarsi, e giacersi inutile senza potervi mettere rimedio, con mio immenso dispiacere; di modo che io stesso non me ne occupo più che quel tanto che è necessario per custodirla come fa costì l' ottimo loro Sig. Conrad, che saluto molto caramente come mio amico.

Mi sono nuovamente convinto che nulla si potrà ricavare dalla iscrizione encoriale della nostra lapide o stele *già* bilingue. Ciò non ostante per compiacerla mi occuperò quanto prima a ricavarne un impronto in gesso colla maggiore possibile diligenza; e quando vi veda qualche sillaba o parola conservata non mancherò di mandarglielo; la difficolta sarà di trovare il modo di farlo con sicurezza ed economia.*

Presso il Cav. Drovetti in Parigi ho veduta una ricca e preziosa unione di vari ornamenti ed utensili funerali, tutti in oro, che hanno fatto parte di una medesima tomba, trovati tutti insieme nascosti en un piccolo e vile sepolcro sotto una grossa pietra, a poca distanza dalla più gran piramide di Ghisè. Crede il Sig. Drovetti che tutti abbiano in origine appartenuto alla mummia, ed al sarcofago della stessa gran piramide; che di là

* In a subsequent letter Chev. San Quintino says, in reference to this stele—"Dopo aver fatto ripulire ben bene la nostra stele bilingue dall' inchiostro grasso con cui l' avea tutta imbrattata l' Ab. Peyron onde trarne malamente l'impronto, nel che ho dovuto durare molta pena, ne ho fatto ricavare i gessi con tutta la possibile attenzione. Nella parte encoriale sono venuti fuori più caratteri che non mi sarei aspettato. Desidero che fra le sue mani abilissime possano questi divenire sorgente di nuove scoperte; ma questi caratteri sono cosi pochi e sì mal connessi che non ne ho grande speranza." The cast so taken was forwarded by him to Dr. Young.—*Ed.*

sieno stati trafugati in antico, forse dagli Arabi, che primi vi penetrarono, e nascosti in quel minore sepolcro, e quindi abbandonati e dimenticati. Vi è la maschera del defunto in grossa lastra d' oro, ma contusa e schiacerata colle mani a bella posta, vi sono i sandali, i larghi braccialetti, come si vedono sulle statue dei re, varii vezzi pel collo, diverse fermezze degli abiti, etc. Oltre più altre cose che furono involate al Drovetti dai suoi stessi cavatori, pel valore, come egli dice, di circa 20,000 franchi. Vi è fra le altre cose una coppa o scudella dello stesso metallo assai pesante, sulla quale fra gli altri geroglifici si vede il cartello prenome attribuito a Totmosis Meride dal Sig. Champollion nella tavola d' Abidos: cartello che come ella sà, si trova così frequentemente ripetuto sui monumenti Tebani, e sopra tutto sugli scarabei. Convien dire se il tale prenome fu dato a quel monarca, dovesse pure avere nelle scritture egiziane un altro significato, ed una applicazione più generale, ed aver appartenuto anche ad altri sovrani; giacchè non saprei vedere qual cosa possa aver di comune il Meride Tebano col fondatore della gran piramide di Memfi, qualunque possa essere l' età di questa. Ora questo tesoro è stato acquistato con sedici statue e molti altri monumenti e papiri, anche greci, dal museo di Parigi.

Il Sig. Seyffarth è tuttora in Parigi, ma si propone di passare a Londra in questi giorni. Mi scrisse che ha intenzione di pubblicare i frammenti del nostro papiro cronologico che V. S. conosce; * egli è persuaso che sia una copia del canone di Manetone. Desidero che valga a provarlo, e che sia più felice in questa sua nuova produzione, che non lo è stato nella precedente. È del resto un buon giovane, di buona fede, e di ottime

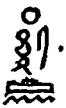
* Chev. San Quintino, in his '*Saggio sopra il Sistema de' Numeri presso gli Antichi Egiziani*,' speaks with orthodox horror of the papyrus above referred to. "Non mi vanno punto a genio sì fatti antichi monumenti cronologici, che non so trovar modo di conciliar facilmente coi testi delle scritture sante, ed in particolare colle otto generazioni che precedettero, dopo il diluvio, la nascità d' Abramo. Mettendole [li] perciò in un fascio colle dinastie del primo libro del citato Manetone, coi troppo vantati zodiaci, e colle tradizioni dei sacerdoti egizi riferite dai greci scrittori, ne farò di buon grado un olocausto all' autorità irrefragabile de Mosè, che la religione egualmente che la ragione c' impongono di preferire ad ogni altra." His threat, however, was fortunately not put in execution, and Seyffarth displayed considerable ingenuity in putting together the confused fragments of this curious papyrus.—*Ed.*

maniere; io spero che per questo e per fare piacere a me ella vorrà accoglierlo con quella urbanità che le è tutta propria —in quel modo cortese in somma col quale ha voluto ricevere me medesimo.

35.—*From* Sir W. Gell *to* Dr. Young.

My dear Doctor, Rome, 25 Feb. 1828.

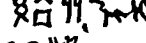
There has been a hue-and-cry after Burton by his brother and Mr. Greenough, who expect to meet him at Venice. I told the juvenile Burton my last account of him was from Thebes by Wilkinson, July 2nd, which said that "Hay and Burton are just going up the country to Nubia." They have heard of him since that time, but I doubt much if they will meet him at Venice, as they think they will. I hope and trust that at least you have got a copy of that triple inscription at Cairo in the mosque. Some fanatic may ruin or deface it, that the mosque may not suffer, or a thousand accidents might happen to prevent the original from ever arriving safe in London. A good copy by Burton himself or Wilkinson might answer all the purposes of the original. I imagine to myself that you must have got the copy of a new Chamber of Kings, I believe discovered by Hay, but of which I do not at present recognize any but the name (sacred) of one of the Thuthmosis family. Please to say whether the copy of these tablets, which may be of as much consequence as those of Abydos, is arrived in England or not. This may serve for a description: The room has three sides covered with shields with sacred names; the first, or upper corner on left, has , the third , the fourth . In second line second shield has . The third

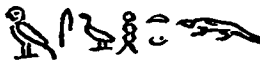


of line three is . The second of fourth line is .

The central compartment has four lines of six shields each.

The third of first line is . The third of fourth line is . The first of the third side is . The first of second line in ditto is again, and the last in fourth line third side is , from which, I hope, you will be able to judge whether this is arrived in England or not. That is a curious device, and may be found, as you know, on the obelisc of Benevento, where it is written ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲧⲟ, "That which is in the world," speaking of Domitian, the immortal, &c. In the same obelisc you have also "For the health of him concerned the Lord of the world"—meaning that the obelisc was erected by way of a sort of ex voto. The ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟϥ in the shield may have something of a similar meaning, only perhaps you will say that ⲧⲟϥ means "a sacrifice," and the whole name may mean belonging to sacrifice or the sacrificer, if such a name could be. More probably, however, you will say how crazy some folks are, and how fast they get on in crazyfication. I don't know why you are so cruel to words discovered or discoverable from the pictures annexed, as , ϩⲁⲡⲓⲥ. Your own discovery confirmed , ϣⲁⲩ, a cat; , ⲣⲓⲣⲉ a pig; , ⲉϣⲁⲩ, a sow; , Ⲃⲏϫ, a



hawk;  a crocodile; and several others, which seem to me gentlemen likely to be serviceable in a vocabulary which some time or other may appear in the learned world. You sent me a paper, which arrived by a Mr. Kenrick, I believe, who I hear left it at Rome for me, in which you announce an enchorial vocabulary, which would certainly be the greatest treasure one could meet with, for the words in La Croze are precisely all the words which never could possibly appear in any sort of inscription or memorial of any sort or kind. Somebody sent me the other day Mr. Manning, the greatest of all possible algebraists and Chinese scholars, and he agrees with me, that it is most singular how very few words in the whole book could possibly be employed on a public monument or memorial. Wilkinson thinks he has detected Tacellothis, thus Amun Mai, son of Isis Takelote, as he says, but he writes and he draws in such an outrageous hand,* that one can only imagine he means Takelote, or something like it. It might be as well to announce this discovery to the world in your journal.

He imagines also he has got a filiation, thus: I imagine there must be some omissions, such as , &c., but this would make the man of the and beetle, son of the sceptre and beetle. Wilkinson has also found out twenty-eight queens, instead of Salt's seven, and says Thothmes II. was a black man, with one or two black queens and their habits and dispositions. One of the kings in the new tablet has also been found with his other name so that it ought to be made out. For my part I only see in the right-hand shield the signs of death and justification, Thmethmeut Sme, goddess of truth, &c. A person of your fortune and importance will do a great deal

* This must have been an exceptional case, for Dr. Young in his Hieroglyphical Fragments, in Brande's Philosophical Journal, vol. xxv., says that "Wilkinson's drawings appear to be as accurately copied as they are beautifully executed."—*Ed.*

more. Wilkinson thinks means "support," as

support of the world. Perhaps you have by this time had enough of this. Gods and goddesses, what a finishing stroke is that French work for the claims of priority of the great Champollion! I wish he would have the decency to write you a letter in print and confess your originality and his own embryo ideas emanating from your discoveries, without which his real merits seem to me always in a cloud. Only think of Mr. Sighpoop coming up again, his theory more confirmed than ever by a discovery that Champollion's Memnon must be read according to Champollion's alphabet REMNON, consequently he is right and Champollion wrong. How crazy! This I only heard last night on his asking my permission to publish something I gave him, which, of course, will only show what a goose or impostor he is.

36.—*From* Professor KOSEGARTEN *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MONSIEUR, Greifswald en Poméranie, le 26 Mai, 1828.

IL y a bien long-temps que j'ai voulu vous écrire, par rapport aux papyrus égyptiens, pour lesquels, je pense, vous vous intéressez toujours; j'en ai été empêché tantôt par malaise, tantôt par des occupations multipliées. J'ai encore à vous faire mes remercîmens pour les deux lettres que vous m'avez écrites dans le commencement de l'année 1826, et qui m'ont fait beaucoup de plaisir; j'étais malade dans ce temps-là; sans quoi je vous aurais répondu de suite. Vous m'avez fait quelques demandes dans ces lettres, auxquelles vous trouverez maintenant la réponse dans un ouvrage que je viens de publier sous le titre de '*Prisca Egyptiorum Literatura*,' auquel j'ai joint le fac-simile de l'exemplaire du papyrus Casati qui se trouve à Berlin. J'ai donné ordre au libraire M. Froriep, à Weimar, de vous envoyer de ma part un exemplaire de cet

ouvrage, et peut-être vous l'avez déjà reçu. J'espère avoir rendu justice dans cet écrit à vos mérites, ainsi qu'à ceux de M. Champollion; les théories de MM. Spohn, Seyffarth, Klaproth, malheureusement tous mes compatriotes, me paraissent dénuées de fondement solide.* J'ai adopté la dénomination d'écriture enchorique au lieu de démotique, parcequ'en effet la première est fondée sur des témoignages plus sûrs que l'autre. Si vous voulez m'écrire ce que vous jugez de ma commentation, ou ce que vous avez appris de nouveau par rapport à ces recherches, je vous en saurai graces. J'ai lu que vous avez publié un troisième cahier de *Hieroglyphics;* si peut-être vous en aviez encore un exemplaire à votre disposition, et que vous vouliez m'en faire part, je vous serais bien obligé. Les progrès à attendre dans ces recherches dépendront, ce me semble, principalement de nouveaux papyrus bilingues que l'on trouverait. En a-t-on apporté peut-être de nouveau en Angleterre?

* The system of Spohn, so zealously advocated by Seyffarth, as well as that of Goulianoff, which was first expounded by Klaproth, have been long completely exploded. Spohn's was based upon a principle directly opposed to that upon which the system of Young and Champollion was founded, its author having maintained that the enchorial was the original character in which the language of ancient Egypt was written, and that it was successively developed into the hieratic and hieroglyphic modes of writing. His system also involved an immense multiplication of signs. Spohn, as well as Young and Champollion, had attempted a translation of portions of the enchorial papyrus of Casati; but when a Greek antigraph of that manuscript was afterwards discovered, the German scholar was found to have been entirely wrong, while many of the groups decyphered by Young and Champollion stood that formidable test. With regard to the system of Goulianoff, which it is surprising so acute a philologist as Klaproth should have adopted, it was confined to the symbolical signs, as they did not, generally speaking, call in question the phonetic discoveries of Young and Champollion. These signs, however, were not, they asserted, really symbolic or ideographic, but merely served, on the contrary, to represent the initial letter of the word attached to the thing which it was desired to indicate:—"On se contentait de tracer la figure d'un objet quelconque dont le nom avait pour première lettre celle par laquelle commence celui de l'objet qu'on voulait désigner d'un manière occulte; à peu près comme si l'on peignait un *Chou* au lieu d'un *Cheval;* un *Porc* pour un *Pain;* une *Jatte* pour un *Juge;* un *Rat* pour un *Roi*."—Klaproth, *Lettre sur la Découverte des Hiéroglyphes Acrologiques*, p. 2. Although fully alive to the absurdity of this system which he regarded as a reproach to "the wisdom of the Egyptians," Klaproth fancied that he found in Horapollo sufficient evidence of its truth. He does not appear, however, to have gained any converts. Chevalier Bunsen probably agrees with Kosegarten, that the systems above described do no credit to "the German mind," for he makes no allusion to them in his history of hieroglyphical discovery, in '*Egypt's Place*.'—*Ed.*

37.—*From* Dr. YOUNG *to* M. ARAGO.

MY DEAR SIR, Geneva, 4th July, 1828.

YOU asked me the other day why I did not publish a simple statement of the dates of the several steps, which I have had the good fortune to make, in the recovery of the literature of the Egyptians; and I told you that I thought I had done quite as much as was necessary for asserting my claim, and that I had no reason to be over-anxious for establishing it any further than the public at large was perfectly willing to concede it me: I thought Mr. Champollion had been unjust to me, but I freely forgave him, without requiring him to acknowledge his injustice; and on the other hand I was inclined to believe that he had also forgiven me, without my having made any concession to him. But since *you* were disposed to think that he had some reason to complain of me, and since I have publicly acknowledged that *you* have always shown yourself to be *at least* impartial in any question which related to my credit, I cannot help feeling myself bound to afford you some further explanation on the points which you thought liable to exception in my book. You seem to have judged as a mathematician, that Mr. Champollion had convicted me of an arithmetical error, with respect to the numerical amount of the Phonetic characters which I had ascertained; and you thought in the second place that my alphabet must have been good for nothing, because it had led me to a wrong interpretation of the word CESARIS, which I made into ARSINOE.*

* M. Arago in his *Eloge* of Dr. Young, published in the Memoirs of the *Académie des Sciences*, vol. xiii. 1835, still adhered to the opinion that Dr. Young's alphabet was useless, because he misinterpreted the word *Cesaris*, but he abandoned the other objection above referred to, in order to take up a position equally untenable, inasmuch as he asserted, in the *Eloge*, for the first time, that Dr. Young did not demonstrate his discovery, and adduced the latter's other great discovery of the interference of light, in order to illustrate his argument. "Hooke avait dit avant Young que les rayons lumineuses interfèrent, comme ce dernier avait supposé avant Champollion que les hiéroglyphes égyptiens sont quelque fois phonetiques. Hooke ne prouvait pas directement son hypothèse; les preuves des valeurs phonétiques assignées par Young à divers hieroglyphes n'aurait pu reposer que sur des lectures qui n'ont pas été faites, qui n'ont pu l'être. Faute de connaître la lumière blanche Hooke n'avait pas une idée exacte de la nature des interférences; comme Young, de son côté, se trompait sur une prétendue valeur syllabique ou dissyllabique des hiéroglyphes. Young, d'un consentement unanime, est considéré comme l'auteur de la théorie des interferences; dès-

Now of the nine letters, which I insist that I had discovered, Mr. Champollion himself allows me five, and I maintain that a single one would have been sufficient for all that I wished to

lors par une conséquence, qui me paraît inévitable, Champollion doit être regardé comme l'auteur de la découverte des hiéroglyphes" (p. lxxxix). In addition to what Dr. Young himself says in reply to M. Arago, (p. 468) regarding his mistake as to the hieroglyphic group representing *Cesaris*, we must observe that Champollion fell into similar errors even with his improved and extended alphabet, as in the case of Saté (*supra*, p. 372); and even now, when his alphabet has been amended by Lepsius and others, mistakes of the same kind are still committed; witness the Egyptian Hercules, who was universally called Ao, until it was ascertained very recently that his name should be read Mui. Dr. Young did not pretend to discover more than a portion of the alphabet, and it is surely too much to expect that any hieroglyphic group could be deciphered by means of the eight or ten characters whose precise value he had ascertained; but we cannot see why these characters should possess less efficacy in his alphabet than in that of Champollion where exactly the same signification is attached to them. With regard to the syllabic characters, our remarks at p. 184 are not less applicable to M. Arago than to Chevalier Bunsen, who seem both to forget that the majority of the signs in Dr. Young's alphabet are strictly alphabetic. On this point Wilkinson speaks as follows, (Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 192,) "Suffice it to say, that Dr. Young gave the first idea and proof of their alphabetic force, which was even for some time after doubted by Champollion; and that the merit of originality in this point is due to our distinguished countrymen I can bear satisfactory testimony, having with my much regretted friend Sir William Gell, as early as the summer of 1821, so far profited by Dr. Young's opinions on the subject as to be enabled to suggest the supposed value of two or three other characters, besides those he had already ascertained, our taking this view of the question being solely in consequence of his discovery *that they were the representatives of letters.*" In further confirmation of this we may state, that on applying to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, he kindly favoured us with an inspection of his note-book kept at the period above referred to, and in which he makes repeated application of the phonetic signs discovered by Dr. Young, regarding them, for the most part, as of a purely alphabetical nature. With respect to the demonstration of Dr. Young's discovery, we have also to refer to what has been said at p. 186, contenting ourselves here with remarking that the cases put by M. Arago are by no means parallel. If Zoega, who wrote about the close of the last century, had claimed the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, he might have been silenced by M. Arago's argument, for *he* merely "avait supposé que les hiéroglyphes égyptiens sont quelquefois phonétiques." But Dr. Young did much more than hazard a supposition, for he pointed out distinctly the true value of many of the signs in the alphabet, besides assigning the approximate value of various others, although his claim to the discovery of the alphabet would have been perfectly valid if he had merely ascertained a single letter. It is also worthy of remark, that M. Arago, although he has, in his *Eloge*, done ample justice to Dr. Young in many respects, once claimed for another of his countrymen the merit of demonstrating Dr. Young's great optical discovery (see vol. i. p. 381); and we feel persuaded, that on the present occasion, he has shown a similar want of due reflection in denying him the credit of having discovered the hieroglyphic alphabet. M. Arago's motives for his warm and persevering advocacy of Champollion's claims, though scarcely worthy of a philosopher, show at least that he is a zealous Frenchman; he says that his scruples about entering into the controversy were removed when he reflected "que l'interprétation des hiéroglyphes égyptiens est l'une des plus belles découvertes de notre siècle; que Young a lui-même mêlé mon nom aux discussions dont elle a été l'objet; qu'examiner enfin, si la France peut prétendre à ce nouveau titre de gloire, c'est agrandir la mission que je remplis en ce moment, c'est faire acte de bon citoyen. Je sais d'avance tout ce qu'on trouvera d'étroit dans ces sentimens; je n'ignore pas que le cosmopolitisme a son beau côté; mais en vérité, de quel nom ne pourrais-je pas le stigmatiser si lorsque toutes les nations voisines énumèrent avec bonheur les découvertes de leurs enfans, il m'était interdit de chercher dans cette enceinte même parmi des confrères dont je ne me permettrai pas de blesser la modestie, la preuve que la France n'est pas dégénérée, qu'elle aussi apporte chaque année son glorieux contingent dans le vaste dépôt des connaissances humaines" (p. lxxx).—*Ed.*

prove; the method by which that one was obtained being allowed to be correct, and to be capable of further application. The true foundation of the analysis of the Egyptian system of writing, I insist, is the great fact of the original identity of the enchorial with the sacred characters, which I discovered and printed in 1816, and which Mr. Champollion probably rediscovered, and certainly republished in 1821;* besides the reading of the name of Ptolemy, which I had completely ascertained and published in 1814, and the name of Cleopatra, which Mr. Bankes had afterwards discovered by means of the information that I sent him out to Egypt, and which he asserts that he communicated indirectly to Mr. Champollion: and whatever deficiencies there might have been in my original alphabet, supposing it to have contained but one letter correctly determined, they would and must have been gradually supplied by a continued application of the same method to other monuments which have been progressively discovered and made public since the date of my first paper.

In fact, however, besides the five letters which Mr. Champollion allows me, there are three others which he only refuses to admit because I had conjectured that they contained some vowels, in addition to the consonants, which I was well aware were their most important parts. His L, I had read oLE, his S, oS, and his M, MA;† and I still believe that every reader of the oriental languages, except, perhaps, Mr. Silvestre de Sacy, will readily admit that these approximations are practically paramount to correct determinations; and that it was no injustice to Mr. Champollion to say that I had discovered at least EIGHT of the old Egyptian letters: nor will there be any great difficulty in adding to the number the character B, which I had supposed might be BIR, though its resemblance to the enchorial B was sufficiently striking; and when the R of BERENICE was afterwards identified, the correction of my approximation to the B followed as a matter of course. Another S or SH of Mr. Champollion I had made a K, though I was well aware that it was very probably the SH of the Egyptian SHERI: but Mr.

* See p. 74, note.

† By referring to *supra*, p. 157, it will be seen that Dr. Young does not here do himself justice; for he there stated that the sign which he called Ma in his reading of Ptolemaios was also "simply M."—*Ed.*

Salt has observed that the occurrence of this character in BERENICE arose from an error of the draughtsman.

With respect to the repetition of the same letters in different forms, they by no means require to be enumerated as separate discoveries; since there must be no limit to the diversity they admit, either according to my original opinion of the arbitrary employment of syllabic characters, after the manner of the Chinese, or upon Mr. Champollion's "system," of the phonetic signification of the various hieroglyphics, expressing the initial letters only of the names of the object which they represent. It is obviously easy to multiply their interpretation almost without end, by merely comparing the different modes of writing parallel passages in different manuscripts or inscriptions, or in different parts of the same monuments. A countryman of my own* had identified the use of the vase as an N, by a comparison of this kind, and I therefore inserted the initial of his name in my table, although his communication to me had been private only.

I trust that these remarks will convince you either that I have not done Mr. Champollion injustice by my numerical claims, or that if I have committed any arithmetical mistakes, they are not such as could have arisen from a desire to misrepresent the facts as they actually occurred, since I could have had no motive for exaggeration, while the admissions of my opponent were fully sufficient for my purpose.†

* Mr. Bankes, the celebrated Egyptian traveller.—*Ed.*

† According to the Rev. Charles Forster, author of a volume recently published under the title of '*The Monuments of Egypt*,' Young and Champollion contended about a mere shadow, for he asserts that their discovery of a hieroglyphic alphabet is altogether a delusion, "the hieroglyphic characters being merely what they appear to be—pictorial representations." (P. 13.) But in order to arrive at this conclusion he completely misrepresents the evidence on which that discovery was founded. He says that Champollion (whom he calls Champollion *Fŷeac* le Jeune, confounding the celebrated Egyptian discoverer with his brother) "avowedly found the whole first principles of his system in the proper name of Ptolemy, represented in the hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta inscription by [a group of characters inclosed in] a ring or cartouche corresponding in position and in the frequency of its recurrence with the proper name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ in the Greek text of the triple inscription." (P. 16.)

Now the hieroglyphic name of Ptolemy on the Rosetta Stone does not correspond in frequency with the Greek name, as is shown by Dr. Young (see *supra*, p. 132); neither was it De Sacy, as Mr. Forster supposes, but Dr. Young, who first identified the former (Ibid.), although the French philologist undoubtedly first pointed out the name of Ptolemy in the *enchorial* text; and so far from Champollion avowing that he derived the first principles of his system from that proper name, he makes it, as we shall presently show, play a subordinate part to that of Cleopatra,—the name on which all his phonetic discoveries really hinged. Mr. Forster further asserts that Champollion "started with the assumption that all foreign proper names were ex-

With respect to my supposing that the word CESARIS was intended to be read ARSINOE, the mistake had no effect whatever on the letters identified by other means: it was not from the letters that I was led to believe I had read the word, but having fancied that I had identified the name by *external*

pressed letter for letter in Egyptian characters," whereas it was solely by discarding that principle that Champollion was enabled to improve on Young's alphabet. The name of Ptolemy was deciphered by him as ΠΤΟΛΜΗΣ, not ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ; and he says expressly that it was *not* the system of the Egyptians to represent "rigoureusement, et chacun dans leur ordre propre, tous les sons et toutes les articulations qui forment les mots d'une langue. Nous voyons, en effet, l'écriture phonétique Égyptienne pour représenter le mot *César*, d'après le génitif Grec ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, se contenter souvent d'assembler les signes des consonnes Κ, Σ, Ρ, Σ, sans s'inquiéter de la diphthongue ni des deux voyelles que l'orthographie Grecque exige impérieusement, et nous montrer, par exemple, les noms propres ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ, ou plutôt ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ, ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ, &c., transcrits avec toutes leurs consonnes, il est vrai, mais perdant la plus grande partie de leurs voyelles: ΑΛΚΣΑΝΡΣ, ΒΡΝΗΚΣ, ΤΡΗΝΣ." '*Lettre à M. Dacier*,' p. 33.—Mr. Forster proceeds as follows: "Champollion discovers the letter Λ, l, in the figure of a recumbent lion, solely because this figure is the fourth in the Greek name Ptolemaios. Having thus, to his own satisfaction, obtained his Λ, the French savant at once assumed that the three preceding unknown hieroglyphics, viz., a semicircle, a square [rather a square, a semicircle], and a nondescript character which he denominates *un puits recourbé*, must be ΠΤΟ in the three preceding letters of the Greek proper name." (P. 20.) And after several remarks of the same nature regarding the other characters, composing the hieroglyphic name of Ptolemy, he winds up thus: "Any reader must see that this whole decipherment hinges upon the figure of the lion and its assumed office in the alphabetic representation of the Greek letter Λ (l)," and that "it is most clear that every other hieroglyphic of the cartouche receives its assumed power from its position with relation to the Lion." Now Champollion does not profess at all to analyze the name of Ptolemy, but rather that of Cleopatra; referring, however, to the former as a test of the value he assigns to some of the characters in the latter. With regard to the letter L he says: "Le second signe du nom de Cléopâtre, *un lion en repos*, qui doit représenter le Λ, est tout-à-fait semblable au quatrième signe du nom de Ptolemée, qui est aussi un Λ (Πτολ)," (*Lettre à M. Dacier*, p. 8); and he also points out the couchant lion as the second character in the name of Alexander, to say nothing of other instances which, together with the foregoing, establish its phonetic value beyond all dispute. With regard to the first sign in the name of Ptolemy, the square, its alphabetic value had been already pointed out by Dr. Young, and when Champollion directed his attention to "le cinquième signe du nom de Cléopâtre, qui a la forme d'une parallélogramme" (*Ibid.*), he concluded from this coincidence that it must represent the letter Π, and as to "the nondescript character which he denominates *un puits recourbé*" (!), hear whatChampollion really says: "Le quatrième caractère du cartouche hiéroglyphique de Cléopâtre, représentant une espèce de *fleur avec sa tige recourbée*, répondrait à l'O du nom Grec de cette reine. Il est, en effet, le troisième caractère du nom de Ptolémée." (*Ibid.*)

These are but the first steps in Champollion's demonstration, but it is needless to pursue this subject further, as most readers will be perfectly satisfied, from the sample we have given of Mr. Forster's book, that the phonetic system of Young and Champollion will survive his attack, although he returns to the charge in a note (p. 23) apparently written with Champollion's book before him. He there states that he has given in the text "the real state of the case," but that Champollion afterwards attempted, in his *Précis*, to make a show of inductive proof by comparing the name of Cleopatra with that of Ptolemy, which M. Forster calls the *ignotum* with the *ignotius*. This also is a misrepresentation, for the comparison of these two proper names was made, as we have shown, in the *Lettre à M. Dacier*, where Champollion first announced his discovery; and in the *Précis* he embodied the entire *Lettre* without alteration.

Some apology is perhaps due to the learned reader for any notice, however slight,

evidence, I endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to employ it in extending my interpretation of the phonetic hieroglyphics. In fact, I had inferred from my own previous discoveries, that the inscription containing the name was posterior to the times of the Egyptian kings; and I imagined, as I suppose everybody else did at the time in question, that the genuine hieroglyphic inscriptions were all, or nearly all, anterior to the times of the Roman emperors. I therefore concluded that the personage in question must have belonged to the family of the Ptolemies: this was an error, but it was an error that did not affect the interpretation of the nine letters which I have claimed, and which I still claim, as my own. I spoke of Mr. Champollion's more rapid flight, not in a tone of irony, but of uncertainty; and you will recollect that when I had agreed, in conversation with one of his opponents in the Institute, that he must be called an enthusiast, I induced that gentleman to give him credit for sincerity and good faith, combined with his enthusiasm: and I am most ready to admit, that the more I see of his researches, the more I admire his ingenuity as well as his industry; and I must be eager to bear witness on every occasion to the kindness and liberality which he has shown me in either giving or procuring for me copies of every thing that I have asked of him, out of the treasures entrusted to his care by the magnificent liberality of a government, which far outshines the richest of its rivals, in the encouragement of literature, and science, and art. I have obtained in this manner a most extensive collection of enchorial documents, many of which are accompanied by Mr. Champollion's own interpretations of particular passages, which amply demonstrate how unjustly he has been supposed to have neglected this department of the great field, which he has cultivated with such unparalleled success.

of such a work; and we certainly should have abstained from all mention of it, if we had not found that some degree of authority was attached to Mr. Forster's opinions by those who had not leisure or inclination to investigate the subject for themselves, and who did not suppose it possible that any one should have ventured to write with so much confidence on matters of which he was entirely ignorant. If it were worth while offering him any advice we would suggest that it would be more becoming in him, and more consistent with reason, to abstain from giving arbitrary translations of the Sinaitic inscriptions, while he calls in question those interpretations of hieroglyphic texts which are founded on known data, and respecting which many persons, working quite independently of each other, have come to a similar conclusion.—*Ed.*

Park Square, 30th August, 1828.

P. S.—My visit to the continent has been most successful in the acquisition of such documents as I have long been extremely anxious to possess: at Geneva I received from Turin, by the kindness of the Chevalier San Quintino, some very excellent casts of the bilingual inscription which I wished to purchase of Drovetti seven years ago: though I am sorry to say I fear I shall be able to decipher but very few words of the remains of the enchorial part. The hieroglyphic inscription, though short, is of great importance, in exhibiting the name of the deity whom Champollion calls Amonra, while the Greek contains in several places, as Mr. Peyron has already observed, the name Amonrasonther, before known from Mr. Grey's Antigraph only.

On my return through Paris I found the copies of TEN select enchorial papyri ready for me: one of them I soon recognised as a duplicate of Grey B, already published in the "Hieroglyphics," but with such slight variations as render it extremely valuable for comparison: besides the names of sixteen witnesses on the back. This manuscript has been framed and glazed in the Louvre; it had been observed by Mr. Peyron: there is also a triplicate, without the registry. The day before my departure from Paris, I received from Mr. Peyron two very important papers, illustrative of the Greek papyri of Turin and of Vienna, with some interesting applications of the enchorial numbers to the lands of the Cholchytæ, by which I shall not fail to profit in my further investigations; though I have not been able to consult the original papyrus of Mr. Grey, respecting which he asks me for an explanation of a particular character.

NOTE.—I have unexpectedly had an opportunity of re-examining Mr. Grey's enchorial manuscript, and I find that the angle of the *Γ* has been omitted in the copy, from an accidental fold in the papyrus; but that the reading is clearly *ΓΓ′*, as was naturally to be expected for 3½. Mr. Peyron is inclined to believe that ημισους ογδοου is to be understood simply one-eighth: but whoever is conversant with the Greek astronomers, will immediately perceive that it means *five*-eighths; as we have perpetually ϛ′ ζ′, ἥμισυ τρίτον, in Ptolemy, for *five*-sixths, or ½ + ⅓. For *one*-sixth, Mr. Grey's Antigraph has ημισυ ΤΟΥ τριτου.—*Sept.* 10.

38.—*From* Sir W. GELL *to* Dr. YOUNG.

MY DEAR DOCTOR, Naples, Nov. 19, 1828.

* * * * I have got the first number of the Hieroglyphical, or Egyptian Society's work, which you sent me, but I have never seen any other except this last, though you sent them to the Vatican, which is, as you know, like all other public libraries, except those of Paris, the most convenient place for hiding things in the world; as between fasts and feasts it is nearly impossible to time the visit so as to find the doors open or openable without the help of Senouphre himself. I never saw the tablet of the Sphinx before, and have not as yet quite informed myself of its meaning except as to the dedication.—I see you still wish to find the father's name in one of the shields. May Thoth grant it, for that would presently set the pedigrees of the kings to rights. Will the dictionary of which you speak ever be published, or will you stop till what the Italians call the "*mese di mai*" by way of perfecting it? Why not publish now what you know certain, with an appendix of probabilities inviting the Germans to pass their lives in clearing up your doubts, and then promising another volume when you have found out as much more? Champollion has a great many words and a great facility in Coptic. I think I found out that the OKR which he wanted to introduce into the explanation of Nitocris as the victorious Minerva is a Phœnician word, and I think I recollect it in Bochart. * * * *

I wish you had sent me to Egypt with Champollion, who offered to take me, but I had no money. I have no doubt I should have done something, as I think I take views and plans quicker than my neighbours, and have more patience in working out the hieroglyphics. I think you have now roasted Champollion enough in this last Essay,* though I once thought he was let off too cheap. I am glad you are friends again, only publish your Enchorial Dictionary soon, that some ugly German may not do it before you, for I dare say some dozens of them are plodding over it at the present moment and do nothing else. I wish I knew who had been good enough to put me in the review of Simond's Travels in the Foreign Quarterly, I would send him half-a-crown. * * * *

* The letter to San Quintino, supra, VIII., 32.—*Ed.*

No. IX.

ADVERTISEMENT TO

DR. YOUNG'S EGYPTIAN DICTIONARY.*

THE progress that has been hitherto made in the investigation of the modes of writing of the ancient Egyptians, however inconsiderable in its extent, is yet sufficient to throw some important lights on the philosophy of language in general.

It is obvious that a written language may be either essentially expressive of sounds only, or may represent the objects to which the words relate, like our numerical cyphers, without any reference whatever to the sounds. It is now generally understood that the Chinese written language is an original, independent of any sounds supposed to be pronounced by the reader: and the Hieroglyphics of Egypt, as well as those of China, appear clearly to have been, at first, rude pictures only of sensible objects. In the course of ages, the resemblance seems to have been forgotten in both countries, and imitations of the imitations only were employed; sometimes for denoting the same objects, and sometimes for expressing either the whole or a part only of the sounds of the names which were applied to them.

The Hieratic characters of the Egyptians appear to have

* In the *Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik* for 1831, p. 771, Berl., Kosegarten gives a brief account of this work and the circumstances under which it was published; the following is an extract:—"The work with which the excellent Young closed his literary career as well as his existence contains a valuable and well arranged collection of all the most important enchorial groups of characters hitherto deciphered. He obtained this collection from the enchorial texts published by himself, Champollion, and me, and also made use of some materials communicated to him by Champollion from unpublished papyri at Paris. On his death-bed and when writing had become difficult to him, he conducted the printing and correction of this work, in which he took great interest, and which forms, as it were, his legacy in Egyptian philology. When he had reached the ninety-sixth page of the proofs he was overtaken by death, so that the correction of the last pages as well as the Indexes were attended to by Dr. Tattam," to whose Coptic Grammar the Egyptian Dictionary formed the appendix. —*Ed.*

been intended for simple imitations of the distinct hieroglyphics; and from these the enchorial or popular characters seem to have been gradually derived, without any abrupt or systematic changes: the written language being in both cases principally independent of the sounds employed in speaking, except in the case of foreign proper names;* and retaining always some parts which were never fully expressed in speaking. Neither this nor any other intelligible account of the Egyptian modes of writing can be derived from the vague descriptions of the Greek authors; which, among other reasons, are probably the more confused from the habitual use of the same word to express writing and drawing.

The essential identity of the enchorial characters with the distinct hieroglyphics had been conjecturally suspected by some former critics, but was first fully demonstrated in the *Museum Criticum* for 1816. The examples of dates, which are here exhibited, will serve to illustrate the steps by which the changes of forms took place between the reign of Psammetichus, and the dynasty of the Ptolemies: the manuscripts, which belong to the time of Psammetichus, appearing to be decidedly Hieratic, and to follow closely the traces of the distinct characters, while those of Darius approach in some degree to the enchorial form, which probably came into common use as the "epistolographic" character, while the Hieratic was so called as being more employed by the priests for the purposes of their religion. In the mean time other changes must have been made in different parts of the language; which caused the characters to vary more widely from each other. The report that a manuscript of the age of Sesostris, written "in superb *demotic* characters," still exists at Aix, appears in many respects to require confirmation.

A single example will be abundantly sufficient to show the way in which some of these changes took place. The city of Cairo was probably first called Memphis or Memphe, the hieroglyphic name being read MA-M-PHTHAH, the place of

* Dr. Young here seems to have forgotten that he had formerly admitted the probability of the alphabetical mode of writing being employed in the formation of Egyptian as well as foreign names, Mr. Grey's and the Casati manuscripts having furnished some evidence to that effect (*supra*, pp. 303, 304, 333). This oversight has been noticed by Schwarze, *Das Alte Ægypten*, p. 191.—*Ed.*

Phthah or Vulcan: its elements consisting, according to the most natural reading, of TEMPLE, or SACRED PLACE, and PHTHAH. Before the time of the Ptolemies, the place had apparently assumed the synonymous appellation of PANUF or PHANOUPHIS, the NOPH of the Hebrews, meaning the temple of the Good god, which is clearly the sense of the two enchorial characters and , while the sound PANUF is as little expressed by the distinct hieroglyphics as MEMPHE is by the popular characters. But in neither case did the sound adequately express the written characters; the *sacred* of the one, and the *god* of the other, being equally omitted in the pronunciation.

The correct interpretation of the Enchorial dates depends almost entirely on the ingenious and successful investigations of the justly-celebrated Jean François Champollion, applied to the manuscripts which he had the good fortune to discover at Paris and at Turin, and which exhibited a great variety of numbers in the form of accounts: and he has been equally happy in illustrating the characters denoting the months, which an unaccountable error of the original engraver of the pillar of Rosetta had before thrown into confusion.

His system of phonetic characters may often be of use in assisting the memory, but it can only be applied with confidence to particular cases when supported in each by the same kind of evidence that had been employed before its invention. His manuscript communications have furnished many valuable additions to this work, all of which have been acknowledged in their proper places.

From the mixed nature of the characters employed in the written language or rather languages of the Egyptians, it is difficult to determine what would be the best arrangement for a dictionary, even if they were all perfectly clear in their forms, and perfectly well understood: at present, however, so many of them remain unknown, and those which are better known assume so diversified an appearance, that the original difficulty is greatly increased. Every methodical arrangement, however arbitrary, has the advantage of bringing together such words as nearly resemble each other: and it appears most likely to be subservient to the purposes of future investigation, to employ

an imitation of an alphabetical order, or an artificial alphabet, founded upon the resemblance of the characters to those, of which the phonetic value was clearly and correctly determined by the late Mr. Akerblad; and to arrange the words, that are to be interpreted, according to their places in this artificial order; choosing, however, in each instance, not always the first character that enters into the composition of the word, but that which appears to be the most radical, or the most essential to its signification, or sometimes that which is merely the most readily ascertained or distinguished.

It is obvious that neither the numbers nor the names of months require to be admitted into this arrangement, their natural order being so much more simple and determinate: they are therefore placed at the beginning of the work.

If, on the one hand, the meagreness of this catalogue should be considered as somewhat humiliating, it must be remembered, on the other, that thirty years ago, not a single article of the list existed even in the imagination of the wildest enthusiast: and that within these ten years, a single date only was tolerably ascertained, out of about fifty which are here interpreted, and in many instances ascertained with astronomical precision.

It must still be confessed that notwithstanding all the efforts of the few well-qualified persons who have laboured in this field, it still remains extremely uncertain whether these enchorial words can be properly said to belong to an ancient Coptic language, or no: at any rate, the historical evidence of the antiquity of the original Coptic words collected by Wilkins, Lacroze, and Jablonsky, affords fuller demonstration of the truth than any thing hitherto obtained from hieroglyphical literature:* though some of the particles and some forms of

* The latest writer, of any authority, on this subject is Schwarze, who, in his Coptic Grammar published in 1850, since his death, expresses his belief that "the Coptic must be regarded as the language in general use throughout Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, and that, considering its long duration and the foreign influences to which it was exposed, its degeneracy is not greater than that which the oldest branches of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic families have undergone." For the proofs he refers to his great work (*Das Alte Ægypten*, Th. I., Abth. II., p. 967-972), where, after the example of Jablonsky, and others, he adduces a number of Egyptian words which are mentioned in the Bible, in Herodotus, Plutarch, Josephus, and other ancient authors, and shows that many of them are to be found in the Coptic. This evidence, the fullest of the kind that has yet been brought forward, is satisfactory *so far as it goes*, but in order to produce complete conviction it would be necessary to show that it is confirmed by that derived from the inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments and papyri. Some evidence of the latter description is to be found,

grammatical construction do appear to coincide with the hieroglyphical characters more nearly than those of any other language would do. But on the whole, I have little to add to the opinion which I published in a letter to M. Silvestre de Sacy, dated October, 1814. *Mus. Crit.*

"The remark of Varro upon the Egyptian language is even more correctly applicable to this inscription [on the pillar of Rosetta] than to the Coptic; that is, that the nouns are the same in all the cases. Aëtos Aëtos, for example, is Aëtos the son of Aëtos; Mptolomeos, Mptolomeos, Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy: and indeed we sometimes find the same relation similarly expressed in the Coptic; thus, NIUDAS SIMON, Jo. xiii. 26, Judas the son of Simon. Verbs are scarcely distinguished from participles or from nouns, in the Coptic, and still less in this inscription. The Copts had their articles, which they used nearly as the French, or rather as the Italians; in the inscription there is [rarely] a definite article [p or P] in the singular, and the prefix, which assists in the formation of the plural, may represent either the definite or the indefinite article, but seems to resemble the latter rather than the former. The prefix M of the Copts, which cannot be translated, is frequently found in the inscription, with the same indifference as to the sense: [representing apparently a part of the royal ring.] In short, we may venture to assert, that this language is formed entirely on the model of the hieroglyphics, and that the rules of grammar, which are almost superfluous in Coptic, would here be totally inapplicable. [Perhaps the strongest coincidence of the old Egyptian with the Coptic is that of the article masculine, which occurs in many places in the same form with some of the characters representing a P; characters not easily recognised in the pillar of Rosetta, but more lately identified in several manuscripts by Professor

in Champollion's Grammar and Dictionary, published after his death, and we believe that still more could be furnished by Birch, Wilkinson, and other Egyptian scholars if the results of their labours were fully communicated to the world; but while their discoveries are to a great extent withheld, we believe for want of proper encouragement for works of so expensive a nature and possessing so little general interest, it is not to be wondered at that doubts on this as well as other points should arise, and that many should even listen to the misrepresentations and unfounded assertions of Mr. Forster, who scouts altogether the discoveries in phonetic hieroglyphics.—*Ed.*

Ungarter as well as by myself. We also often find the passive tense expressed as in Coptic by the M, followed by F, *him* as *it*.]"

It was in a subsequent letter dated August, 1821, and addressed to the Archduke John of Austria, that I first made known the original identity of the different systems of writing employed by the old Egyptians, observing that "A loose imitation of the hieroglyphical characters may even be traced by means of the intermediate steps in the enchorial name of Ptolemy, which is the only proper name that remains among the hieroglyphics of the stone at Rosetta." The same comparison I afterwards extended to the name Berenice: and it is well known how much further M. Champollion has since had the ingenuity and good fortune to carry it.

It deserves to be mentioned as an encouraging circumstance for the application of the hieroglyphical literature to the subject of chronology, that a German professor as well as myself had recognised in an inscription found near Cosseir, published at Cairo by Mr. Burton, the names of three Persian kings, with dates confirming the testimony of the Greek chronologers, and which seem to be the same that M. Champollion has since mentioned in one of his letters from Egypt, with a similar interpretation.

I have reprinted, from the *Quarterly Journal*, as an illustration of this subject of chronology, an enumeration of the principal events mentioned by the astronomer Ptolemy and his commentators, with a mathematical determination of the times of their occurrence, so accurate and indisputable, as to remove all scepticism respecting the precision not only of these epochs, but of many others which are connected with them by a similar train of evidence and reasoning.

The dates are principally referred to the exact instants of the true equinoxes or solstices of the year concerned, in a manner suggested by the mean equinoctial time of Mr. Herschel, which supersedes every artificial regulation of the length of the year.*

* It has not been thought necessary to republish in this work the very learned and laborious chronological register above referred to.—*Ed.*

No. X.

LANGUAGES.*

From the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. v., 1824.

In the articles LANGUAGE and PHILOLOGY, of the *Encyclopædia*, a philosophical and critical account of the origin and structure of the most remarkable languages has been given at length, and in detail. The subject will at present be resumed in a point of view more strictly historical, and a classification somewhat more extensive of all the known languages of the ancient world will be attempted; some of the materials being almost necessarily derived from the *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater, and the publications of Jamieson and of Townsend, together with the criticisms on those works inserted in the *Quarterly Review*.

The study of the affinities of various languages is so far one of the most important of all branches of human knowledge, as it affords, when properly applied, an unerring test of the truth or falsehood of historical evidence, without which it would sometimes be impossible to unravel the mysteries of contra-

* This Essay is almost entirely composed of two articles which Dr. Young contributed to the Quarterly Review: the one on Adelung's *Mithridates*, in vol. x., and the other on works by Jamieson and Townsend on Languages, in vol. xiv. Independently of the intrinsic merits of these articles, the former derives an additional interest from the fact, that it was while Dr. Young was engaged in the perusal of Adelung's learned work in 1813, that the idea of applying himself to the study of the Egyptian hieroglyphics entered his mind, his attention being called to the subject by a remark of Professor Vater, the editor of the *Mithridates*, who asserts that the Egyptian language is capable of being reduced to an alphabet of about thirty characters (see supra, p. 264). In 1816 Dr. Young complied with an application made to him by Mr. Macvey Napier, to write some articles for a Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, conducted under the superintendence of that gentleman, and completed in 1825, and the amalgamation of the two papers in the Quarterly Review into the article LANGUAGES was one of the results of their agreement. In his preface to the Supplement the editor makes repeated reference to Dr. Young, "to whose profound and accurate knowledge, rare erudition, and other various attainments," he says that "that work is largely indebted in almost every department which it embraces."—*Ed.*

dictory testimonies, respecting the relations of the different races of mankind. We have, for example, no traditional evidence in support of any connexion between the ancient Egyptians and the Indians, while, on the other hand, a number of persons, who came with the English army from the East Indies into Egypt, were so strongly impressed with the resemblance of the Egyptian and Indian temples, which appeared even to excite the religious feelings of many of the natives who were among the troops employed, that a very general inclination has arisen from these circumstances, to consider the Egyptian mythology as merely a branch of the Indian. But if the Egyptian people had really been of Indian origin; that is, if the Egyptians and Indians had really been one people, at any later period than that, at which the whole of the Indian and European races were separated from their common stock, the languages of India and of Egypt could not but have exhibited some features of resemblance, which would have preserved the traces of the connexion; while, in fact, there is much less similarity between the Egyptian and the Indian, than between the Indian and the Greek, or the English and the Persian; so that etymology may here be adduced as confirming the evidence, or as justifying the silence, of history; and the resemblance of the mythological representations must be considered as in great measure accidental.

It is, however, only with regard to the languages of the ancient world that we can feel much interest in such an investigation. The American dialects might afford equally extensive subjects of speculation in a metaphysical and critical point of view; but the concerns of barbarians, unconnected and remote from all contact with literature or civilization, and destitute of all historical records, will scarcely be thought to require any great portion of attention from a philosophical inquirer; and there is ample scope for the employment of all our faculties in the analysis and comparison of the various languages of Europe, Asia, and Africa. If, indeed, an extraordinary exertion of enterprise and industry, which can be expected from a few distinguished individuals only in the course of as many centuries, should make known relations, such as Alexander von Humboldt

has appeared to discover, between the American and Asiatic nations, a new field would be opened for the gratification of our curiosity; but it can scarcely be expected that these points of resemblance can be sufficiently numerous, to afford anything like demonstrative evidence, until the whole subject has been much more deeply and repeatedly discussed. In the mean time, a very brief enumeration of the names of the American languages is all that can be required, on an occasion like the present; except the insulated though interesting remark, that the countries separated by Behring's Straits exhibit, as might indeed be expected, strong resemblances, in some of their languages.

Of language in general this essay is not intended to treat, but merely of languages as they are distinct from each other. It is not, however, very easy to say what the definition ought to be that should constitute a separate language; but it seems most natural to call those languages distinct, of which the one cannot be understood by common persons in the habit of speaking the other, so that an interpreter would be required for communication between persons of the respective nations. Still, however, it may remain doubtful whether the Danes and the Swedes could not, in general, understand each other tolerably well, and whether the Scottish Highlanders and the Irish would be able to drink their whisky together without an interpreter; nor is it possible to say, if the twenty ways of pronouncing the sounds, belonging to the Chinese characters, ought or ought not to be considered as so many languages or dialects, though they would render all oral intercourse between the persons so speaking the language actually impracticable. But, whether we call such variations different languages, or different dialects, or merely different pronunciations of the same dialect, it is obvious that they ought all to be noticed in a complete history of languages; and, at the same time, that the languages so nearly allied must stand next to each other in a systematical order; the perfection of which would be, to place the nearest together those languages, in which the number of coincidences in the signification of words, throughout the language, are the most numerous.

It has sometimes been imagined, that all languages in existence present something like a trace of having been deduced from a common origin; and it would be difficult to confute this opinion by very positive evidence, unless every separate language had been very completely analysed and examined by a person well acquainted with a variety of other languages, with which it might be compared. But, without such an examination, the opinion must remain conjectural only, and no more admissible as demonstrated, than the opinion of some empirics, that there is only one disease, and that the only remedy for it is brandy. In an Essay on Probabilities, lately published in the *Philosophical Transactions*,* Dr. Young has remarked, that "nothing whatever could be inferred, with respect to the relation of two languages, from the coincidence of the sense of any single word in both of them;" that is, supposing the same simple and limited combinations of sounds to occur in both, but to be applied accidentally to the same number of objects, without any common links of connexion; "and that the odds would only be three to one against the agreement of two words; but if three words appeared to be identical, it would be more than ten to one that they must be derived, in both cases, from some parent language, or introduced in some other manner," from a common source; "six words would give near 1700 chances to one, and eight near 100,000; so that, in these last cases, the evidence would be little short of absolute certainty."

The author of the *Review of Mithridates* observes, that, setting out from the establishment of a certain number of separate languages as species, "we may proceed to comprehend, in the description of one *family*, such as have more coincidences with each other than diversities, and to refer to the same *class* such families as exhibit any coincidences at all that are not fortuitous, imitative," that is, from onomatopœia, "or adoptive. In order, however, to avoid too great a number of classes, which would arise from an inadequate comparison of languages imperfectly known, it may be proper, in some cases, to adopt a geographical distinction, as sufficient to define the limits of a class, or to assist in its subdivision into orders. We

* Vol. II., p. 8, of this work.

are thus obliged to employ an arrangement of a mixed nature;" and, in fact, the tests of affinity here proposed depend so much on the progress of our knowledge, in the study of each language, that the results must unavoidably be liable to great uncertainty and fluctuation; so that we can reasonably expect nothing more than an approximation to an arrangement completely methodical.

"If," continues the Reviewer, "the resemblance or identity of a single word, in two languages, supposed to be exempt from the effects of all later intercourse, were to be esteemed a sufficient proof of their having been derived from a common stock, it would follow, that more than half the languages of the universe would exhibit traces of such a connexion, in whatever order we might pursue the comparison. Thus we find in a very great number, and perhaps in a majority of known languages, that the sound of the vowel *a*, with a labial consonant, is employed for the name of *Father;* and if this be supposed to be something like an onomatopœia, or an application of the first sounds which an infant naturally utters, the same reason cannot possibly be assigned for the still more general occurrence of the combination NM in the term *Name*, which is by no means likely to have originated from any natural association of this kind. But neither these points of resemblance, nor any other that can be assigned, are absolutely universal; for besides the numberless varieties referable more or less immediately to *Abba*, *Father*, we have at least twenty different and independent terms for the same relation in the old world;" *Tia*, *Issa*, *Plar*, *Hair*, *Rama*, *Diam*, *Bina*, *Kettem*, *Assainalagi*, *Medua*, *Thewes*, *Sünk*, *Iot*, *Anathien*, *Messee*, *Indaa*, *Nu*, *Nam*, *Monung*, *Dengabey*, *Ray*, *Tikkob*, and *Oa;* and about as many for *Name*, besides those languages, in which the version of an abstract term of this kind is less likely to have been ascertained; *Ming*, *Tren*, *Diant*, *Sheu*, *Hessara*, *Shem*, *Tsarship*, *Ad*, *Niptu*, *Lüm*, *Sacheli*, *Assia*, *Wasta*, *Ngala*, *Taira*, *Sünna*, *Ran*, *Hhili*, *Ding*, *Dbai*, and *Anghara*. "At the same time, therefore, that we venerate the traces of our common descent from a single pair, wherever they are still perceptible, we must not expect to find them in all existing languages without exception; and an *Etymologicon Universale*, considered as intended to establish

such a perfect community of derivation, can only be regarded as a visionary undertaking. Nor must we neglect to unite, in some common arrangement of classification, those languages which have the words here specified, or any other radical words, in common, as incomparably more related to each other than the Chinese to the Cantabrian, or the Irish to the Hottentot.

"The gradations, by which a language is likely to vary in a given time, seem to be in some measure dependent on the degree of cultivation of the language, and of the civilization of the people employing it. From Homer to the Byzantine historians, the Greek language remained essentially the same for 2000 years; the German has varied but little in 1500; and even the English, notwithstanding its mixture with French and Latin, has altered but three radical words, out of the fifty-four which constitute the Lord's Prayer, in the same period. On the other hand, a few barbarians in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus and of the Caspian Sea, of modern origin, and ignorant of the art of writing, are divided into more nations speaking peculiar languages, radically different from each other, than the whole of civilized Europe. In such cases, little light can be thrown upon history by etymological researches, while, with regard to more cultivated nations, we obtain, from the examination of their languages, historical evidence of such a nature, as it is scarcely possible for either accident or design to have falsified."

According to the supposition of Professor Adelung, it seems not improbable that Tibet, on the east of Cashmir, may "have been the habitation of Adam immediately after his fall, and the country occupied by the descendants of Cain. In Tibet, and in the countries immediately beyond it, the languages of at least 150 millions of people are still principally MONOSYLLABIC, and from this peculiarity, as well as from the singular simplicity of their structure, they are supposed to constitute the most ancient class of existing languages, though it must be confessed that much of Adelung's reasoning on this subject is extremely inconclusive." Mr. Townsend remarks very judiciously, that one of the canons of Rudbeck is by no means admissible. "He states, that a language, which has numerous monosyllabic

expressions, is a parent language. The English has more than 3700 monosyllabic expressions, and the Chinese has none but such; yet neither of them is, for that reason, to be considered as a parent language. Certain it is, that all languages, by abbreviations, have a tendency to become monosyllabic, and therefore a language, which abounds in monosyllables, is ancient, and these commonly are the most antiquated parts of every language. New compounds are incessantly created. These are abbreviated, and in process of time become monosyllabic. In deriving, therefore, a word in one language, from its correspondent expression in some other language, we must ever bear in mind, that, unless in the formation of new compounds, the least abbreviated is commonly the parent, and the most abbreviated its offspring. Would it be possible for any one to persuade us that *Colaphus* was derived from *Cuff*, or *Blaspheme* from *Blame?*" "A similar instance," says the Reviewer, "might be found in *Trachelos* and *Hals* of the Greeks and Germans; for certainly *Hals* is more like *Trachelos* than like *Collum*."

The Chinese, however, which is the principal, and probably the most ancient of the monosyllabic languages, is distinguished from almost all others by a more marked peculiarity, which is, that its written characters, instead of depicting sounds, are the immediate symbols of the objects or ideas, and are even imperfectly represented by the sounds, whatever difference of accent or tone may be exhibited by the most refined speaker; as indeed it may happen accidentally in our own language, that we may be at a loss to explain, without circumlocution, whether we mean to say *Son* or *Sun; Beer* or *Bier; Bear* or *Bare; You, Ewe, Yew*, or *U;* but in the Chinese the real cause of this essential characteristic appears to be, that the symbol was in fact originally intended as a hieroglyphic or picture of the object, though the resemblance, coarse as it probably was at first, has been generally altogether lost by the modifications which the character has conventionally undergone. And in this point of view the Chinese would require to be classed with the old Egyptian only, since we know of no other language which was habitually expressed in hieroglyphics and their immediate

derivatives. It is not at all uncommon for the same sound in Coptic, as in Chinese, to have four or five senses all essentially different; as may easily be observed in turning over a dictionary; HOOU, for instance, means *Bad*, and *Them*, and a *Shower*, in two verses of St. Matthew, v. 45, 46, and perhaps several other things.

Another ancient and extensive class of languages, united by a greater number of resemblances than can well be altogether accidental, may be denominated the INDOEUROPEAN, comprehending the Indian, the West Asiatic, and almost all the European languages. If we chose to assign a geographical situation to the common parent of this class, we should place it to the south and west of the supposed origin of the human race; leaving the north for our third class, which we can only define as including all the Asiatic and European languages not belonging to the two former; which may be called Atactic, or, perhaps, without much impropriety, TATARIC; and which may be divided into five orders, *Sporadic*, *Caucasian*, *Tartarian*, *Siberian*, and *Insular*. The AFRICAN and AMERICAN languages will constitute a fourth and a fifth class, sufficiently distinct from all the rest, but not intended to be considered as any otherwise united among themselves, than by their geographical situation. There is indeed little doubt, that some of the languages here called Tataric are essentially allied to others, which are referred to the Indoeuropean class; but they have been too little investigated to allow us to make the selection that would be required for completing the classification.

The following tables are copied, with some considerable additions, from the *Quarterly Review*, where they stand, as extracted, in great measure, from Adelung's *Mithridates*. The words *Heaven* and *Earth* are chosen as specimens, because they seem to be known in a greater number of languages than any others, except the name of *Father*, which is supposed to exhibit, in some cases, a fallacious similarity. The German orthography has been principally employed, except in such languages as are usually written in the Roman characters, the pronunciation of the consonants being more uniform than in English, and that of the vowels differing little from the Italian.

CLASSES, *Orders*, and Families of LANGUAGES.

I. MONOSYLLABIC.
1. Chinese.
2. Siamese.
3. Avanese.
4. Tibetan.

II. INDOEUROPEAN.
5. Sanscrit.
6. Median.
7. Arabian.
8. Lycian.
9. Phrygian.
10. Greek.
11. German.
12. Celtic.
13. Etruscan.
14. Latin.
15. Cantabrian.
16. Sclavic.

III. TATARIC.
i. *Sporadic.*
17. Tshudish.
18. Hungarian.
19. Albanian.
ii. *Caucasian.*
20. Armenian.
21. Georgian.
22. Abassan.
23. Circassian.
24. Ossetish.
25. Kistic.
26. Lesgian.
iii. *Tartarian.*
27. Turcotartarian.
28. Manshuric.
29. Tungusic.
iv. *Siberian.*
30. Permian.
31. Wogulic.
32. Ostiak.
33. Tsheremissic.
34. Morduin.
35. Teptjerai.
36. Samoiedic.
37. Camashic.
38. Jeniseiostiak.
39. Jukadshiric.
40. Koriak.
41. Kamtshatkan.
v. *Insular.*
42. Kurilee.
43. Eastern Islands.
44. Japanese.
45. Leu Cheu.
46. Formosan.
47. Philippine.
48. New Holland, E.
49. Van Diemen's.
50. New Caledonian.
51. New Zealand.
52. Easter Island.

IV. AFRICAN.

V. AMERICAN.

FAMILIES, Species, or Distinct Languages, and *Varieties* or *Dialects*, with Specimens.

I. MONOSYLLABIC CLASS.

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
1. CHINESE.	Tien, Li - - - -	Ti, To
Fo Kien -	Tshio - - - -	Tshiö
Tonquinese -	Thien, Bloi - - -	Dat, Diä
Laos -	(*Man*, Phu chai)	
2. SIAMESE.	Sa wang - - - -	Din
	(*Man*, Pho chai; *Hund*, Mu)	

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
3. AVANESE. -	Mo kaun, Nip ban - -	Lu pu, Mié
Peguan -	Mo kaun - - - -	La pri? Tre
Rukheng -	(*Man*, Lu; *Hand*, Lak)	
4. TIBETAN -	Nam khei - - - -	Dshik ten, Sa

II. INDOEUROPEAN CLASS.

5. SANSKRIT -	Paramandale, Vana, Aagaska, Svarga, Veigunda, Arthaloga, Nibu (*Man*, Purusha)	Bumi, Stira
Prakrit -	Saggó (*Man*, Pariso)	
Bali -	Saggó (*Man*, Burutsa)	
Devanagri -	Ardwa, Arthaloga - -	Buma
Nepal		
Assam		
Tiperah		
Kassai		
Bengalee -	Shorgue, Behesht - -	Porthibit Morto
Hindee		
Urdu		
Brijbassa		
Jypura		
Hindustanee		
Moors -	Asmaan, Mukuti - - -	Sjimien, Dshiamin, Dunia
Udaipura		
Benares -	Ashaman - - - -	Terti
Munipura		
Goandee		
Orissa		
Telug -	Paramandal - - -	Bumi, Bumilo
Telinga -	(*King*, Raja) - - -	Naela
Carnatic		
Marwa		
Tamul -	Wana, Mana, Paramandal -	Pumii, Nawarg
Maleiam -	Wana (*Bread*, Appam)	
Malabar -	Asmanu, Agasha - - -	Bhumi, Samina
Kanara -	Weikuntha, Agasha - -	Pumandala, Puma
Decan -	Sorgi - - - -	Pirtumir Soumssar Zimmin

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Kunkuna		
Mahratta -	Weikuntham, Suargi, Agasha	Pumandi, Saumsar, Puma
Guzurat -	Paramanda - - - -	Bumi
Beloshee		
(Afghan)		
Bikanira		
Sindh		
Multan -	Oshman - - - -	Dzhemi
Gipsey -	Amengi, Tsheros - - -	Pu, Phu, Pube
Wuch		
Sikh		
Cashmir		
Kuch -	(1. Katka; 3. Tuhmka; *Man*, Mipa; *Father*, P'ha)	
Maldivian -	Ouddou, Uda - - -	Bin
Cingalese -	Swärga, Ahaza - - -	Bumidshe, Bumi
Malayan -	Surga - - - -	Bumi, Dunga, Tana
Sumatran		
Batta -	(*Day*, Torangharik) - -	Tana
Rejang -	(*Day*, Bileytueng) - -	Pihta
Lampuhn -	(*Day*, Rannih) - -	Tanno
Achim -	(*Day*, Urai) - - -	Tano
Néas		
Poggy		
Javanese -	Surga, Dilangin - - -	Lemmá, Darat
Borneo -	(*Night*, Malang)	
Andaman -	Madamo, (*Head*, Tabai) -	Totongnandshi
6. MEDIAN		
Zendish -	Tshekhre, Sakhter, Esmené, Sperezé	Za, Zao, Zemo, Zemeno
Pehlvish -	Tsherk, Shmeha, Seper -	Zivanand, Arta, Damik, Leka, Bamih
Persian -	Asmon - - - -	Semin, Zemin, Chaki, Chark, Bum
(*Bucharian*)		
Kurdish -	Asman, Bauta - - -	Ard, Sigit, Chaak, Choli

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Afghan - -	Asmo, Asman - - -	Smak, Sm'ige, Zmu ku
7. ARABIAN		
Syriac - -	Shemaio - - - -	Aro, Areto
Assyrian -	Simmi - - - -	Dinii
Phenician		
Punic		
Hebrew -	Shamaiim - - - -	Arez
Chaldee -	Shemaia - - - -	Ara, Arga
Samaritan -	Sumiä - - - -	Aroä
Arabic - -	Semavati - - - -	Ardi
Modern Arabic	Ssamvat, Shema, Telek -	Arz, Ardh, Auf, Turap, Aalem
Maroccan -	Smavat - - - -	Ord
Ethiopic		
Geez - -	Samaiat - - - -	Mydrni
Tigri -	- - - - -	Midre
Amharic -	Samai, Sämäie - - -	Mydrm, Medre, Medere
Hauasa -	Szemmey - - - -	Middrih
Maltese - -	Sema, Smeviet, Smezijet -	Art
8. LYCIAN -	(*Son*, Tidaimi; *And*, Atbi)	
9. PHRYGIAN -	(*Bread*, Bek; *Water*, Bedü)	
10. GREEK -	Ouranos - - - -	Ge
Romaic -	Ouranos - - - -	Ge
11. GERMANIC, 360	Himina, Himins - - -	Airtha
Alemannish, 720	Himil - - - -	Erdu
Classical German	Himmel - - - -	Erde
Transylvanian German	Hemmel - - - -	Jerde
Jewish German	Himal - - - - -	Hardi
Low Saxon -	Himmel, Hemel - - -	Eere, Erde
Friesiandish -	Hiemmel - - - -	Jerde, Yrtrik
North Friesl.	Hemmel - - - -	Eerde, Wroll
Dutch - -	Hemel - - - -	Aerde, Eertryke, 1270
Danish - -	Himmel - - - -	Jord

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Norwegian -	Himmel - - - -	Jord, Jera
Orkney -	Chimrie - - - -	Yurn
Icelandic -	Himne - - - -	Jord
Swedish -	Himil, Himirik - - -	Jord, Jordriki
Dalecarlian	Himblum - - - -	Jord
Gothlandish	Hymblum - - - -	Tord
Danish Saxon,880	Heofena - - - -	Eortha
English, 1160	Heaven - - - -	Eorth, Yearth
12. CELTIC		
Irish - -	Neamh, Nau - - -	Italamh, Thallamh, Talu
Gaelic -	Neamh - - - -	Talamh, Dtalmhuin
Manks -	Niau - - - - -	Tallu
Walden -	Neambh - - - -	Talmhin
Cimbric		
Welsh -	Nefoedd, Nef - - -	Ddaear
Cornish -	Neau, Nev - - -	Nore
Brittanish -	Eon, Euff - - - -	Duar, Dovar
13. ETRUSCAN -	(*Bread*, Puni, Urtu)	
14. LATIN - -	Cœlum - - - -	Terra, Tellus
Italian - -	Cielo - - - -	Terra
Piedmontese	Siel - - - -	Terra
Waldensic P.	Cel - - - - -	Terra
Genoese -	Ze' - - - - -	Terra
Onsernone -	Ciel - - - - -	Terra
Venetian -	Zielo - - - - -	Terra
Friulian -	Cil, Ciil - - - -	Tiarra
Valais -	Cel - - - - -	Terraz
Bolognese -	Cil - - - - -	Terra
Sicilian -	Celu - - - - -	Terra
Sardinian -	Cel, Chelo, Quelu - -	Terra
Spanish		
Castilian -	Cielo - - - -	Tierra
Catalonian -	Cel - - - - -	Terra
Gallician -	Ceo - - - - -	Terra
Portuguese -	Ceo - - - - -	Terra
Romanish -	Ciel, Tshiel - - -	Terra
Provençal -	Cel - - - - -	Terra

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
French - -	Ciel - - - - -	Terre
Bearnish -	Cèou - - - - -	Terrŏ
Rovergne -	Cel - - - - -	Terro
Flanders -	Ciel - - - - -	Terre
Walloon -	Cir - - - - -	Ter
Wallachian		
Dacian -	Tsheri, Czelurg - - -	Pämentiv
Cutzowallach.	Cerio - - - -	Pimchita
15. CANTABRIAN	Sseru - - - -	Lurre
16. SCLAVIC		
Sclavonian		
Russian Church	Nebesi - - - -	Semli
Common Russ.	Nebŏ - - - -	Semlä
Malorussian	Nebo - - - -	Zemlä
Susdalian -	Nebo - - - -	Zemlä
Servian		
Uskok -	Nebesse - - - -	Semli
Ragusan -	Nebbu - - - -	Semgli
Transylvanian Scl.	Nibe (*Bread*, Liab)	
Croatian -	Nebi, Nebiesi - - -	Semlji
South Wendish	Nebi - - - -	Semli, Krai
Hungarowendish	Nebi - - - - -	Semi
Polish -	Niebie - - - -	Siemie
Kashubish -	Nebo - - - -	Ziemie
Bohemian -	Nebi, Wnebi - - -	Semi
Serbian, Upper Lusatia	Niebiu - - - -	Semi
Serbian, Lower Lusatia	Nebu - - - -	Sẹmi
Polabish, 1691	Nibis, Nebui - - -	Ssime
Lithuanian -		
Old Prussian	Delbes, Dangon - -	Semie, Worsinny
Prussolithuanian	Deḅsissa, Danguje - -	Zemes, Sjemes
Polonolithuanian	Danguose - - -	Ziame, Ziames

——	Heavèn, Sky.	Earth.
Crivingian -	Dangus - - - -	Zemme
Lettish Proper	Debbes - - - -	Semmes, Zemmo

III. TATARIC CLASS.

i. Sporadic Order.

17. Tshudish		
Finnish -	Taiwas - - - -	Maa
Olonetzish -	Taiwag - - - -	Ma
Carelish -	Taiwag, Taivazh - - -	Mua, Müa
Esthonian -	Taewas - - - -	Ma
Livonian -	Tauwis - - - -	Maal
Laplandish -	Almen, Almism, Tsiätse -	Aednemen
18. Hungarian	Menny, Meneg - - -	Föld, Fjeld, Mezon
19. Albanian -	Kiel, Kielt - - - -	Zee, Sje, Be
Calabroalban.	Chielue - - - -	De
Siculoalban.	Chiex - - - -	Dee

ii. Caucasian Order.

20. Armenian -	Hierkins, Girkin, Ergink -	Hierkri, Gerkrü, Erkir, Tap, Huoch
21. Georgian -	Tza, Zata - - - -	Sze, Miza, Kwekara
Imirettish -	Tshash - - - -	Dikha
Mingrelish -	(*Bread*, Tshkomi) - -	Dicha
Suanetish -	Tsah - - - - -	Gim
Tushetic -	(*Bread*, Mak) - - -	Jobste
22. Abassan -	Agughan, Ashnan - -	Astula, Tshüllah
Kush Hasib	(*Bread*, Tshakua, Makua) -	Tula
Alti Kesek -	(*Bread*, Mikel) - -	Tzula
23. Circassian -	Wuafa - - - -	Tshi, Jaethae
Cabardinish -	Phemeh, (*Bread*, Tshach)	
24. Ossetish -	Arv, Arwi - - - -	Tshigit, Segh, Stil
Dugorish -	Arf - - - - -	Gukh
25. Kistic -	Sigelich, Stuigley - -	Latc, Mezha, Ghumm
26. Lesgian		
Chunsag -	Zo, Zob - - - -	Ratl
Avaric -	Zuv - - - - -	Bak

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Dido - -	Zub, Zuv - - - -	Tshedo
Kasi Kumük -	Sur - - - - -	Kérki
Andi - -	Teshin - - - -	Misa, Bisa, Tshur
Akushan -	(*Bread*, Katz, Zulhe) -	Mussa, Musseka
Kubeshan -	Zub - - - - -	Muza
Kalalatish -	Reshin - - - -	Unshi

iii. TARTARIAN ORDER.

27. TURCOTARTARIAN		
Caspian		
Turkish -	Gug, Kiokler, Chiojler -	Jer, Gyr, Kher, Ber
Bucharian -	Telek, Asman, Kukliar -	Zamin, Chak, Jusjurd
Crimean -	Gug, Ghiogh, Chok, Kok -	Gier
Nogaic -	Kuk, Heda - - -	Er, Toprak
Cumanish -	Kuk, Kek, Kik - - -	Jer
Kasanish -	Kuk, Tengeri, Samoh - -	Ger, Ars
Mestsheretskic	Kuk - - - - -	Jer
Bashkiric -	Kuk, Ava - - -	Jer, Dzhir
Tobolskic -	Auva, Asman - - -	Irjo, Gir, Jir
Kirgishic -	Kiuk, Asman - - -	Dzher
Tarary -	Auva, Asman - - -	Jir
Tomskic -	Kok, Asman - - -	Jer
Turetish -	Gkiok, Giọch - - -	Toprak
Tshulimic -	Tengri - - - -	Jer
Jeniseic -	Tengeri - - - -	Tobrak, Dzhir
Kuznetic -	Tengeri - - - -	Jer, Tsher, Toprak
Barabish -	Asman, Hava - - -	Der
Usbek, Chivinic	Asman - - - -	Jer, Toprak
Teleutic -	Tegir, Tengeri - - -	Cir, Jer, Toprak
Jakutic -	Tagara, Chaltan - - -	Sirr, Jeme, Bor
Tshuwashic -	Pullu, Pilt, Sundalük - -	Sir, Ser
Mongol - -	Tingri - - - -	Dere, Gadzar, Shiroi
Burattish -	Tingeri - - - -	Gazar
Calmuck -	Octorgoi - - - -	Gasar, Ertjajaze

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Tagurian -	Tengri - - - -	Kaaziar
28. MANTSHURIC	Abka, Appia - - -	Na
Sagalien -	Hurara (*Day*, Jangsey) -	Ki?
Corean -	Hanel, Tshen - - -	
29. TUNGUSIC -	Negdau, Nian, Dshiulbka -	Endra, Dunda, Tor
Nertshinic -	Tingeri, Nengne, Nai - -	Turu
Jeniseic T. -	Nengne - - - -	Dunda
Mangazeic T.	Nangna - - - -	Tukala
Barguzinskic	Nengna - - - -	Dunne
Angarian -	Nengne - - - -	Tukalagda
Jakutic T. -	Nengne, Nenone - - -	Dundra
Ochotskic -	Nän - - - - -	Tor
Lamutic -	Nana - - - - -	Tuor
Tshapogiric -	Negie - - - -	Dunda

iv. SIBERIAN ORDER.

30. PERMIAN -	Olanün, Kümar - - -	Ma, Mu
Sirjänish -	Jen esh, Nebus - - -	Mu
Wotiak -	Wülün, Küldenjumar, In, Immun, Tslim küd	Musüm, Sioi
31. WOGULIC -	Eterdarum - - -	Maanku
Tshussovic -	Tarom, Nair - - -	Ma
Verchoturic -	Numma - - - -	Ma
Tsherdymic -	Tul - - - - -	Ma
Berezovan W.	Soum - - - -	Mag
32. OSTIAK -	Nopkon - - - -	Jogodt
Berezovan O. -	Nomen, Numtorem, Saika -	Müg, Mü
Narymic -	Nusunde - - - -	Müg
Joganic - -	Ninnäk - - - - -	Müch
Lumpokolic O.	Num torom - - -	Müch
Vashuganskan	Torom, Jom - - -	Tagai
Tazian - -	Lom - - - - -	Tshvotsh
33. TSHEREMISSIC	Kiusiuluste, Küshna juma, Pil, Pil pundash Joma, Tünja	Ijulmin, Melentesta, Rok, Mlande, Mulens, Zäntiulek
34. MORDUIN -	Mänel, Werepass, Mänen -	Mastor, Moda
Moktanic -	Shkai - - - - -	Mastör, Moda

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
35. TEPTJERAI		
36. SAMOJEDIC		
Archangel -	Numilembarti - - -	Jae
Pustozerskan -	Nunära - - - -	Ja
Oby - -	Num, Nomün - - -	Joä, Ma, Mogh
Juratshic -	Nub - - - - -	Ja
Mangazeic S. -	Podassie - - - -	Dä
Tawgish - -	Nuonto, Nuon, Ngoa, Noä -	Mamoru
Turucanish -	Na, Teiga - - - -	Ja, Baddu
Tomskic S. -	Nom fünde, Lom - - -	Tuetsh
Narymic S. -	Tit - - - - -	Tuetsh
Ketish - -	Tita - - - - -	Tuetsh
Timskic -	Tit - - - - -	Tütsh
Caragassic -	Tit, Tere - - - -	Tütsh, Dsha
7. CAMASHIC -	Num, Ti urach - - -	Dsha, Dzhu
Taigish - -	Numuidi - - - -	Dzha
Koibalic - -	Num - - - - -	Dshu, Dzhu
Motoric -	Orgochairachan, Num - -	Dsha, Dzha
38. JENISEIOSTIAK		
Arinic - -	Oes - - - - -	Peng
Kotovic -	Eish, Eish pa rang - -	Pang
Assanic -	Oesh - - - - -	Pang
Inbatshic -	Es - - - - -	Bang, Bach
Lumpokolic J.	Etsh - - - - -	Bing
39. JUKADSHIRIC	Dsjunga, Zjugo, Kundshu -	Leviangh, Lewjie
40. KORIAC -	Kh'igan, Cherwol, Chaän, Eiäan, Jan	Nutolüt, Nutelchan
Kolymic -	Chaïn - - - -	
Tigilic K. -	Küsha - - - -	Nutelchan
Karaginic -	Shilchen - - - -	Niutiniut
Tshutshic -	Keh'quin, Chervol, Chiternik, Killak, Ging, Keilak	Nultenut, Nunä
(Greenland and Eskimaux)	- - - - -	Nuna
41. KAMTSHATKAN	Kochan, Hai - - -	Simmt, Nutä
Tigilic K. -	Keis	
Srednish -	Kochal, Kollaa	Semtüshimta
Jozhnyshic -	Kogal - - - -	Sümmit

	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
	v. Insular Order.	
42. Curilee	Niss	Kotan
43. Eastern Islands	Inkak	Tshekak
44. Japanese	Ten	Tsatsmo, Cino, Ci, Tji, Dsi
45. Leu Cheu	Diänni	Zudshi
46. Formosan	Vullum, Tounnoun	Nay, Nai
47. Philippine		
Moluccan	Languin, Surga	Buchit, Dunga
Magindanao	Lăngit	Lopä
Tagalish	Langit	Lupa, Tana
Bissayish	Langit	Yuta
Sulu		
Bugis	(*Day*, Aso; *Sun*, Mataso)	Tana
Mungharar	(*Day*, Alo; *Sun*, Matalo)	Bûtta
Pelew	Yängley (*Day*, Kokuhk; *Bad*, Mogull)	
Mariana	Languit	Tano
Friendly Islands	Elandshi (*Food*, Maa)	Tuguta
Coco Islands	(*Food*, Maa)	Kille
Savu	Liruh	Vorai, Rai
Pampang		Labuad
New Guinea	Bar	Taar. Behoul
New Britain		Nabagr?
Bima	(*Sun*, Mataliro)	Dana
Sumbawa	(*Sun*, Matahari)	Bûmi
48. New Holland, E.	Kere	Poapoa, Popo
49. Van Diemen's Land	(*Father*, Bina)	
50. New Caledonian	Ndaoè	Guiahse. Do.
51. New Zealand	(*Bread*, Eei; *Bad*, Kino)	Uenua
Otaheite	Erai (*Food*, Maa; *Bad*, Ino)	Hwennua
Marquesas	Tahua, Hani	Hwenua
Sandwich Islands	Harani (*Bad*, Ino)	Motu
52. Easter Island	(*Father*, Mama)	Soupe, Henua

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
	IV. AFRICAN CLASS.	
EGYPTIAN		
Coptic, Memphitic	Phe - - - - - -	Kahi
Sahidic, Thebaic	Pĕ - - - - - -	Kahe, Kah
Bashmuric		
Oasitic -	Pē - - - - - -	Kĕhi
BARABRISH -	Szemma - - - -	Iskitta
KENSY, Burckhardt	Semeyg (*Day*, Ougresk) -	Aryd
NOUBA, B. -	Semia (*Day*, Aly) - -	Gourka
BISHAREEN, B. -	Otryk (*Day*, Toÿ)	
Adareb, Salt	(*Day*, Ombe) - - -	Tobût
ARGUBBA - -	(*Father*, Anathien; *Head*, Dimmaha)	
MASSOWAH -	(2, Killot; 3, Szälis)	
ARKEEKO, Salt -	Astur (*Sky*), (*Day*, Ummet) (2, Kille; 3, Selass)	Midur
SUAKIN - -	Tebre - - - - -	Wuhash
SHIHO, Salt -	Aroan - - - - -	Baru
TAKUE, Salt -	(*Man*, Grua; *Water*, Ane)	
BAREA, Salt -	(*Man*, Ookooi; *Water*, Umba)	
MUTSHUANA, Salt	(☉, Let chachi, Lehachi; ☽, Werri) See *Beetjuana*	
BRIQUA, Salt -	(1. Oonchela, 3. Taroo, Miraroo	
SHANGALLA, Salt		
Darmitchequa	Goza, *Sky* (☉, Wokah; ☽, Beja)	Enniah
Tacazze -	Quegah, *Sky* (☉, Wah; ☽, Terah)	Hugga
MAKOOA, Salt -	(☉, E-zoo-ah; ☽, Mare) -	E-la-poo
MONJOU, Salt -	(☉, D"yoova; ☽, Mooeize) [" a catch or click]	Mooze
SOWAULI, Salt	(1. Chemo-je; 3. Ma-da-too)	
SOMAULI, Salt -	(☉, Ghur-rah; ☽, Tai-ya; 1. K'ow; 3. Sud-de)	
HURRUR, Salt -	Semme (☉, Eer; ☽, Werke; 1. Ahad)	Di-che

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
GALLA - -	Ivaq (☉, Ad-da; ☽, Dje-à, Ba-te, S.)	Laf-fa, S.
ADAIEL, Salt -	(☉, Airo; ☽, Alsa) - -	Ba-ro
DANAKIL, Salt -	Am-boo-re, *Sky* - - -	Arde, Barroo
DUNGOLISH -	Szemma (☉, Ayero; ☽, Al-sa, Berra)	Arikha
BORNOU, Burckhardt	Perg - - - - -	Tsedy
BORGO, Burckhardt	Sema (*Day*, Dealka) - -	Berr
DARFUR - -	Szemma (☉, Dule; ☽, Doal, *Salt*)	Suru, Szura
(AMHARIC) Salt-	(☉, Tsai; ☽, Tckerka) -	Mider
(TIGRE) Salt -	(☉, Tsai; ☽, Werke) -	Midre
AGOW, Salt -	(☉, Quo-rah; ☽, Er-wah)	Ziv-va
Tsheraz A. -	(*King*, Negumani; *Song*, Mossägan)	
Damot A. -	(*King*, Negus; *Song*, Mazenä)	
Gafat - -	(*King*, Negus; *Song*, Aedje)	
Falasha - -	(☉, Kuara; *Song*, Baze)	
SOUDAN - -	(1. Deja; 3. Oku)	
BEGIRMA - -	(1. Kidde; 3. Metta)	
FULAH - - -	Hyalla - - - -	Lehidy
PHELLATA -	Szemma - - - -	Lissedi
YALOFS - -	Assaman - - - -	Soufle
BERBER - -	Ginna, Tigot, Igna (☉, Tafogt)	Doonit, Akal
Canary - -	Titogan, Ataman, (*King*, Monsey)	
Tibbo - -	(1. Trono; 3, Aguesso)	
Shilluh - -	(☉, Atfuet) - -	Berr
Sivah - -	(☉, Itfuet)	
SERERES - -	Rogue - - - -	Lanceh
SERRAWALLIS -	(1. Bani; 3. Sicco)	
MANDINGO -	Santo - - - -	Banko, Binku
YALLONKA -	Maigetangala (1. Kidding)	
SOKKO - -	Bandee (1. Külle)	
FELUPS - -	(1. Enory; 3. Sisajee)	
TIMMANEY, Winterb.	(1. Pin; 3. Pisaas)	
BULLAM - -	Foy (1. Bul, Nimbul; 3. Rah, Ninraa, Wint.)	Upock, Leh

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Susu - -	Araiani - - - - -	Bohhe
Fetu - -	Araiani - - - - -	Arádde
Kanga - -	Nesua (1. Aniandu).	
Mangree - -	Tata (*Head*, Tri)	
Gien - -	Lam (1. Do)	
Quoja - -	(*King*, Dondag; *Head*, Hunde)	
Fante - -	Niame - - - - -	Assasse
Akripon - -	Aduankam (1. Ehoo)	
Amina - -	Jankombum (1. Akkun)	
Akkim - -	Jahinne (*Head*, Metih)	
Akra - -	Ngoi, Jankombum ? Sipong	
Tambi - -	Giom (*Father*, Tshiàh; *Head*, Ii)	
Whydah - -	(1. De; 3. Otton)	
Papua - -	Jiwel (1. Depoo)	
Watje - -	(1. De; 3. Etong)	
Calbra - -	(1. Barre; 3. Terre)	
Camacons -	(1. Mo; 3. Melella)	
C. Lobo Gonsalvas	(*King*, Sauepongo; *Bad*, Mondello)	
Loango - -	Iru (1. Boosse; 3. Tattu)	
Congo - -	Sullo - - - - -	Toto
Angola - -	Maulu, Beulu - - -	Boxi, Toto ?
Mandongo -	Sambiampungo (1. Omma; 3. Metatu)	
Camba - -	Julo (1. Moşki)	
Angola - -	Monte - - - - -	Aamano
Hervas		
Karabari -	Elukwee (1. Otuh)	
Ibo - -	Tshukko, Ellu (1. Otuh)	
Mokko - -	Ibanju (1. Kìa)	
Wawu - -	Barriadad (1. Baba)	
Tembu - -	So (1. Kuddum)	
Krepeer -	(*Bread*, Apohae; *Head*, Ota)	
Assianthes -	(*Bread*, Abodo; *Head*, Otri)	
Kassenti - - (Bornu) ?	Ktak (1. Obaa)	

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
AFFADEH - -	Dilko - - - - - -	Ftüng
MOBBA - -	Szemma - - - - -	Barr
SHILLUH - - (DARFUR)	(1. Warre; 3. Koddus)	
DARRUNGA - (GALLAS)	(1. Kadenda; 3. Attih)	
SHAGGAI - -	(*Soldier*, Gonso)	
MADAGASCAR -	Danghitsi, Langhitsi, Lainch, Atemco	Tane, Tanne, Zanne
LAGOA BAY -	(1. Chingea; 3. Trirarou)	
KOOSSA - -	Isuhlu - - - - -	Umtsllaha
BEETJUANAS -	Maaro - - - - -	Lehaatsi
Mutshuana -	(1. Oonchela; 3. Taroo, Miraroo)	Lebochi
SOUTH CAFFRES	(1. Enje; 3. Atatu, Zintate)	
HOTTENTOTS -	Inga? - - - - -	Ki, Kōo, Qu'au, Gamkamma
Coranas	(1. T'''köey) - - -	T''kehaub
Saldanha Bay	Homma - - - -	Hü
Bosjemans -	T''gachuch - - - -	T''kanguh

(The Hottentots have three particular clicking sounds, made by withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the fore part, and the back part of the palate: they are respectively denoted by T', T'', and T'''; the two first appear to resemble the sounds sometimes used to express a trifling vexation, and to make a horse go on, or to call to poultry.)

V. AMERICAN CLASS.

i. SOUTH AMERICAN.

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
A. Southern Extremity 1. Terra del Fuego 2. Patagonia, Chili	(A *Penguin*, Compoggre)	

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Moluchan. Araukan	Huenu, (⊙, Antu; *Hill*, Calul)	Tue mapu
Tehuelhet -	(*Hill*, Calille)	
• Puelche -	(*Hill*, Casu)	
B. E. from R. Plata to Marañon		
3. Charrua		
4. Yaro		
5. Bohane		
6. Chana		
7. Minuane		
8. Guenoa		
9. Karigua		
10. Guarany -	Ibag, (⊙, Cuarazi) - -	Ibi
South		
West		
North. Tupi, Brasil	Ibaca - - - -	Ibi
C. E. of Paraguay		
11. Brasilian dialects		
Common -	(⊙, Arassu; 1. Gipi; 3. Busapu; 4. Busapu munan gipi; 6. Busapu sapu, Arndt.)	
Kiriri - -	Arakie - - - -	Bu
Curumare -	(*God*, Aunim) - - -	Rada
Forty-nine others unknown.		
D. W. of Paraguay		
12. Aquiteguedichaga		
13. Guato		
14. Ninaquiguila		
15. Guana		
16. Mbaya, Guaikur	Titipi guime - - -	Jego
17. Payagua		

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
18. Lenguas		
19. Enimaga		
20. Gulentuse		
21. Yacurure		
22. Machikuy		
23. Mataguaya		
24. Malhalae		
25. Pitilaga		
26. Toba -	Piguem - - - -	Alua
27. Abipon -	Ipigem - - - -	Aaloa, Aaloba
28. Mocoby -	Ipiguem - - - -	Aloba
29. Aguilot		
30. Chumipy		
31. Vilela -	Laue - - - - -	Basle
32. Lule - -	Zo (*God*, Ano) - - -	Ama, A.
E. Coast of Peru.		
33. Quichua -	Hanacpacha; Hanac? (⊙ Inti)	Caypacha, Cay? Allpa
34. Aymara -	Alapacha, Alai - - -	Acaphan, Aca? Urakke
35. Puquina -	Hanigo - - - -	Cohua
36. Yunka Mochika	Anguic - - - -	Capuc
F. East of Peru.		
37. Samuca -	Guiate - - - -	Numitie, Nup
38. Chiquitos -	Ape - - - - -	Aaqui, Quiis
39. Moxos -	Anamocu - - - -	Kieïe, Motehi
40. Mobimi -	Benrra - - - -	Yanlo, Llacamba
41. Cayubabi -	Idah - - - - -	Idatu
42. Itonami -	Numane? - - - -	Nicosnone?
43. Sapiboconi -	Euocuepana - - -	Mechi
44. Heresibocana		
45. Canesiana		
46. Pana		
47. Rema		
48. Pira		
G. East of Quito, on the Marañon.		

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
49. Aquanos, Xeberos		
50. Mainas -	Inapa - - - -	Isse
51. Yameos -	Arresiuma - - - -	Popo
52. Omagua, Yurumagua	Ehuatemai - - - -	Tuyuca
53. Yahua; 100 more		
H. From R. Negro to Oronoco.		
54. Maipuri -	Eno - - - - -	Peni
55. Salivi -	Mume - - - -	Ada? Seke?
56. Guaivi, Ciricoa		
58. Achagua -		
I. About Casanare		
58. Yarura -	Ande - - - -	Dabu
59. Betoi -	Ubu, Tentucu - - -	Umena? Ajao? Dafibu
60. Situfa, Girari		
61. Ottomak -	Caga - - - - -	Poga
62. Guama, Guaneri		
K. Norah Coast	Cap	
63. Tamanac -	- - - - -	Nono
64. Arawac -	Aijumün, Kassakku - -	Wunabu
65. Carib		
Yaoi - -	Oubecou - - - -	Monha
Islands - -	Capou - - - -	Soye
L. Mountains in the N.W.	(*Men*, Nonum; *Women*, Monha)	
66. Muysca --	(⊙ Sua; Man, Muysca)	
67. Kiminzac		
68. Popaya		
69. Darien -	(⊙ Nie; Cupego: 3, Pauquah)	

ii. MIDDLE AMERICAN.

A. Islands	
1. St. Domingo	(*Field*, Conuco; *Meadow*, Savana; *House*, Boa; *Bread*, Casabi)

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
B. Darien to Guatimala		
2. Kiche, Utlateca		
3. Poconchic -	Taxah (⊙, Quih; *Head*, Na; *Hand*, Cam; *Bad*, Tsêri)	Acal, Vleu
4. Yucatan, Maya, Caanné	(⊙, Kin; *Hand*, Cab) - -	Luam
C. Table Land of Mexico		
5. Mixtecan -	Andihui, Andi - - - -	N̄uun̄aihui, N̄un̄ai
6. Totonacan -	Tiayan, Acapon, Acapaian (1, Tom; 3, Toto)	Nitiet?
7. Mexican, Aztekan	Ilhuicatl (⊙, Tonatiuh; 1, Ce; 3, Yei)	Tlalli
8. Huastecan -	Tiaeb (⊙, Aquicha; *Head*, Nâ)	Tzabal
9. Othomi - -	Mahêtzi - - - - -	Chimohòi, Hoy
10. Mechoacan		
11. Pirindan -	Pininte	
12. Tarascan -	Avandaro (1, Ma; 3, Tanimo)	
D. California to Rio del Norte		
13. Coran -	Tahapoa - - - - -	Chuèhtl
14. Tepehuana, Topia		
15. Tubar -	Tegmecarichui - - -	Nuniguatae
16. Tarahumaran	Guami? (*Bad*, Tseti; *Dog*, Cocotshi)	Guè
17. Zuaquan, Yaqui	Tevecapo - - - - -	Buyapo
18. Pima -	Titauacatum? (*I*, Ani; 1, Mato; 3, Waik)	Inatuburch?
19. Eudeve -	Tevictze? - - - -	Yuhtepatz;
20. Opata -	Tequiaca? - - - -	Terepa?
	iii. North American.	
A. N.W. of New Mexico		

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
1. Jetan, Apache		
2. Keres, Moqui		
B. About California		
3. Pericu		
4. Waicuric -	Tekericadatemba (⊙, Ibo, Ibunga, ☽, Gomma, Ganelima)	Datemba
5. Cochimi, Laymon	Ambayujui, Ambeing - -	Keammetè, Amet, Ametetenang
C. N. of California		
6. St. Barbara	(*Head*, Nucchù; 1. Pacà; 3, Mapja)	
7. Eslene -	Imita (⊙, Tomanis ashi; 1, Pek; 3. Julep)	
8. Runsien -	Terray (⊙, Orpetuei istmen; 1. Enjala; 3. Kappes)	
9. Achastlien -	(1. Moukola; 3. Capes)	
10. Ecclemach -	(1. Pak; 3. Ullef)	
D. About Nootka		
11. Nootka Sound	Nas, Inaihl nas (⊙, Opulsthl; 1. Tsawak; 3. Catsa)	
12. Atnah -	(*Water*, Shaweliquoih; *Head*, Scapacay)	
13. Friendly Village	(*Water*, Ulkan; *Fire*, Neach)	
14. Queen Charlotte's Isl.	(*Fire*, Tesh; 1. Sounchou; 3. Slöönis)	
15. Colushan -	Ki, Keu, Kiiwa, Kitani, Kügon, Chaaz (*Stone*, Te; Mex. Tetl)	Tljaknak, Tlatka, Tlekw, Tka, Shü, Tlinkitaannü
16. Ugaljachmuzi	Koas (*Throat*, Katkatl; Mex. Cocotl. "*Boil*, Coatk; Mex. Coxitia")	
17. Tshinkitany	(⊙, Krane; 1. Clerg, Kaike; 3. Notshk, Netx)	
18. Kinaizi -	Jujan, Juon, Jugan	An, Altnen, Alslen
E. W. of Mississippi		
19. Blackfooted Indian	(1. Tokes-cum; 3. Nohokes-cum)	

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
Blood Indian, Pegan		
20. Tall Indian	(1. Karci; 3. Narce; 4. Nean)	
21. Sussee -	(1. Ut-te-gar; 3. Taukey; 4. Tobo)	
22. Snake Island		
23. Nadowessian	Uohta tibi (⊙, Paetâ; ☽, Oweeh)	
Assinopoetuc Sioux.	(*Dog*, Shong; 4. Tope)	
24. Saki, Ottogami Menomene		
25. Osage -	(*Wind*, Tattasuggy; [*Brothers*, Tinaitauna?])	
Winnibeg, Maha Missouri, Oto Arkansa, Kanze		
26. Pani		
27. Caddo, Natshitotshe		
28. Adaize, Attahapa		
F. W. of Mississippi to Ohio		
29. Floridan, Apalache	(*Agreeable*, Hitanachi; *Priests*, Jaoiia)	
30. Timuacan -	(*My*, Na; *Elder Brother*, Nilha; 1. Minecotamano; 3. Nahapumima)	
31. Natshes -	(⊙, Oua chill)	
32. Muskohge, Creek	(⊙, Hashseh, Husà; 1. Hommai; 3. Tootshēna)	Ecaunnauh
33. Chikkasaw, Choktaw	(⊙, Hashe, Hasce; 1. Chephpha; 3. Tootshēna)	Yahkanè

——	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
34. Cherokee -	(☉, Eusse, Anantoge calesta; *Fire*, Cheela; 1. Soquo)	
35. Woccon -	(☉, ☽, Witapare; *Water*, Eau; 1. Tonne; 3. Nammee)	
36. Katahba -	(☉, ☽, Nooteèh; *Water*, Ejau)	
37. Six Nations	Karongiage, Caurounkyawga, Kaaronhiate, Toendi	Oo-hon-cha, Owhoncheat, Ahunga, Ohunjea, Uchwuntskia, Ondeehra
Mohawk - *Seneka*	(*Fire*, Ocheeleh)	
Onondago - *Oneida* *Cayuga*	(*Dog*, Chierha)	
Tuscarora -	(☽, Hatshe-nyahah; *Water*, Auweau; *Dog*, Cheeth)	
G. W. of Hudson's Bay, & S.W.		
38. Chippeway of Del.	(*Tooth*, Tibbit, Wibit; 3. Taghee; 4. Neon, Nea)	
39. Delaware	(*Tooth*, Weepeet)	
40. Algonkin Mohegan	(*Tooth*, Tibit; 4, Neou)	
41. Shawanno - *Pampticough*	Spimiki (*Tooth*, Nepittalleh) -	Assiskie
42. Miami, Illinois	Kechekoué (☉, Akihkeoué ☽, Kilswoa; *Tooth*, Neepeetah)	
43. Kickkapoo -	(☉, ☽, Kishessu)	
44. Piankashaw		
45. Pottawatameh	(*Tooth*, Webit)	
46. Delaware	Acoosagame (*Tooth* Weepeet)	Achquidhackamicke Agi, Hogkey
47. Minsi -	(*Tooth*, Wichpit)	
48. Sankikani -	(*Tooth*, Wypyt)	

—	Heaven, Sky.	Earth.
49. New Sweden	"Hocque" (*Flesh*, Jos)	
50. Narraganset	Keesuck (3. Nish) - -	Aucke, Hocque
Natik	Kesuk (3. Nishnoh) - -	Ohke
51. New England	(*Tooth*, Mepeteis; 3. Nis)	
52. Abenagui		
53. Mohegan -	Spummuck (*Tooth*, Weepeetan)	Hacki, Nohnkey
54. Penobscot -	(*Tooth*, Weebeetah)	
55. Souriquois -	Ouajek (☉, Kissis; *Tooth*, Nebidie)	Megamingo
56. Micmic -	Oaiok	
57. E. Chippeway	Speminkakuin - - -	Aukuin
58. Messisaugar	(☉, Keeshoo) - - -	Nindohockee
59. N. Algonkin	Spiminkakuin - - -	Ackouin, Acke
60. Knistenaux	(☉, Pisim; *Head*, Us-tiquoin; 4. Neway)	Messe asky
61. Nehetawa -	(4, Naou)	
62. Skoffie -	(*Head*, Mestichee)	
63. Mountanee -	(*Head*, Teekechee)	
64. W. Chepewyan Mack	(☉, ☽, Sah; *Head*, Ed-thie)	
65. Nagail	(*Head*, Thie)	
66. Hudson's Bay Islands	(*Head*, Tenet thie)	
H. North Coasts		
67. Greenland -	Killang, Killak (☉, Ajut, Seckanach; ☽, Anningat; 1. Attausek; 3. Pingasut)	Nuna
68. Eskimaux -	Taktuck, Nabugagshe (☉, Sukkinuch; ☽, Tatcock)	
69. Tshugassic	Koilak - - - - -	Nuna
70. Norton Sound	(*Hand*, Aishet; 1. Adowjack, 3, Pingashook)	
(71.) Tshuktshe	Keïlak - - - - -	Nuna
71. Jakutat -	Kilag - - - - -	Nuna
72. Konäge, Kadjak, I. or Kikhtah	Killach (*Hand*, Aiget; 1. Alchallack; 3. Pingaic)	Nuna

These tables will at least serve, notwithstanding some imperfections and uncertainties, as a convenient synopsis for facilitating the reference to a brief sketch of the history of the different families of languages.

1. The strongest proof of the great antiquity of the CHINESE language appears to be the great simplicity of its structure, and the want of those abbreviations and conventional implications which have been sometimes called the wings of languages. It is natural that, in attempting to express ideas at once by characters, the rude pictures of material objects should first have been principally, if not exclusively, traced; thus the Egyptians had ⊙, ☽ for the *sun* and *moon*, and ⊕ for a country or *field*, and the Chinese have still , , for these objects respectively, the characters having been made square instead of round, which some of them were in their more ancient forms. The Egyptians represented a *man* by a figure kneeling, and stretching out his hand, or in the enchorial character, thus . (See *supra*, No. III., Pl. V. n. 73.) The Chinese figure may originally have been of the same form, but at present is more like a pair of legs only, , while a *dog* seems to have three or four legs; , or . A thousand, according to Mr. Jomard's ingenious conjecture, was copied from the lotus, with its seed-vessel, having a great multitude of seeds, and the Chinese is certainly not altogether unlike the Egyptian (n. 202), nor is the character for light , which seems intended to represent a radiant body, altogether different from the or so often found among the hieroglyphics of Egypt, although it is not easy to believe, with Mr. Palin, that the manuscripts found with the mummies agree precisely with the Chinese version of the Psalms of David, character for character. The successive introduction of figurative expressions and characters may easily

be imagined, but it would be useless to enter at present into further details of this kind on grounds almost entirely speculative. The Chinese are said to have been, in the ninth century, a race of people resembling the Arabs; their physiognomy was contaminated in the thirteenth and fourteenth, by a mixture with their conquerors, the Mongols; but their language remained unaltered. The dialect of *Tonkin* is sometimes called the language of *Anam*, and the *Guan;* on occasions of state they use the Chinese character, but more commonly a character of their own, probably resembling that of the Siamese. Dr. Leyden observes, that at least twenty different nations employ the Chinese characters, though they read them quite differently; and he considers the Cochinchinese, the Cantonese, and the Japanese, as all essentially different from the Mandarin Chinese, though they have all some words in common. He gives us, as the names of the dialects of Chinese, constituting almost as many separate languages, 1, *Kong*, spoken at Canton; 2. *Way;* 3, *Nâm;* 4, *Chéw;* 5, *Séw;* 6. *Lŭi;* 7, *Limm;* 8, *Khum*, or Mandarin; 9, *Síu;* 10, *Kunng;* 11. *Hyong. san*, spoken at *Macao;* 12, *San tahk;* 13, *Nam kéi;* 14. *Pún ngi;* 15, *Tòng khún;* 16, *Fo khun;* or *Chinchow*. There is also a language spoken by the *Quan tô*, between Tonkin and China, a people who consider themselves as more ancient than their neighbours. Notwithstanding, however, all this supposed diversity, we may trace a considerable resemblance in the spoken language, even as far as Corea. In all these dialects, the conversation is a sort of recitative, and the different notes give distinct meanings to the words; as, in fact, we distinguish in English the sense of M? from M! or simply M.; tones perfectly understood though never written. The Chinese are without the sound of the letter *r*, and several other sounds common in Europe; the only way in which they express foreign words is by putting together the characters of the nearest import, with a symbol of pronunciation annexed to them; thus, for *Christus* and *Cardinalis* they are obliged to write *Ki lu su tu su* and *Kia ul fi na li su*, with a mouth annexed to them. The names of places are generally distinguished by a square inclosing the characters which express them, and the names of men, in some books, by a line drawn on one side of the characters only. In this there seems

to be a distant analogy to the ring which incloses proper names in the Egyptian inscriptions, but the names of places were not distinguished in this manner by the Egyptians. The dialects of Cambodia and Laos have received some mixture of Malayan from their neighbours; in writing the former of these, sometimes called *K'hômen*, according to Dr. Leyden, the Bali, or old Sanscrit character, is employed; and the latter has some analogy with the Siamese; indeed, both the Siamese and the Avanese are disposed to derive themselves from Laos. It may be seen, from the specimens exhibited in the article PHILOLOGY of the *Encyclopædia*, b. 125, that at least some of the Chinese dialects have sounds agreeing in several instances with European words of the same import; but the agreement is scarcely precise enough to justify our inferring from it an original connexion between the languages.

2. The language of SIAM resembles the Chinese in its simplicity and metaphorical structure, though not so decidedly monosyllabic. It is obvious, however, that the distinction of monosyllabic and polysyllabic could not, in very ancient times, have been so positively laid down as at present, since it was usual, in almost all countries, to write the words contiguous to each other, in a continued series without any divisions between them; and even in modern printing, there is a happy invention, which often restores this agreeable obscurity, under the name of a hyphen, by the use of which we avoid the difficulty of determining whether we wish to employ one word or several. The Siamese call themselves *T'hay*; and a part of their country is distinguished by the appellation Tai hai, or Great T'hay. The numerals resemble the Mandarin Chinese; several words of the language are borrowed from the Bali; it is written in an alphabetical character, which is said to be complicated and refined.

3. The AVANESE or *Burmanish* has also borrowed some polysyllabic words from the Bali, and is written in a peculiar alphabetical character. It must be considered as an era in the history of this country that its Emperor has employed Mr. Felix Carey, at his own expense, to establish a printing press at Ava, his metropolis, for printing a translation of the Scriptures in Burmanish. A dialect spoken in the district called Tanengrari, is said to be of greater antiquity. The *Môn* or

Peguan is called by Dr. Leyden a distinct original language; but it is written in the Avanese character, and Adelung's specimen scarcely differs at all from the Burmanish. The language of Arakan and Rashaan is called *Rukheng;* it contains a number of words from the Bali, many of them converted into monosyllables by an imperfect pronunciation. Dr. Leyden considers it as the connecting link between the monosyllabic and the polysyllabic languages, and he calls it an original language, notwithstanding its acknowledged derivation from its neighbours. It employs the Devanagri alphabet, including the letter R. Out of 50 words of Rukheng, quoted by Buchanan, the seven which are not Burman are only varieties of pronunciation. The *Kiayn*, or *Kolûn* and the *Kukis*, north-east of Chatigong, are mentioned as neighbouring tribes, speaking languages almost entirely different from the Rukheng. We find in Mr. Buchanan's paper, some specimens of the languages of the Burma empire, which it is difficult to distribute methodically, without a further knowledge of their peculiar characters, but some of which may, without impropriety, be introduced here.

—	—	Earth.
Myammaw, in Burma	(*Head*, Kaung; *Wind*, Lae) -	Myacgee
Yakain, in Arakan	(*Wind*, Lee)	
Tanaynthoree		
Yo - -	(*Stone*, Kionkag)	
Moitag, near Assam	(*Head*, Kop, Kok; ⊙, Noomeet)	Leipauk
Koloun, or *Kiayn* Kurayn or Kaloon	(*Head*, Multoo; ⊙, Konee) -	Dag
Passooko -	(*Head*, Kozohui; ⊙, Moomag)	Katchaykoo
Maploo - -	(*Head*, Kohuin; ⊙, Moo) -	Kolanghoo
Play - - Hindu of Burma	(*Head*, Kohui, Pokochui; ⊙, Mooi, Moomag)	Kako, Laukoo
Rooinga -	(*Head*, Mata; ⊙, Bel) -	Kool
Rossawn, Arakan	(*Head*, Mustok; ⊙, Sooja) -	Murtiha
Banga, or *Ayhoba*	(*Head*, Teekgo; ⊙, Bayllee)	Matee

4. The language of TIBET, or the Tangutish, has some words in common with the Chinese, but is less simple in its structure. It is at least as ancient as the religion of the country, which is nearly coëval with Christianity. Its character is well known to be alphabetical, from the title of the learned work of *Father Georgi* on the subject.

5. The *Indoeuropean* languages have been referred to a single class, because every one of them has too great a number of coincidences with some of the others, to be considered as merely accidental, and many of them in terms relating to objects of such a nature, that they must necessarily have been, in both of the languages compared, rather original than adoptive. The SANSCRIT, which is confessedly the parent language of India, may easily be shown to be intimately connected with the Greek, the Latin, and the German, although it is a great exaggeration to assert anything like its complete identity with either of these languages. Thus we find, within the compass of the Lord's Prayer only, *Pida*, *Pitir*, among the Sanscrit terms for *Father*, Gr. *Pater*; *Nama*, or *Namadheya* for *Name*, Gr. *Onoma*, *Onomati*; *Radshiam*, *Kingdom*, Lat. *Regnum* from *Rego*; *Manasam*, *Will*, like the Greek *Menüo*, and the Latin *Mens*; *Stira*, *Earth*, Gr. *Era*, whence perhaps the Latin *Terra*; and *Danim*, or Devanagri *Dia*, Day, Lat. Dies. There are also some singular resemblances of declension and conjugation between the Sapscrit and the Greek, as *Dodami*, *Dodasti*, *Dodati*; in old Greek *Didomi*, *Didosi*, *Didoti*. In a tablet of the date 23 B. C. we find *Kritico* for a *Judge*, Gr. Crites, Criticos. In Mr. Townsend's work we also find some well selected instances of resemblance between the Sanscrit and other languages; thus *Bhru*, is *Brow*; *Pota*, a *Boat*; *Bad*, a *Bath*; Germ. *Bad*; *Dhara*, *Terra*; *Nava*, *Novus*; *Nakta*, *Nocte*, *Night*; *Pad*, *Foot*, *Patte*; *Prathama* or *Protoma*, *first*, whence we may deduce both the Greek *protos*, and the Latin *primus*; and *Upadesaca*, *Didasco*, *Doceo*, and *Disco*. We have also *Vayajan*, *wind*, in Russian *Vieyanie*; and *Vidhava*, *widow*, Latin, *Vidua*, German, *Wittwe*, Russian, *Vdova*. The NT of the plural verb is found in the Sanscrit *Bhavanti*, *they are*, *Dadanti*, *they give*. Sir William Jones and many others have

attributed to some of the works, which are still extant in Sanscrit, an antiquity of four or five thousand years; but Professor Adelung denies the validity of any of the arguments, which have been adduced, in favour of a date at all approaching to this.

The Sanscrit, even in its earliest state, can scarcely have been altogether uniform throughout all the countries in which it was spoken, and it has degenerated by degrees into a great diversity of modern dialects: the term signifies learned or polished. Beyond the Ganges, it is called *Bali* or *Magudha*, which the missionaries say "scarcely" differs from Sanscrit; the term Magudha is said to mean mixed or irregular. In Siam the Sanscrit is still the language of elegant literature; and it is often employed throughout India, with some little difference of construction, under the name of *Devanagara*, the divine language. The *Prakrit* is rather a vague term, meaning, according to Mr. Colebrooke, common or vulgar, but it is also applied to the language of the sacred books of the "Jainas." We find in a little publication, entitled, a *Brief View of the Baptist Missions and Translations*, some useful information respecting the Indian languages and dialects, into a great number of which these laborious and disinterested persons have made or procured translations of the whole of the Scriptures, which they have printed at Serampore near Calcutta. The dialects, which they enumerate, are principally arranged in geographical order; and beginning with those which are spoken towards the middle of India, as the pure *Sanscrit* and its least modified dialects, we may place next to them the languages of the countries bordering on the monosyllabic nations towards the North and East; we have here the dialects of *Nepal*, *Assam*, or *Uhumyia*, *Tiperah*, and *Kassai*, of which little more is known than that translations into the first two have been already executed: the *Bengalee* is spoken in and about Calcutta: the *Hindee* or *Hinduvee* is spoken about Agra; it is printed in the Devanagri character, the font of which contains more than 800 varieties of letters and their combinations; the *Urdu* or *Oordoo* is a subdialect of the Hindee, as well as the *Brijbassa*, which is nearer to the Sanscrit than some other

dialects: the *Jypura* is mentioned as another language, belonging to the same neighbourhood; the *Hindustanee* is spoken in Hindustan Proper, or Lower Hindustan; the missionaries say it is "*diametrically* different" from the Hindee: the *Moors* or "Mongol Indostanish" seems to belong to this country, being mixed with a good deal of Persian and Arabic, unless it be rather referable to the Hindee: the dialects of *Udaipura*, *Benares*, and *Munipura*, are also called separate languages: the *Goandee* is spoken at Nagpore, in the Mahratta country: further east is *Orissa* or *Uriya*, the language of which is printed in a character requiring 300 different types: the *Telug* or *Warug* is spoken about Cuddalore and Madras: the *Telinga* further west: the *Carnatic* has a peculiar language, besides the *Tamul*, which is spoken from Paleacate, near Madras, to Cape Comorin, and the *Marwa*, which appears to belong to a part of this country. About Cochin in Travancore we have the *Maleiam*: further north the languages of *Malabar*, *Kanara*, and of the *Decan*; the dialect of Malabar is of considerable antiquity, being found in two copper tablets as old as the eighth or ninth century; then comes the *Kunkuna*, about Bombay: the *Mahratta* is further inland: the *Guzurat* on the coast: and beyond the Indus the *Beloshee* in Belochistan: north of this we find the *Afghan* or *Pushtu* language, which contains more Hebrew words than any of its neighbours; the people are said to have come from the north, about 2000 years ago, and, according to a Persian tradition, to be descended from King Saul: indeed, the language stands somewhat more correctly under the Median family in the *Mithridates*, but since it forms the connecting link between the two families, it might perhaps be as conveniently arranged among the more numerous species of the Sanscrit; it is written in the Arabic character, with some additional letters for expressing the Sanscrit sounds. The language of *Multan*, north of Sindh, has about one-tenth of Persian mixed with it. The *Gipsies* were certainly expelled from some part of India by the cruelties of Timur Leng, about 1400; and they were probably some of the *Zingans*, in the neighbourhood of Multan; their language having a great number of coincidences with that of Multan, and being still more manifestly a dialect

of the Sanscrit, although they have adopted many European, and especially Sclavonian words. When they first appeared in Europe, they were supposed to amount to about half a million; at present they are less numerous.

The *Maldivian* is peculiar to the group of small islands from which it is named; the Baptists have already printed some books in it. The people are said greatly to resemble those of Ceylon. The *Cingalese*, which is spoken in great part of Ceylon, is a mixture of several of the continental dialects; and it has been observed that the proper names in Ceylon mentioned by Ptolemy are of Sanscrit origin. Dr. Leyden gives as a proof of the antiquity of the *Malayan*, that the *Temala* of Ptolemy is derived from *Tema*, tin. The connexion of this language with the Sanscrit has not been very universally admitted; and some of those who have studied it most are disposed to consider it as wholly original; but in the purest part of the language, Dr. Leyden confesses that there is a considerable resemblance to the Avanese and the Siámese; the words derived from the Sanscrit he considers as somewhat less numerous, amounting however to about 5000; they are generally less like the Bali than the Sanscrit; and a still smaller number are borrowed from the Arabic. The character of the Monosyllabic languages is in some measure retained. Sir William Jones considered the Malayan as a derivative of the Sanscrit; Mr. Marsden supposes it to have received its Sanscrit words through Guzurat; Dr. Leyden rather from Kalinga or Telinga; and it exhibits some traces of the dialects of Tamul and Maleialam. Besides these various sources, it is said to have borrowed some of its simplest words from the Javanese and the Búgis; and it has become more nearly monosyllabic by dropping the first syllables of some of the words which it has adopted. The *Javanese* is said to be more ancient than the Malayan; the empire of Java was formerly powerful and flourishing: the ancient language was much like the Sanscrit, more so than the Malayan, but was written in a peculiar character. Dialects of this language are still spoken in Bali and in Madura. Leyden thinks the Malays were derived from Java; Marsden rather from Sumatra: though he allows that there are some reasons

for conjecturing that an old Sanscrit colony may have settled many hundred years ago in Java, and mixed its language with a supposed mother tongue of that Asiatic race.

Of the *Sumatran* dialects, the principal, according to Dr. Leyden, is the *Batta*, spoken by a people who occupy the centre of the island, and who still, like some other Indian nations, retain the custom of eating their old relations. The language seems to be partly original, and partly connected with the Malayan, and other dialects of the neighbouring islands. The *Rejang* is chiefly a mixture of Batta and Malayan; in the *Lampuhn* or Lampung, there is also some Javanese. The *Achi* has admitted a still further influx of words belonging to all the Mussulman jargons of the neighbourhood, especially to that of the Mapulas of Malabar. There are other dialects of less note in Néas and the Poggy Islands, most resembling the Batta. This language is provided with a peculiar alphabet, which is remarkable for being written from the bottom of the paper upwards, like the Mexican hieroglyphics: though the Battas, as well as the Chinese, sometimes hold their books so as to read horizontally. In Borneo there appear to be several dialects, or rather separate languages, two of them, according to Dr. Leyden, are the Biaju and the Tisun. The *Andaman* language is inserted here for want of a better place only; it does not appear to have any connexion with the Sanscrit, and may possibly be found to be more like that of Madagascar: the people seem to belong to the Papuas, a distinct original race according to Dr Leyden, black and with woolly hair.

Besides the numerous translations into languages of the Indoeuropean class, the Baptist Missionaries have also printed some Armenian and Persian works at the indefatigable press of Serampore, which is supplied by a letter foundry and a paper mill, belonging to the same establishment, enabling them to execute the whole business at less than half the expense of European books of the same magnitude. The little pamphlet, already quoted, contains also specimens of the characters of the Sanscrit, Assam, Bengalee, Mahratta, Sikh, and Cashmirian, which somewhat resemble each other in the square form of their characters as well as of the Burman, Orissa, Telinga,

and Cingalese, which have a more rounded and flourished appearance; of the Tamul, which looks a little like Armenian; of the Afghan and the Persian used in India; and of the Chinese, both as printed from blocks, and from the moveable metal types which have been cast at Serampore.

6. The connexion of the MEDIAN family with the Sanscrit on one side, and with the Greek and German on the other, is sufficiently proved by the words *Abitap*, Zend. *Sun*, Sanscr. *Abitaba; Dar*, *Ter*, Pers. *Door*, Sanscr. *Dura*, *Tuwara*, Javanese, *Turi*, Gr. *Thüra*, Germ. *Thür*, *Thor; Dip*, Pers. *Land* or Island, Sanscr. *Dihp; Dochtar*, Pers. *Pothré*, Zend. *Daughter*, Gr. *Thügater*, Germ. *Tochter*, Sanscr. *Putri; Jaré*, Zend. *Year*, Sanscr. *Jahran*, Germ. *Jahr;* and *Ishk*, Zend. *Love*, Sanscr. *Itsha*. To this list we may add, from Dr. Leyden. *Stree*, Zend. *Woman*, Sansc. *Stri; Asté*, Zend. *He is*, Sanscr., *Asti*, Gr. *Esti; Hapté*, Zend. *Seven*, Sanscr. *Saptah*, Gr. *Hepta*. There are also some coincidences with the Chaldee, but the Median is certainly not a dialect of the Chaldee. Sir W. Jones and others have said that the Zendish was nearest to the Sanscrit, and the Pehlvi to the Chaldee or Arabic. In ancient Media, the *Zendish* was the language of the northern, and *Pehlvi*, or *Parthian*, of the southern parts; the word Pehlvi or Pahalevi is supposed by Leyden to have been nearly synonymous with Pali or Bali, though this is said to be derived from Bahlika, an Indoeuoropean country. The Zendish was more particularly appropriated to religious purposes, and the Pehlvi had in a great measure superseded it for common use at a very early period; under the Sassanides again, from the third to the seventh century, the use of the Pehlvi was discouraged, and the old Persian substituted for it. It is said, however, that in the remote parts of the country, about Shirwan, some traces of the Pehlvi may still be found in existence. The *Zendavesta* of Zoroaster, which is still extant in Zendish, is supposed to have been written 520 years B. C.; and Adelung follows Anquetil in asserting its authenticity, even in opposition to the opinion of Jones and Richardson. These languages have little or no connexion with the Georgian and Armenian, which have succeeded them in some of the same countries. The old Persian, which

seems to be much connected with the Pehlvi, has remained in use either as a living or as a learned language ever since the time of the Sassanides; it was current among the Persians when they were conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century; and it is the language of the *Shah Nameh* of Firdusi, written in the tenth century, as well as of the *Ayeen Akbery* of which the date is about 1600. The modern *Persian* became a cultivated language about the year 1000, having received a considerable mixture of Arabic and Turkish words. The term *Parsee* is commonly applied to a corrupt Pehlvi, spoken by the refugee fire-worshippers in Bombay.

The Goths are said to have inhabited, for some centuries, the countries about the Black Sea, and may originally have bordered on Persia; from this circumstance, and probably also from the effects of a late irruption of the Goths into Persia, which is recorded in history, we may easily explain the occurrence of many Persian words in German, and in the other languages of Northern Europe. Professor Adelung has examined more than two hundred cases of such resemblances, and has found only one sixth part of them in Anquetil's vocabularies of the more ancient dialects; he has however omitted to state what proportion the whole magnitude of these vocabularies bears to that of a complete dictionary of the language. It is well known that an Essay was published a few years since in London *On the Similarity of the Persian and English Languages;* and a more elaborate work on the relations of the Persian languages, by Mr. Le Pileur, has since appeared in Holland. Mr. Le Pileur attempts to explain the IS or S of the genitive of the northern languages by the Persian preposition EZ, which seems to be synonymous with the Greek and Latin EX; but he has not shown that this EZ ever follows the noun to which it relates.

The *Kurds* speak a corrupt dialect of the Persian; they are probably derived from the Carduchi of the Greeks, who inhabited the Gordiæan hills. They spread into Persia about the year 1000, and are now situated on the borders of the Persian and Turkish dominions. The language of the *Afghans*, about Candahar, is said to contain about one-fourth of Persian and some Tartarian, besides the Sanscrit which abounds in it.

7. The ARABIAN family is called by the German critics *Semitic*, from Shem the son of Noah, as having been principally spoken by his descendants. Though not intimately connected with the European languages, it is well known to have afforded some words to the Greek and Latin ; it has also some in common with the Sanscrit, though apparently fewer than either the Greek or the German. Thus we have *Acer*, Hebr. a *Husbandman ; Ager*, Lat. a *Field ; Asther*, a *Star*, Gr. *Aster ; Bara, Buri*, Germ. *Burg ; Ben*, Hebr. *Son*, Sanscr. *Bun, Child ; Esh*, Heb. *Eshta*, Chald. *Fire*, Sanscr. *Aster ;* and *Ish*, Hebr. *Man*, Sanscr. *Isha, Man* or *Lord.* The Hebrew *Ani, Anoki, I,* has been noticed by Townsend and others as affording an etymology for *Ego* as well as for *Ni* or *Mi* of verbs, for the *Anok* of the Egyptians, and even for the *Ngo* of the Chinese.

The northern nations of this family have sometimes been comprehended under the name *Aramaic*, in contradistinction to the middle, or Canaanitish, and the southern, or Arabian. The Eastern Aramaic, or old *Chaldee*, is very little known ; it was the language of a people situated in the north of Mesopotamia, which is now the south of Armenia ; a part of them extended themselves further south, and became Babylonians ; of whose dialect some traces are said still to exist, about Mosul and Diarbeker. The old Assyrians, between the Tigris and Media, were a colony of the Babylonians, and spoke a language unintelligible to the Jews. (II Kings, 18.) The western Aramaic has become known, since the Christian era, as the *Syriac*, in which there is an ancient and valuable translation of the *New Testament.* It is still spoken about Edessa and Harran. The Palmyrene was one of its dialects ; the modern *Assyrian* of the Russian Vocabularies appears to be another.

The language of the Canaanites is said, by St. Jerom, to have been intermediate between the Hebrew and the Egyptian. The people are supposed to have come originally from the Persian Gulf ; the Philistines, who were found among them, to have emigrated from the Delta to Cyprus, to have been thence expelled by the Phenicians, and to have adopted the language of the Canaanites, when they settled among them.

The book of Job is considered as affording some idea of the dialect of Edom; it is well known to contain many Arabisms, besides some other peculiarities. The *Phenician* is only known from a few coins and inscriptions found chiefly in Cyprus and in Malta, and not yet very satisfactorily deciphered, though Akerblad is convinced, by some of them, that it varied but very little from the Hebrew; of its descendant, the *Punic*, or Carthaginian, a specimen is preserved in the speech of Hanno in Plautus, as happily arranged by Bochart; the objection of Adelung, respecting the want of a proper name, appearing to have arisen from a mistake. The last six lines of the text are probably either a repetition of the same speech in the old Libyan of the neighbourhood, or a jargon intended to imitate it.

The *Hebrews* originated among the Chaldeans; Terah, the father of Abraham, having been a native of Ur, or Edessa, beyond the Euphrates; they adopted the language of the Canaanites, among whom they led a nomadic life, till their residence in Egypt, which must probably have had some effect in modifying their language. After that time, however, it appears to have varied but little in a period of 1000 years, from Moses to Malachi, and this circumstance Adelung considers as so uncommon and improbable, that he is disposed to believe that the writings of Moses must have been modernized, at least as late as the time of Samuel. The old Hebrew became extinct as a living language, about 500 B.C.; 1000 years afterwards, the Masoretic points were added, to assist in its pronunciation; and this was done in some measure upon the model of the Syrochaldaic, which at that time was still spoken. The Septuagint version, which is much older, supports, in the instances of many of the proper names, the reading indicated by the points, but in about as many others it appears to deviate from that system, and to agree with a mode of pronunciation founded upon the text or principal characters alone. The reading in Greek letters of Origen, in his *Hexapla*, tends, on the whole, very strongly to support the points. The *Chaldee* had superseded the Hebrew at the time of the captivity, and was gradually converted into the *Syrochaldaic*, which is called Hebrew in the New Testament. The Targums and the

Talmud of Babylon, are in the older Chaldee; and a Syro-chaldaic translation of the New Testament has been discovered to be still in existence.

The *Samaritan* somewhat resembles the Chaldee; it was formed among the Phenicians and others, who occupied the habitations of the ten tribes, when they were carried into captivity by Salmanassar and Esarhaddon. Its peculiar alphabet is well known as a mere variation of the Hebrew.

The *Rabbinic* dialect was principally formed in the middle ages, among the Spanish Jews, who were chiefly descended from the inhabitants of Jerusalem; while those of Germany and Poland were generally Galileans, and spoke a ruder dialect of the Hebrew than the fugitives from the metropolis.

The *Arabs* have been a distinct, and in great measure an independent nation for more than 3000 years. Some of them were descended from Shem; others, as the Cushites, Canaanites, and Amalekites, from his brother Ham. Their language, as it is found in the Koran, contains some mixture of Indian, Persian, and Abyssinian words. Its grammar was little cultivated until a century or two after the time of Mahomet. It is certainly copious, but its copiousness has been ridiculously exaggerated, and absurdly admired. The best Arabic is spoken by the upper classes in Yemen; in Mecca it is more mixed; in Syria corrupt, and still more so in some parts of Africa. There are dialects which require the assistance of an interpreter to make them intelligible; at the same time, it has been maintained by Aryda, a learned Arab of Syria, in contradiction to Niebuhr, that the Arabic of the Koran is still employed in conversation among the best educated of the people, as well as in correct writing. The Arabs living in houses are called Moors; and those of Africa are the best known under this name. The Mapuls, or Mapulets, of Malabar and Coromandel, are a numerous colony of Arabs, who have been settled there above a thousand years.

The *Ethiopians* are descended from the Cushite Arabs. In the time of Nimrod they conquered Babylon: before that of Moses they emigrated into Africa, and settled in and about Tigri; in Isaiah's time, they seem to have extended to Fez;

and at present they occupy Tigri, Amhara, and some neighbouring countries. They became Christians in 325, but retained the initiatory ceremony of the Jews and Mussulmen. The pure or literary Ethiopic is called *Geez*, or Axumitic, in contradistinction to the Amharic, by which it was superseded as the language of common life in Amhara, about the fourteenth century, although it is still spoken, without much alteration, in some parts of *Tigri;* while, in others, as in *Hauasa*, a different dialect is spoken. The Ethiopic was first particularly made known in Europe by the elaborate publications of Ludolf. Mr. Asselin has lately procured a translation of the whole of the *Bible* into the Amharic, as it is now spoken at Gondar; it was executed by the old Abyssinian traveller who was known to Bruce and to Sir William Jones, and it is said to be now printing at the expense of some of the British societies.

The *Maltese* is immediately derived from the modern Arabic, without any intervention of the Punic. The island, having been successively subject to the Phæacians, Phenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, and Goths, was subdued by the Arabians, in the ninth century; in the eleventh, the Normans conquered it, and it remained united with Sicily, until it became in some measure independent, under the Knights of St. John.

8. The LYCIAN is only known from a few short inscriptions, copied by Mr. R. Cockerell, and published in Mr. Walpole's collection, together with two or three longer ones, which have been lately brought from Antiphellos, by the enterprising and indefatigable Mr. W. J. Bankes. By means of a proper name, in one of Mr. Cockerell's inscriptions, we obtain a part of the alphabet; thus 𐊀 is A; 𐊁, D; E, I; P, R; 𐊗, S; and probably 𐊂, H; and I, L. A further comparison of the different parts of the other inscriptions, with the Greek phrases that almost uniformly accompany them, implying "FOR HIMSELF AND HIS WIFE AND HIS CHILDREN;" gives us the words A, or AT'HI, *himself;* SA, *his*, or *for his*, HRDI, or perhaps HROI, *wife;* TIDAIMI, *son;* TIDAIMA, *children;* and ATBI, *and.* It does not appear that any of these words would authorise us to place the Lycian language as a member of the great Indoeuropean class; but it is reported to have been much mixed with

Greek, and on account of its geographical situation, it may be allowed to occupy a temporary rank between the principal Oriental and European languages. If it has a shadow of likeness to any other language, it is perhaps to the Cimbric; and *Tidaimi* may also possibly be allied to the Greek *Titheno*, to nurse.

9. Respecting the ancient PHRYGIAN, we have a few traditions only, which at least agree in giving it a high antiquity, as the source of several Greek words. Thus, Plato observes, in his *Cratylus*, that the terms denoting *fire* and *water* are not derived from any other Greek words, but are Phrygian primitives. It seems, however, that *water* was called *Bedü* by the Phrygians, and the word resembles the *Bada*, *Bath*, of the northern nations, as well as the *Vate*, water, of the Swedes; *Moirai*, the fates, derived from the Phrygian, is compared to *Meyar*, virgins, of the Gothic; and *Bek*, *bread*, is as much like our *Bake*, as like the Albanian *Buk*, *bread*.

10. The *Greek* has no very intimate or general connexion with any of the older languages, which have been preserved entire, although there are a number of particular instances of its resemblance to the Sanscrit, some of which have been already mentioned; it has also many German and Celtic words, some Sclavonian, and, as it is said, a few Finnish. It can only have been immediately derived from the language of the neighbouring Thracians and Pelasgians, who seem to have come originally from the middle of Asia, through the countries north of the Black Sea, and to have occupied not only Greece and Thrace, but also the neighbouring parts of Asia Minor, where they probably retained their ancient dialect to a later period than elsewhere. The whole of the Thracian states were greatly deranged by the expedition of the Celts, in 278 B. C., which terminated in their settling the colony of Galatia. The Dacians, or Getae, who principally occupied Bulgaria, extended themselves further northwards, and afterwards constituted the Roman provinces of Mœsia and Dacia, which were conquered by the Goths, in the third century. The Macedonians, in the time of Alexander, spoke a language which was nearly unintelligible to the Greeks in general; even the Pelasgi, in Epirus

and Thessaly, long retained a dialect materially different from their neighbours; and in Arcadia still longer. The Hellenes, who emigrated from Asia Minor into Greece, were not sufficiently numerous to carry their own dialect with them, although the language assumed their name. The Graeci in Italy were Pelasgians, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus includes them in the denomination Hellenic; their language must have been Aeolodoric, and it was in this form that the Latin received its mixture of Greek; the Lacedemonian also retained it till a late period, writing, for instance, instead of *Pais*, *Poir*, as in Latin *Puer*. The *Aeolic* appears once to have extended over Attica, and to have left some Aeolisms in the old *Attic* dialect. This dialect was the principal basis of the *Common* language of Greece at a later period, which must have been the most cultivated under the protection of the court of Alexandria, and which continued to be spoken and written in the highest circles of Constantinople throughout the middle ages; by degrees it degenerated into the modern *Romaic*, having received a mixture of Turkish and Italian, and perhaps of some other neighbouring languages.

11. The GERMAN family is sufficiently connected with a variety of others, belonging to the Indoeuropean class, to be admitted into it upon a very short investigation. Its resemblances to the Greek, within the compass of the Lord's Prayer, besides *Father* and *Name*, are *Wille*, *Wollen*, Gr. *Boule*, perhaps *Brot* or *Proat*, *bread*, like *Artos*, and *Freyen* or *Lösen*, like *Rhüein* and *Lüsein*. Dr. Jamieson has shown very clearly in his *Hermes Scythicus*, how immediately the structure of the Gothic languages is derived from that of the Greeks Thus the EIN of the Greek infinitive became in the Moesogothic *an* or IAN, in German EN; the ICOS of the adjectives, Moesogothic, AGS, IGS, or EIGS, as *mahteigs*, *mighty*; Germ. *machtig*; the Sclavonians have *ski*, the Swedes *ska*; the INOS, Lat. ENUS, Anglosaxon EN: the LICOS, Latin, LIS, German LICH, English LIKE; thus *pelicos* is *what like*, at least in Scotland; the Moesogothic *swaleiks* is our *such*; *sameleiks* is *similis*. Los, LIS, LION, of diminutives, in Latin LUS, becomes in Moesogothic ILO, as *barnilo*, a little child; in German *männl* is a little man.

Among the pronouns we have EGO in Greek and Latin, Moesogothic IK, Icelandic EG, Swedish JAG; EMOU, MOU, Gr., Latin MEI, Moesogothic MEINA, German MEINER; EMOI, MOI; Latin MIHI, Moesogothic MIS; Swedish MIG, Dutch MY; EME, ME; Latin ME, Moesogothic MIK, Anglosaxon ME, Dutch MY. Sü, Doric TÜ; Latin TU; Moesogothic THU. Is in Latin, Moesogothic IS; EJUS, Moesogothic IS, IZOS; ID, Moesogothic ITA, English IT; QUIS, CUJUS, CUI, QUEM; Moesogothic QUHAS, QUHIS, QUHE, QUHANA, the last having the N; as the Greek HON; UTER, WHETHER; ALTER, OTHER, seems to be derived from ANTHER, ENTHERA, meaning *one of them*, so that in this instance the Gothic has the appearance of the greater antiquity, while the Greek affords, on the other hand, an etymology for EKEINOS, from EKEI, there, which is wanting to the Moesogothic GAINS or JAINS, the Alemannic GENER, the German JENER, and the English YONDER or YON. Again, among the numerals, DEKA has been derived from DEO, as if both hands were tied together, and PENTE has a strong resemblance to PANTA, as if *all* the five fingers were reckoned: and on the other hand, *da cuig* in Gaelic, meaning twice five, has been considered as the original of DECA. But none of these etymologies seems to be so decisive of originality as that of *caterva*, which is evidently related to *turba* or *turma*; while the first syllable remains unexplained in Latin, but in the Celtic we have *cad tarf*, or *cath tarf*, a *war troop*, agreeing undeniably with the sense. For another example, we may take *ventus* and *wind*, for which we find no Latin etymology, while the German furnishes us with *wehen* to *blow*, and thence *wehend* and *wind;* the words *nodus* and *knot* afford also a similar instance, *nodus* having nothing nearer to it in Latin than *neo* to spin, *necto* to unite; but in German we have *knütten* to *join*, and in English *knit* and *knead* from the same root. The degrees of comparison are expressed in Greek by EROS and ISTOS; in Anglosaxon by ER or ERA, and IST or AST. *Er* seems to mean before, as well as the Latin OR. The Coptic has no comparative, but for *better than I*, the Egyptians said *very good before me.* It would seem at first sight natural to make *than* a preposition, as well as *before*, and to say *better than me;* but the fact is that in English, as

well as in German, it was usual of old to say *then* or *denn* in this sense; and *he is wiser than I* meant only, *he is wise* BEFORE, THEN *I follow.* The idea of time or place is now dropped as unessential to the kind of priority in question, but the ground of the grammatical construction remains unaltered. In Moesogothic the comparative termination is IZO or OZO; the superlative ISTS or ISTA; thus the Greek MEIZON becomes MEIZO: and MAISTS is obviously MEGISTOS. The old *megalos* is *mikils,* mickle or muckle; and *minor, minimus,* became *minnizo, minnists;* in Persian *mih* is *great, mihter, greater, mihtras, greatest; better* seems to be from the old German *bied* or *bieder, upright, honest,* and resembles the Persian BIHTER, *better.* The Moesogothic verbs have also some striking resemblances in their form to the Latin, thus the present tense of to *have* is HABA, HABAIS, HABAITH; HABAM, HABAITH, HABAND; HABUIT is HABAIDA; HABENS, HABANDS; HABENTIS, HABANDIS; HABENTEM, HABANDAM; HABENTES, HABANDANS. The substantive verb singular in Greek is EIMI, EIS, ESTI; the plural in Latin SUMUS, ESTIS, SUNT; the Moesogothic has IM, IS, IST, SIJUM, SIJUTH, SIND: and SIS is SIJAIS; ESSE, WISAN. The Moesogothic nouns frequently retain the resemblance of the Greek more strongly than their more modern derivatives; thus a TOOTH does not seem to point very immediately to DENTEM or ODONTA as its source; but the older form TUNTHU is clearly the intermediate stage of this modification; and numberless other instances of the same kind might easily be found.

The Germans were known as early as the time of Pytheas, that is 320 B.C., as consisting of the Jutes in Denmark, the Teutones on the coast to the east of them, the Ostiaeans next, and lastly the Cossini, Cotini, or Goths. Professor Adelung imagines that the eastern nations, or Suevi, employed almost from the earliest times, a high German dialect, and the western, or Cimbri, a low German; the Suevi he supposes to have been driven, at a remote period, into the south of Germany by the Sclavonians; and some of the Goths appear to have extended as far as the Crimea. The *Bible* of Ulphila, in the Gothic or Moesogothic of 360, is the oldest specimen in existence of the German language. Besides the Greek and Latin, which

appear to prevail so much in the language, it exhibits a considerable mixture of Sclavonian and Finnish; the translation is far more literal than it could be made in any of the more modern dialects of the German, and sometimes appears to follow the text with somewhat too much servility.

The modern *German*, founded on the higher dialects of Saxony, was fixed and made general by Martin Luther. There are many shades of dialect and pronunciation in the different parts of this diversified country, but none of them of any particular interest, or established by any literary authority. There are still some German colonies in the territories of Vicenza and Verona, called the Sette Comuni, which retain their language. The *German Jews* have a peculiar jargon, borrowed in some measure from their brethren in Poland, which they write in Hebrew characters; and another similar mixture of discordant dialects is spoken by the Rothwelsh, a vagabond people in the south of Germany, who have sometimes been confounded with the Gipsies.

The *Low Saxon*, or Platt Deutsch, is spoken about Halberstadt, and further north, in the countries between the Elbe and the Weser; it seems to be intimately connected with the Frieslandish and Danish, as well as with the English. The *Frieslanders* originally extended from the Rhine to the Ems, and the Cauchi, thence to the Elbe; these countries still retain a dialect materially varying from those of their neighbours. The Brokmic laws of the thirteenth century exhibit some remarkable differences from the German of the same date: thus we find in them *Redieva*, a judge, or *Reeve*, instead of *Richter; Kenne, kin;* and *sida, side*, as in Swedish, instead of *seite.* The Batavian Frieslandish approaches very much to the English; it has several subdialects, as those of *Molkwer* and *Hindelop.* Some of the Cauchish Frieslanders remain in the territory of Bremen; the North Frieslanders occupy Heligoland, Husom, and Amröm.

The *Dutch* language is a mixture of Frieslandish, Low Saxon, and German, with a little French. It appears, from Kolyn's *Chronicle*, to have been distinctly formed as early as 1156.

The Scandinavian branch of the Germanic family is characterized by the want both of gutturals and of aspirates, which renders its pronunciation softer and less harsh; and by some peculiarities of construction, for instance, by the place of the article, which follows its noun, both in *Danish* and Swedish, instead of preceding it, as in most other languages. The name of Denmark is first found in the ninth century; until the sixth the people were called Jutes. *Norway*, in the ninth century, was termed Nordmanland. A corrupt Norwegian is still, or was lately, spoken in some of the *Orkneys*, which were long subject to Norway and Denmark. In the eastern parts of *Iceland*, the language is much like the Norwegian; but, on the coast, it is mixed with Danish. The oldest specimen of Icelandic is the *Jus Ecclesiasticum* of 1123. The term Runic relates to the rectilinear characters cut in wood, which were sometimes used by the Scandinavian nations. The *Swedes* are derived from a mixture of Scandinavians with Goths from Upper Germany; but their language does not exhibit any dialectic differences corresponding to this difference of extraction. Mr. Townsend has given us a list, from Peringskiold, of 670 Swedish words, resembling the Greek; but it must be confessed that the resemblance is in many cases extremely slight.

The *Saxons* are mentioned by Ptolemy as a small nation in Holstein; whence, in conjunction with the Frieslanders, and the Angles of South Jutland, they came over to England, about the year 450. The Saxons settled principally south of the Thames, the Angles north. At the union of the Heptarchy, the Saxon dialect prevailed, and the Anglish, which nearly resembled the Danish of that time, was less in use; but new swarms of Danes having inundated the North of England in 787, the Danish dialect was introduced by Canute and his followers; and it is about this period that our earliest specimens of the Anglosaxon are dated. The Saxon dialect again obtained the ascendancy under Edward the Confessor; and although some French was introduced by this prince, and still more by William the Conqueror, into the higher circles of society, the courts of law and the schools, yet the use of the French

language never became general among the lower classes, and the Saxon recovered much of its currency in the thirteenth century, when the cities and corporate towns rose into importance, under Edward the First; in the fourteenth century it was permanently established, with the modifications which it had received from the French; and it may be considered as truly English from this period or even somewhat earlier, at least if Pope Adrian's rhymes are the genuine production of 1156. It is still much more German than French; in the Lord's Prayer, the only words of Latin origin are *Trespass*, *Temptation*, and *Deliver*. Professor Adelung's remarks on the simplicity of the English language appear to be so judicious as to deserve transcribing. "The language," he observes, "only received its final cultivation at the time of the Reformation, and of the civil disturbances which followed that event; nor did it acquire its last polish till after the Revolution, when the authors who employed it elevated it to that high degree of excellence of which, from its great copiousness, and the remarkable simplicity of its construction, it was peculiarly capable. It is the most simple of all the European languages, the terminations of its substantives being only changed in the genitive and in the plural, and the alterations of the roots of the verbs not exceeding six or seven. This simplicity depends in some measure on a philosophical accuracy which is carried systematically through the whole language, so that the adjectives, participles, and article, are indeclinable, being in their nature destitute of any idea of gender, case, or number; and the form of generic distinction is [almost entirely] confined to objects which are naturally entitled to it. The pronunciation, on the other hand, is extremely intricate, and foreign proper names, in particular, are much mutilated whenever they are adopted by the English."

12. The Celtic family forms a very extensive and very interesting subdivision of the Indoeuropean class. It has been asserted, by some writers, "that the six original European languages, the Iberian, Celtic, Germanic, Thracian, Sclavonian, and Finnish, were just as distinct at the beginning of their history as they now are;" but this assertion must be subjected to considerable modification; the thing is in itself so improbable,

as to require far more evidence than we possess to establish it, even if that evidence were of a more decisive nature; and, in fact, it will actually be found, upon a comparison of the Gothic of Ulphila with the more modern dialects, that the Germanic of that day did approach more nearly, both to the Celtic and to the Thracian or Greek, than any of its more modern descendants do. The change of TUNTHU into TOOTH, for which the Germans have ZAHN, has already been noticed; the ATTA and HIMINA of Ulphila seem to be more like the Irish At'air and Neamh, than the modern Vater and Himmel are; and the Moesogothic VAIR, which answers to the Cimbric ŗEAR, a man, is not at present found in German, though its traces may still be observed in the *Firiobarno* of the Franks, in 1020; the antiquity of the root is shown by the Celtic names in Cæsar beginning so often with VER, and still more strongly by the testimony of Herodotus, that the Scythian called a man AIOR. At the same time, therefore, that we admit the propriety of considering the Celtic and Germanic as families clearly distinct, with respect to any period with which we are historically acquainted, we must not forget that they exhibit undeniable traces of having been more intimately connected with each other, and with their neighbours, in the earlier stages of their existence. The resemblances of the Celtic to the Latin are too numerous to require particular notice, the immediate and extensive connexion between these languages being universally admitted; but if any evidence were desired on this subject, it might be obtained in abundance, by a reference to Court de Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*. With respect to the Greek, the terms *Hael*, sun; *Dur*, water; *Deru*, oak; *Garan*, crane; *Crunn*, ice, are among the Celtic words of the most indisputable originality, and their resemblance to *Helios*, *Hüdor*, *Drüs*, *Geranos*, and *Crüoen*, is equally undeniable. We find, also, in the Cimbric, *Bas*, low, connected with *Bathüs*, *Bara*, bread, perhaps with *Bora*, food; *Deyrnas*, kingdom, with *Türannis*; *Dyro*, give, with *Doreue;* and *Gogoriant*, glory, perhaps with *Gauriaon*, exulting. With the German it is easy to find a number of very near approaches to identity, even in that Celtic, which can be proved, principally from the etymo-

logies of proper names, to be prior to the date of any known or supposed secondary intercourse or mixture of the natives concerned; thus we have, either accurately or very nearly in the same signification, *Ap*, *Affe*, or *Ape*; *Barra*, *Barre*; *Bleun*, *Blume*; *Bolgan*, *Balge*; *Brig*, *Berg*; *Brogil*, *Brühl*; *Carra*, *Karre*; *Doga*, *Teich*; *Galb*, *Kalb*; *Garan*, *Kranich*; *Gnabat*, *Knabe*; *Lancea*, *Lanze*; *Marc*, *Mähre*; *Marga*, *Märgel*; *Redya*, *Reiten*; *Rit*, or *Rat*, *Rad*; and *Ur*, *Auer*; and it is impossible to suppose that so numerous a series of coincidences can have been derived from accidental causes only.

The Celts may be imagined to have emigrated from Asia after the Iberians, or Cantabrians, and before the Thracians, or Pelasgians, settling principally in Gaul, and spreading partly into Italy, under the name of Ausonians and Umbrians. In 570 B. C., they undertook expeditions, for the purposes of conquest, but they were subdued by the Romans. Their language was current in Gaul till the sixth or seventh century, when it was superseded by the rustic Roman, which by degrees became French: in Ireland and Scotland it has remained with few alterations; in Wales and Britanny it has been more mixed. The Gauls must have peopled Britain at least as early as 500 B. C. The true ancient Britons are the Highlanders of Scotland only, having been driven northwards by the Cimbri; they still call their language Gaelic. The Irish are probably derived from these Highlanders; they were originally termed Scots, or Scuits, that is, fugitives, from the circumstance of their expulsion from Britain; so that, where the Scots are mentioned before the tenth century, as by Porphyry, in the third, we are to understand the Irish. Gildas, in 564, sometimes calls them Scotch, and sometimes Irish. After the retreat of the Romans from Britain, a part of them re-entered Scotland, about the year 503, and changed its name from Caledonia to Scotia Minor. In 432, St. Patrick laid the foundation of the civilisation of Ireland; and, in the seventh century, several Irish priests undertook missions to the continent. At the beginning of this century, some Scandinavian freebooters had begun to visit Ireland: and, in the year 835, they formed large colonies of emigrants, who established them-

selves firmly in that country, and in the Scottish Islands, bringing with them many Gothic words, which became afterwards mixed with the Celtic, and which seem to constitute about one-fifth part of the modern Irish and Gaelic, 140 Gothic words being found under the first six letters of the alphabet only. Some of these Normen remained distinct from the Irish till the year 1102. The oldest specimens of the Irish language, admitted by the continental critics to be authentic, are of the ninth century; though some of our antiquaries have imagined they have discovered records of a much earlier date. The Gaelic of the Isle of *Man* is mixed with Norwegian, English, and Welsh. A Gaelic colony, formerly established at *Walden*, in Essex, has been placed by Chamberlayne in Italy, as a nation of *Waldenses.*

The *Cimbric* or Celtogermanic language was remarked by Cæsar as differing from the Gallic, although the distinction has not always been sufficiently observed. The Cimbrians seem to have existed as a nation 500 or 600 years B. C.; the Gauls called them Belgæ; they invaded Britain a little before Cæsar's time, and drove the ancient inhabitants into the Highlands and into Ireland. Having called the Saxons to their assistance against the Scots and Picts in the fifth century, they were driven by their new allies into Wales, Cornwall, and Britanny. Their language is remarkable for the frequent changes of the initial letters of its radical words, in the formation of cases and numbers; thus from *Den*, a man, in *Britannish*, is derived the plural *Tud;* from *Vreg*, a woman, *Groages.* Almost half of the Welsh language seems to be German, and half of the remainder is perhaps Latin or Celtic; of the Britannic about half resembles the Latin or French. Britanny was originally inhabited by the Armoricans; whether they were properly Belgae or Gauls is uncertain; the country was named Britannia Minor from the emigration of the British in 449; these new comers mixed with the original inbabitants, all speaking the same language, and in a few years became so numerous, as to be able to send an army of 12,000 men to the assistance of the Emperor Anthemius

Professor Adelung is disposed to consider the German portion

of the different branches of the Celtic, which varies from one-fifth to one-half of the whole language, as an accidental mixture, and derived through different channels. But we cannot in all cases find any historical evidence of the existence of these channels; it is difficult, for example, to suppose that the Scandinavian incursions were able at any early period to influence the language of the Highlands of Scotland; and wherever it happens, as it frequently does, that no term is to be found, in the Irish, the Gaelic, or the Welsh, for expressing the same idea, besides the word that they all have in common with the German, it is scarcely possible to believe that there ever was any other Celtic word which has been so uniformly superseded by independent causes. We find, for instance, under the two first letters of the alphabet only, the words *Ap*, or *Apa*, in Irish, *Ap* in Welsh, *Affe* or *Ape* in Gothic; again *Abal*, *Afal*, *Apfel*; *Angar*, *Aneang*, *Enge*; *Bacail*, *Bach*, *Backen*; *Barrad*, *Barr*, *Bare*; *Beoir*, *Bir*, *Bier*; *Biail*, *Bwiall*, *Beil*; *Bocan*, *Bwch*, *Bock*, *Brathair*, *Brawd*, *Bruder*; *Bul*, *Bwla*, *Bulle*; and the same agreement is found in almost all other instances of German words that are detected in the Irish language.

The much disputed question, respecting the antiquity of the poems attributed to Ossian, has an immediate reference to the history of the Celtic languages. It has been observed, with apparent justice, by Professor Adelung, who is not in general sceptical on such occasions, that if these poems were really very ancient, their language could not but exhibit marks of antiquity; there is an Irish *Leavre Lecan*, at Paris, written in the thirteenth century, and scarcely intelligible to the best Irish scholars of the present day; the oldest Gaelic manuscripts have also peculiar expressions no longer in use; while the works, supposed to be the productions of a period so much more remote, are found to be in "excellent modern Gaelic, impressed with all the marks of the language of Christianity, and of that of the Norwegian invaders, whether these conquerors may be supposed to have influenced the Gaelic language immediately in Scotland, or by the intervention of Ireland." It must not, however, be forgotten that these marks of Scandina-

vian intercourse are somewhat more ambiguous than Professor Adelung is disposed to admit; and that a book written in the thirteenth century is more likely to have preserved the language in an antiquated form, than poems so marvellously committed to memory from continual recitation only, by people supposed to understand them, and of course imperceptibly modifying the expressions without intending to alter them. But since an invasion from Lochlin, that is, Denmark or Norway, is actually mentioned in "Fingal," the author of the poem could certainly not have been older than the seventh or eighth century, if we are to credit the historical accounts of these invasions; and since in the poems discovered by Dr. Matthew Young, St. Patrick is introduced discoursing with Ossian respecting the Christian religion, we have an additional argument for denying that he was contemporary with Caracalla or Carausius; these Emperors having both lived in the third century, and St. Patrick in the fifth.

14. The ETRUSCAN is only known as the immediate parent of the Latin, but it was written in a character totally different, and was read from right to left. Notwithstanding the industry and ingenuity of Lanzi, the evidence of the accuracy of his interpretations is somewhat imperfect. We should naturally have expected to find more words of a Celtic or Gothic origin, and not merely Greek or Latin words, with the terminations a little varied, as *Ustite* for *Ustura*, *Tribo* for *Tribus*, and *Urte* or *Urta* for *Heorte;* still less should we have expected that the same sense should be expressed sometimes by a Greek and sometimes by a Latin word, as *Urtu* and *Puni* for Bread, *Capros* and *Feres* for a Boar. The Etrurians and Umbrians were originally a branch of the Celts, from Rhætia, as is shown by the similarity of the names of places in those countries, as well as by the remains of Etruscan art found in that part of the Tyrol; they are supposed to have entered Italy through Trent, about the year 1000 B.C., and to have afterwards improved their taste and workmanship under the auspices of Demaratus of Corinth, who settled in Etruria about 660 B. C

15. The LATIN language is placed at the head of a family, rather with regard to the number of its descendants, than to

the independence of its origin, being too evidently derived from the Celtic, mixed with Greek, to require particular comparison. The first inhabitants of Italy appear to have been Illyrians or Thracians, Cantabrians, Celts, Pelasgians, and Etrurians. Rome, from its situation, would naturally acquire much of the languages of these various nations, and at the same time much of the Greek from the colonies in the south of Italy. In the time of Cicero, the Italian songs, supposed to be about 500 years old, were no longer intelligible, even to those who sang them. We find, in an inscription still more ancient, and approaching to the time of Romulus, *Lases* for *Lares;* and for *Flores, Pleores*, which is somewhat nearer to the Celtic *Bleun;* in the time of Numa, for *Hominem liberum*, we have *Hemonem lœbesom;* we find, also, a D added to the oblique cases, as *Capited* for *Capite*, which, as well as the termination AI, in the genitive *aulai, pennai*, is taken immediately from the Celtic, and is even found in modern Gaelic.

The Latin remained in perfection but a few centuries; in the middle ages, a number of barbarous words were added to it, principally of Celtic origin, which are found in the glossaries of Dufresne and Charpentier. At the end of the seventh century, it began to acquire the character of *Italian*, as *Campo divisum est;* and, in the eighth century, in Spain, we find, as an example of its incipient conversion into Spanish, *Vendant sine pecho, de nostras terras.* The formation of the Italian language may be said to have been completed by Dante, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and it was still further polished by the classical authors who immediately succeeded him. It contains many German words, derived from the different nations who occupied in succession the northern parts of Italy, and some Arabic, Norman, and Spanish, left by occasional visitors in the south. It is spoken by the common people in very different degrees of purity. Among the northern dialects, that of *Friuli* is mixed with French, and with some Sclavonian. The *Sicilians*, having been conquered in succession by the Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, and Spaniards, have retained something of the language of each. *Sardinia* has given shelter to Iberians,

Libyans, Tyrrhenes, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Goths, Lombards, Franks, Arabs, Pisans, and Arragonians; and the proper Sardinian language is a mixture of Latin with Greek, French, German, and Castilian. Corsica has also been occupied by a similar diversity of nations; its peculiar idiom is little known; but the dialect of the upper classes is said to approach nearly to the Tuscan.

Spain, after its complete subjugation by the Romans, enjoyed some centuries of tranquillity. The Vandals and Alans retained their power in Spain but for a short time; the Suevi, on the north coast, somewhat longer; and, from these nations, the rustic Roman, which had become general in Spain, received some words of German origin; it derived, however, much more from the Arabic, during the domination of the Moors, which lasted from the beginning of the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth; and, at one time, the Arabic was almost universally employed throughout the country, except in the churches. The *Spanish* language advanced the most rapidly toward perfection during the height of the national prosperity, which immediately followed the conquest of America; it was afterwards neglected, and again more particularly cultivated by the Academy of Madrid, in the eighteenth century; as far, at least, as an Academy can be supposed to have any influence in the modifications of a language.

The *Portuguese* is supposed to have received a mixture of French from the followers of Count Henry of Burgundy, under whom Portugal first formed a separate state, in 1109; but the language is very different from that of the confines of France and Spain; and the nasal vowels, which are remarkable in the Portuguese, differ materially from those of the French, or of any other nation. Many Latin words are retained in the Portuguese, which are not found in any other modern language; and it is remarkable that almost all the words of the language are contracted, by the omission of some of the radical letters of the originals.

The Rhætians in the country of the Grisons, were subdued by the Romans in the time of Augustus. They became part of the Alemannish kingdom, under Theodobert, in 539; their

union with Switzerland took place in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Half of the Grisons speak the *Romanish* language, immediately derived from the Latin, though mixed with some German, which has been particularly made known by Mr. Planta's account of it, in the *Philosophical Transactions*. One third speak German, with some mixture of Romanish words, and the rest a bad Italian.

France, in the time of the Romans, was occupied by the Gauls, together with the Aquitanians, who were probably Cantabrians, and the Cimbrians or Belgians. From the rustic Roman, mixed with the languages of these nations, the *Romance* was gradually formed. In the fifth century, the Francs took possession of the north-eastern parts of the country; they retained their language for some centuries, but by degrees it became mixed with the Romance, and formed *French*, of which at least one-fifth is supposed to be of German origin; though many of the German words seem to have been admitted through the medium of the Italian. In the south of France, the language remained more exempt from the influence of the German, under the name of the *Provençal;* and the troubadours contributed, especially from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, to give it refinement and currency; but, in later times, the *Langue d'oui* has prevailed over the *Langue d'oc*, which is now spoken by a few of the lowest class only.

The last and least genuine of the descendants of the Latin is the *Wallachian*, about one-half of which is borrowed from the German, Sclavonian, and Turkish. The original Thracians of the country must have been in a great measure superseded by the successive settlements of various nations; in the third century, some of the Goths and Vandals; in the fourth, the Jazyges, after Attila's death; in the fifth, some Huns and Alans; about the end of the seventh, the Bulgarians, and afterwards the Petschenegers and Hungarians established themselves in it; and, in the thirteenth century, Wallachia became an independent state. The Latin part of this language has much of the Italian form, and had even assumed it as early as the fifth century. It must have been derived from Roman colonies, and more lately, perhaps, from the missionaries sent

into the country by Pope Gregory XI. The *Dacian* or Hungarian dialect prevails on the north of the Danube; the *Thracian*, or Cutzowallachian, on the south; the latter is more mixed with Greek and Albanian. There is also a small Wallachian colony in Transylvania.

The *Cantabrian* or *Biscayan* has many words in common with the Latin, whether originally or by adoption, and was probably in some measure connected with the Celtic dialects, which were the immediate predecessors of the Latin, though still sufficiently distinct from them. The Cantabrian *Aita*, Father, has some resemblance to the Irish *At'air*, and the Moesogothic *Atta; Seru* is not wholly unlike *Coelum; Ereenjaa, Regnum;* and *Borondatia, Voluntas;* the coincidence of *Gun*, Day, with the Tartarian, is perhaps more accidental. But the word *Lurre*, Earth, which seems at first sight so unlike any other language, is in all probability the derivative of *Tellure;* and this form of the word affords, also, a connecting link with the Irish *Talu*, and may have been contracted into the more common Latin word *Terra;* a supposition which seems to lessen the probability of the original connexion of this form of the word with the Greek *Era*, and the Sanscrit *Stira*. The Biscayan is still spoken in the angles of France and Spain, adjoining to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees. The same people were called Cantabrians in the north, and Iberians in the south, and extended between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, as Ligurians, or inhabitants of the coast. They have adopted a few German words, perhaps from the empire of the west Goths; and they have furnished the modern Spanish with more than a hundred original words of their own. The construction of the language is extremely intricate; its verbs have eleven moods, among which are a consuetudinary, a voluntary, a compulsory, and a penitudinary. Larramendi's *Grammar*, published at Salamanca in 1729, is called *El Impossible Vencido.* A valuable abstract of the most interesting particulars relating to the language is found in the *Additions to the Mithridates*, by the Baron William Von Humboldt, late Prussian Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain, printed at Berlin, 1816. Dr. Young has lately remarked, in the *Philosophical Transactions*

for 1819, that at least six of the words contained in Humboldt's vocabulary coincide very accurately with the Coptic or ancient Egyptian, though they are not found in any of the languages of the neighbouring countries; and he infers that the chances are "more than a thousand to one, that, at some very remote period, an Egyptian colony established itself in Spain."* It may be observed, that one of these words, *guchi*, little, appears to be also Turkish or Tartarian; so that it becomes a second instance of a coincidence between this language and the Cantabrian.

16. The connexion of the Sclavonian and Lithuanian, and of the other branches constituting the SCLAVIC family, with the languages of the Indoeuropean class in general, is sufficiently established, without exceeding the limits of the Lord's Prayer, by the resemblance of *Nebi* or *Nebesi* to the Cimbric *Nefoedd*, and the Greek *Nephos*, and of *Wolja* and *Chljeb* to the Gothic *Wilja* and *Hlaif*. The *Sclavonians* are the descendants of the ancient Sarmatians, who were situated north of the Black Sea and of the Danube. They were conquered by the Goths, and then driven by the Tartars and Huns into the north-east of Germany, and the neighbouring countries. Procopius calls them Spori, and divides them into the Sclavi and the Antes, the latter, perhaps, the same as the Wends. They formed, at an early period, two principal states, Great Russia, about Novogorod, and Little Russia, on the Dnieper, its capital being Kiew. The Russi were a Scandinavian branch, under Rurik, to whom the Sclavonians of the former state submitted in 862, whence they were called Russians: and Rurik's successor, Oleg, conquered Kiew. After several vicissitudes, the Russians were liberated by Iwan Wasiliewitch, at the end of the fifteenth century; and this period was the beginning of their greatness. Their language has some mixture of Greek, Finnish, Swedish, Tartarian, and Mongol. The ecclesiastical dialect was uniformly retained in all literary works, in the former part of the last century, but now the language of conversation is generally adopted in writing. This language is more immediately derived from that of Great Russia; that of the church, which is called the Slawenish, rather from Little Russia, and especially

* See vol. II. p. 18 of this work.

from the dialect of Servia. The *Malorussian* dialect is somewhat mixed with the Polish, and is spoken in Ukrain and Little Russia; the *Susdalian* is mixed with Greek and other languages, and is spoken in Thrace.

In 640, the Sclavonians took possession of Illyria, which before that time had been overrun by a variety of other nations, and they still retain it, under the names of Servians, Croatians, and Southern Wends. The *Servians* are supposed to have come from Great Servia, now East Gallicia, on the Upper Vistula; the *Croatians* from Great Chrobatia, probably situated on the Carpathian mountains. Cyril first adapted the Greek alphabet to the Sclavonian language in Pannonia; his letters were afterwards a little altered, and attributed to St. Jerom, in order to reconcile the people to their use, and in this form they are termed Glagolitic characters. The Servian dialect is intermediate between the Russian and the Croatian. The Bulgarians speak a corrupt Sclavonian, which Boscovich, from *Ragusa*, could scarcely understand. The *Uskoks* are a wild race of the Bulgarians extending into Carniolia, and speaking a mixed language. The dialect of Slavonia and Dalmatia is nearly the same as that of Servia and Bosnia; the churches use the ecclesiastical language of Russia. In Ragusa, the orthography approaches, in some measure, to the Italian. The Servian is also imperfectly spoken by a small colony in Transylvania. The southern *Wends* were first distinguished in 630, and were probably so named, like the Veneti, from being settled on the shores of the Adriatic, the word *Wend* or *Wand* meaning Sea. They are now mixed with Germans in Carniolia, Carinthia, and Lower Stiria. In Hungary, there is a small colony, who call themselves Slowens, and speak the *Wendish* dialect of the *Sclavonian*. The western Sclavonians, or the proper Sclavi, write their language in the Roman characters; but the specimens, copied from Adelung, are accommodated in their orthography to the German mode of pronunciation.

The *Poles* probably came with the Russians from the Danube into the countries abandoned by the Goths; the name Pole implies an inhabitant of plains. Their language was partly superseded by the Latin in the tenth century, when they

received the rites of the Latin church; but it has in later times been more cultivated. The Cassubians, or Kashubians, in Pomerania, speak a Polish mixed with a little German. In Silesia, the names of places in the plains are Sclavonian; in the hills, more lately occupied, German; but German has been the language of Breslau ever since the year 1300.

The *Bohemians* emigrated, with the Moravians and Slowaks, into their present habitations, about the middle of the sixth century, after the destruction of the kingdom of Thuringia by the Franks and Saxons. There is a Bohemian hymn of the date 990, and a chronicle in rhyme, of 1310. One-third of the Bohemians are of German origin, and speak a corrupt German.

The *Serbs*, or Wends, came about the same time into the countries between the Saal and the Oder, from the neighbourhood of the Volga or the Crimea; a few of them are still left in *Lusatia*, under the name of Wends or Sclavonians, and some in Misnia. In Pomerania the Wendish became extinct about 1400; but the *Polabes* in Lüneburg, on the Leyne, kept up till lately a language consisting of a mixture of Wendish and German. The *Sorabic* of the Russian vocabulary seems to be the same with this Serbian.

Of the *Lithuanian* or *Lettish* language, two-thirds are Sclavonian, the rest is principally German. When the Goths had removed from the Baltic towards the Black Sea, their neighbours the Aestii remained for some hundred years independent, till in the sixth century the Sclavonians incorporated themselves with them, and formed the Lettish people and language. The *Old Prussian* was spoken, at the time of the Reformation, in Samland and its neighbourhood, but it is now lost; it contained more German than the other Lithuanian dialects. The *Prussian Lithuanian* is spoken from the Inster to Memel, especially in Insterburg. The *Polish Lithuanian*, in Samogitia, has a little mixture of Polish. The proper *Lettish* is current in Lettland and Courland; it is purest about Mittau and Riga; the old Courlanders having been Fins, this dialect has received a little Finnish from them. The *Crivingian* is another dialect, spoken by the Krewins in Courland.

17. The Tshudish or Finnish, the Hungarian, and the Alba-

nian languages, have some traits of resemblance to each other; they are placed as forming the *Sporadic* or scattered order of the great *Tataric* or Asiatic class, being in some measure geographically detached from the rest, and scattered through different parts of Europe: they immediately follow the Indoeuropean class, as exhibiting an occasional resemblance to some of the languages contained in it, though not enough to make it certain that the connexion is essential or original: thus the Finnish is said to have some coincidences with the Greek, the Laplandish with the Hebrew, the Hungarian with the Finnish, and the Albanian with all its neighbours.

The term *Tshudish* is employed as comprehending the Fins, Laplanders, Esthonians, and Livonians; a race of people of unknown origin; but in all probability unconnected with the Huns or Mongols. Their languages are remarkable for the great complexity of their structure; their nouns, for example, having from ten to fifteen cases, among which are reckoned, in the Finnish, a nuncupative, a conditional accusative, a factitive, a mediative, a descriptive, a penetrative, a locative, a privative, and a negative. The Esthonian has less direct variety of termination, but several intricate combinations. There is also a great multiplicity of dialects, partly from a mixture of Scandinavian, and partly from other causes; in Lapland almost every church has a peculiar version of the service kept for its use. The *Finnish* is intermediate between the *Laplandish* and the *Esthonian*. The Esthonians are the Aestii of the Romans, the name implying Easterly, and being appropriate to the country, and not to the people. The principal dialects of their language are those of Reval and of Dorpat; some authors also consider the dialect of the Krewins in Courland as belonging to it. The *Livonian* is much mixed with other languages, and has been almost superseded by the Lettish. Among the Laplandish words, which Rudbeck has derived from the Hebrew, we find *Aedhame*, Earth, like the Hebrew *Adameh; Hadas*, New, H. *Kadesh; Hadshe*, the Moon, H. *Hhadesh; Jed*, the Hand, H. *Id; Ise*, Man, H. *Ish; Pothi*, persuaded, H. *Pathehh; Saedke*, law, H. *Tzedek;* and *Safothi*, rested, H. *Sabbath*. In the Finnish, *Kana* is something like the English and German *Hen*.

18. The *Hungarians* inhabited in the fourth century the country of the Bashkirs, between the Tobol, the Volga, and the Jaik, perhaps as colonists, since their name signifies strangers; their language was spoken in this neighbourhood as late as the thirteenth century; in the sixth they were conquered by some of their Turkish neighbours; in the end of the ninth they were forced by the Petschenegers, a Tartarian nation, to remove nearer to the Carpathian mountains. They were then engaged in the German wars, and their country having been occupied during their absence by the Bulgarians, they took possession of the Bulgarian kingdom on the Theiss, as well as of Pannonia. Their language is somewhat like the Finnish, but the people are very different from the Fins in appearance; which might indeed be the effect of a difference of climate; but in fact the language appears to be still more like the Sclavonian, with a mixture of a multitude of others; it has some words from various Tartarian dialects, German, French, Latin, Armenian, Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic; but it has no traces of the Mongol, nor is it possible that the people can be descendants of the Huns, whose character and cast of features can never be eradicated. The word *Coach*, so general in Europe, is originally Hungarian, having been derived from the town of *Kots*, where coaches are said to have been invented. The Szecklers, in Transylvania, speak a language like the Hungarian; it is uncertain whether they are a Hungarian colony, or remains of the Petschenegers; but, however this may be, there is little doubt that the Hungarians are principally of Tartarian extraction, though much mixed with other nations.

19. The *Albanians* speak a language, of which a considerable portion is Greek, Latin, German, Sclavonian, or Turkish; but the rest seems to be perfectly distinct from any other language with which we are acquainted. They are probably connected with the Albanians between Mount Caucasus and the river Cyrus, who are supposed to be derived from the Alani; some of them seem to have entered Bulgaria as late as 1308. In 1461, many of them fled from the Turks to *Italy* and *Sicily*, where they still exist near Reggio and Messina. The Clementines are an Albanian colony, who followed the Austrian army

in 1737; such of them as escaped from the pursuit of the Turks established themselves in Syrmia.

20. The languages referred to the *Caucasian* order have little to distinguish them from the rest of the class, except their geographical situation, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caucasian mountains. They have a general resemblance to some others of the languages of Northern Asia, and particularly to the Samojedic dialects, spoken on the mountains between Siberia and the Mongols. Except the Armenian and Georgian, they are scarcely ever employed in writing; and principally, perhaps, from this cause, they exhibit as great a diversity in the space of a few square miles, as those of many other nations do in as many thousands. It is only conjectured that most of the inhabitants of these countries are derived from the miscellaneous fragments of expeditions of various nations, left behind in their passage through them at different periods.

The connexion of the *Armenian* with the Sanscrit and the Persian is just enough to make it equally possible, that the coincidences may have been derived from a common parent, or that one language may have simply borrowed detached words from the other. We find, in different parts of Mr. Townsend's work, about ten Armenian words resembling some other language; these are, *Air*, a man, *Air*, Irish; *Atamn*, a tooth, *Odonta*, Greek; *Chuerk*, four, *Chatur*, Sanscrit; *Dor*, a *Door*; *E*, is, *Est*, Latin; *Es*, I, *Iaze*, Russian; *Gas*, a *Goose*, *Gans*, German; *Houze*, a *House*; *Lakeil*, to *lick*, *Leichein*, Greek; and *Sirt*, the *Heart*. Nothing is known of the history of the Armenian before the time of Miesrob, who translated the *Bible* into it, in 405; the historian Moses, of Chorene, was his pupil. The language flourished till the year 800, and is still preserved in tolerable purity, in the cloisters. The common people speak a dialect more corrupt and mixed. The Fathers of the Armenian convent at Venice have been very laudably employed in the improvement of the literature of their nation, by the publication of several very elegant editions of Armenian books, which have been executed at their press; in particular, of an Armenian translation of Eusebius, containing some passages

which are not extant in Greek, and said to have been copied from a manuscript of great antiquity at Constantinople; it is, however, very remarkable, that, as they candidly confess, the copy, when first received by them, contained the corrections and additions of Scaliger, in conformity with the text of the printed Greek edition, and the copyist, when questioned, asserted that he had merely translated and inserted passages of his own accord, and in silence, in order to make the work *more perfect*. Still the Armenian Eusebius is a very handsome book, and every way calculated to do credit to the Venetian editors and their patrons; a Latin translation of it only has been published by Angelo Mai at Milan.

21. The *Georgians* are supposed to have derived their name from the river Cyrus or Gur, and to have extended formerly to Colchis, under the denomination of Iberians. Moses of Chorene, in the fifth century, mentions the Georgian translation of the *Bible*. The old language is still preserved in the churches, and the common dialect of the country is derived from it, together with the *Kartuelish*, *Imirettish*, *Mingrelish*, and *Suanetish*, which are varieties of that dialect; the *Tushetish* is mixed with some Kistic. The Georgians have no fewer than thirty-seven letters, and among them a variety of aspirates and sibilants, of no very agreeable sounds.

22. The ABASSIC nations seem to be the oldest inhabitants of the Caucasian country; (23.) the CIRCASSIANS are situated to the east of them, on the promontory of North Caucasus; (24.) the OSSETES, on the left of the Terek, north of the mountain; the dialect of the *Dugors* is scarcely distinguishable from this; (25.) the KISTIC, spoken by the *Ingushans*, and their neighbours, at the head of the Terek, is connected with the Tushetic Georgian. 26. The LESGIANS, east of Caucasus, on the Caspian Sea, have a number of distinct dialects, or rather languages; thus, the *Chunsag*, and *Avaric*, the *Dido*, the *Kasi Kumük*, the *Andi*, and the *Akushan*, have little connexion with each other, except that the Dido somewhat resembles the Chunsag, of which the Avaric, the *Antsug*, and the *Dzhar*, seem to be subordinate dialects. The Kasi Kumük appears to have adopted

some words of the Armenian, and the Andi and Akushan of the Georgian. The dialect of Kubesha resembles that of Akusha, and retains no traces of a supposed European origin.

27. The languages of the central and elevated parts of Asia are comprehended in the order *Tartarian;* they extend from the Caspian Sea to the mouth of the Amur, through countries which have been, in former ages, the constant scenes of emigration and barbarism. The *Turcotartarians* are supposed to correspond to the descendants of the Magog of the Scriptures, and to some of the Scythians of the Greeks. The Turks of Turkestan seem to have been the Massagetæ and Chorasmii of the ancients; their country extended north of Persia and Tibet, from the Caspian to the Altaic mountains. In the twelfth century, they were brilliant and victorious; at present, a few of their descendants only are left in the neighbourhood of the Mongols, and their language is no longer spoken; the Turcomans, scattered in Persia and Arabia, are derived from the same race. The Osmans, now commonly called Turks, left Turkestan in 545, and succeeded in the conquest of Persia. They were denominated Osmans, from one of their leaders, in the fourteenth century; their language has been much mixed with Arabic and Persian. This language, with the neighbouring dialects, has been considered in the table as belonging to a family called *Caspian*, the word Tartarian having been previously applied to the whole order; several of these dialects exhibit a mixture of words from the language of the Mongols, which, as well as the Calmuck, has a sufficient connexion with them to be arranged as belonging to the same Turcotartarian family; it would, perhaps, be equally correct to consider some of them rather as distinct languages than as dialects of a single one; but it is not easy to discriminate those which are entitled to this rank; and, on the other hand, some specimens have been admitted, from the Comparative Vocabularies, which scarcely deserved to be noticed as separate dialects. The *Bucharians* are situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes, on the river Koly; they still retain some traces of a superior degree of civilization, by which they were once distinguished; their language is little known, but it seems to be at least as much

connected with the Median and Arabian families as with the Caspian. The Tartars were described by the terms Scythians, Bulgarians, Avari, and other appellations, before they were conquered and united by Genghizkhan the Mongol; in the year 1552, they became subject to the Russians. The most westerly are, the *Nogaic* or Nagaic, and Crimean Tartars; their language is much like the Turkish, but mixed with some Mongol. Those of Cumania in Hungary have now forgotten their original language, and speak the Hungarian; the last person who understood the Cumanian having died in 1770; they entered Hungary in 1086, and became Christians in 1410. The Tartarian, or rather Caspian, is spoken in great purity about *Kasan;* a dialect somewhat different in Orenburg; and another by the *Kirgishes*, who occupy part of the ancient Turkestan. "Among the Siberian Tartars, the remains of the kingdom of Turan, some are Mahometans; others, as the Turalinzic villagers, have been made Christians; at least, the Archbishop Philophei performed the ceremony of baptizing them, by ordering his dragoons to drive them in a body into the river." The inhabitants of the banks of the *Tara*, a branch of the Irtish, are said to be derived from the Bucharians. The *Tshulimic* Tartars enjoy the same advantage as the Turalinzic, and are considered as Christians by the Russians. The *Teleutes*, in Sonjor, are heathens, nearly like the Shaminites of India. The *Jakuts* extend along the Lena to the sea; their language contains some Mantshuric and some Tungusic; that of the Tshuwashes, on the Volga, is said to have been once completely distinct from the Tartarian or Caspian, and even at present, though more mixed with it, may require to be classed as forming a separate species.

The *Mongols* are marked by their features as a race very different from the other Tartars; the character of their countenance seems to be easily propagated from father to son, and never to be completely effaced; their original habitation appears to have been in the neighbourhood of the Altaic mountains. The description of the Huns, found in Ammian, Procopius, and others, agrees exactly with the present Mongols, whom the Chinese still call *Kiong nu;* and more particularly with the Calmucks:

the proper names of the Huns are also found to be explicable from the Mongol language. In the first century they were driven westwards by the Chinese: under Attila they penetrated into the middle of Europe; and they were little less successful at subsequent periods, under Genghizkhan and Timur Leng. When they were expelled from China, after having held it in subjection for more than a century, they carried back no civilization with them; nor was either of the languages permanently affected by this temporary mixture of the nations, although the physiognomy of the Chinese bears ample testimony of its having once existed. The construction of their language seems to be very indirect and figurative. Mr. Townsend has copied from General Vallancey a long list of words, in Strahlenberg's *Mongol Vocabulary*, which agree very remarkably with the Irish; among these we find *Are* and *Ere*, man, Irish *Ar*, *Air*, *Fear*; *Arul*, a spindle, Irish *Oirle*; *Alemamodo*, an apple tree, Irish *Amhalmhaide*; *Asoc*, to ask, Irish *Ascadh*; *Baiehu*, I live long, Irish *Baoth*, long life; *Bugu*, a buck, Irish *Boc*, a he goat; *Choy*, a ewe, Irish *Choi*; and *Choraga*, a lamb, Irish *Caorog*; without going any further in the alphabet. The last two instances are very striking, and seem to point very strongly at the part of the east from which the Celts may be supposed to have originally emigrated. The *Calmuck* dialect is somewhat mixed with the neighbouring Tartarian. The Tagurians, or Daurians, between the lake Baikal and the Mongol hills, are said to be of Mantshuric origin: but their language evidently resembles the Calmuck. The *Burattish* is from the Russian Vocabularies.

28. The *Mantshurians* are sometimes improperly called Eastern Mongols; they are subjects of the empire of China. Their language is rude, and not much like the Chinese, though evidently derived from the monosyllabic class; it has some few words in common with the European languages, as *Kiri*, patient; *Kirre*, German, *Cicur*, Latin, tame; *Furu*, *Furor*; *Lapta*, rags, *Lappen*, German; *Sengui*, blood, *Sanguis*: *Ania*, a year, *Annus*; but considering the remoteness of their situation, we can scarcely form any conclusion from the occurrence of these resemblances. Mr. Rémusat has lately been appointed

Professor of this language at Paris; but it will probably be difficult for him to render its study very popular in the midst of so busy a metropolis. Whether the language of the island of *Sagalien*, opposite to the mouth of the Amur, is a dialect of the Mantshuric, or totally distinct, and requiring to be classed with the insular languages, appears to be not yet sufficiently ascertained. The *Corean* has been supposed to be a mixture of Mantshuric and Chinese: the Coreans do not understand either of those languages when they are spoken; but this fact is perfectly compatible with the supposition.

29. The *Tungusians*, in the east of Siberia, subject to the Chinese, speak a peculiar language, mixed with some Mongol; the Russian Vocabularies contain specimens of a variety of their dialects, besides those of the Tshapogirs on the Jenisei, and the Lamuti on the sea of Ochotsk, none of them particularly interesting or remarkable.

30. The languages belonging to the *Siberian* order occupy the principal part of the north of Asia between the mountainous Tartarian territory and the Frozen Sea. At the commencement of this order, we find a variety of inconsiderable nations in the neighbourhood of the confines of Europe and Asia, which have their distinct languages, probably formed in times comparatively modern, out of the fragments of others. They have almost all of them some Finnish words, but none a sufficient number to justify us in considering them as dialects of the Finnish language, although the people were very probably connected with the Fins, as neighbours, in the middle ages, on the banks of the Dwina and elsewhere. The *Sirjänes*, in the government of Archangel, speak nearly the same language with the *Permians*, who are partly in the same government, and partly in that of Kasan. The *Wotiaks*, on the Wiatka, also in Kasan, have a dialect which seems to be intermediate between the Permian and the Tsheremissic. 31. The *Woguls*, situated on the Kama and the Irtish, afford specimens of several dialects in the Russian collection; they seem to have borrowed a few words from the Hungarian, and much more from the language of the *Ostiaks* (32), who are also divided into several races. 33. The *Tsheremisses*, situated on the Volga, in Kasan,

have a little mixture of Turcotartarian. 34. The *Morduins*, on the Oka and Volga, have about one-eighth of their language Finnish, and also some Turcotartarian words: the *Mohtanic* is a dialect differing but slightly from the Morduin. 35. The *Teptjerai* are people paying no taxes, who originated from the relics of the Tartarokasanic kingdom in the sixteenth century, and who are said to speak a language peculiar to themselves. The arrangement of all these dialects must remain very imperfect; for want of a greater number of specimens of their peculiarities.

36. The *Samojedic* nations are situated north of the Tartars, by whom they may possibly have been driven into their present habitations. Their language seems to have some affinity with the Caucasian and Lesgian dialects, and some of them with the Wogulic and Ostiak families; the specimens in the Comparative Vocabularies seem to have been multiplied somewhat too liberally. 37. The *Camashes* are situated on the right of the Jenisei; they are Shamanites or Buddhists: their language seems to be a mixture of several others, and is divided into several very distinct dialects. The *Koibals* have been baptized; they have borrowed some words from the Turcotartarian family. The *Motors* are situated on the Tuba. 38. The Ostiaks on the river Jenisei afford us five specimens of languages totally different from those of the Ostiaks already mentioned, but nearly connected with each other, so that they may properly be called *Jeniseiostiaks*.. 39. The *Jukagirs* or *Jukadshirs* are few in number; they are situated between the Jakuti and the Tshutshi; they have some Jakutish words mixed with their language, and some Tsheremissic. 40. The *Koriaks* and the *Tshutshi* occupy the north-easternmost point of Siberia; the proper Koriak is spoken on the bay of Penshin; the *Kolymic* on the river Kolyma, the *Tigilic* on the Tigil in Kamtshatka, and the *Karaginic* on the island Karaga; the Tshutshic has been considered as a dialect of the Koriak. 41. The *Kamtshathans* are a little further south; the *Tigilic Kamtshathan* is found, however, on the north of the Tigil; the *Srednish* to the west, on the Bolshaia, and the *Jozhnyshic* on

the river Kamtshatka, and towards the south Cape. The languages of the neighbouring parts of America, according to Professor Vater, greatly resemble the Tshutshic.

The *Insular* order of the Tataric or Atactic class of languages must be understood as comprehending all the Asiatic islands east of Borneo. 42. The language of the *Curilees* is spoken not only in the principal of these islands, but also in Kamtshatka, about Cape Lopatka; but in some of the islands the Japanese is spoken. The *Japanese* derive themselves from the Chinese; but their language contradicts this opinion; they have evident traces of Mongol extraction or relationship. The amiable islanders of *Leu cheu* will long be remembered by the British public for the hospitality they showed to the Alceste and the Lyra; their language appears to be related to the Japanese, as might be expected from their situation. *Formosa* was conquered by the Dutch in 1620, but in 1661 it was taken from them by a Chinese pirate: the next year some books were printed in the Formosan language in Holland; the recapture of the island not being yet known there; in 1682, it was finally given up to the Chinese government. 47. The *Moluccan* is considered by Dr. Leyden as an original language; that of Magindanao contains some Malayan, Moluccan, Tagalish, and Bugis. The *Tagalish* or *Gala* is the principal language of the *Philippines*, and almost as generally understood in that neighbourhood as the Malay and Hindustanee in other parts; it is allied to the Malayan and to the Javanese, and was probably derived in great measure from these languages; it also resembles in some measure the Bugis. The *Bissayish* is a ruder dialect of the Tagalish. The *Sulu* differs but little from these dialects, being derived from the same sources. The *Bugis* is the language of Celebes; it is supposed to be more ancient than the Javanese; it seems to contain no Sanscrit, but much Malay, Tagalish, and Javanese, and some of the old Ternate or Moluccan; it is written in a peculiar character, and some good poetry is found in it; there is a dialect called the *Mungharar*. The *Bima* somewhat resembles this dialect; it is spoken in the eastern parts of Sumbawa, and the western of Endé or

Flores; it is written either in the Bugis or the Malay character; it seems to have a distant resemblance to the language of Orissa; the dialect of *Sumbawa* exhibits some slight variations. A few single words, as *Matta*, the eye, and *Matte*, death, are found to coincide in almost all the islands of the *Pacific Ocean*; the languages of which, notwithstanding their immense distances, seem to differ less than those of the inhabitants of some very small continental tracts; and they might probably be divided into a few well defined families, if our knowledge of them were more complete. The resemblance of *Matte* to the Arabian *Mot*, and the Latin *Mactare*, is probably accidental.

The number of the AFRICAN languages is supposed to amount to 100 or 150, and as many as 70 or 80 of them have been distinguished with tolerable accuracy. The population of Africa seems to have been derived from Arabia, and, as some critics think, rather from the southern than from the northern parts; a great number of its present inhabitants are negroes, but these cannot be distinguished from the rest by any infallible criterion. The account given by Ptolemy of the interior part of the country appears to be wonderfully accurate and extensive; although some of his measures seem to be erroneous, and not sufficiently reconcileable with the truth, even by adopting Major Rennell's hypothesis respecting them. It is however remarkable that Ptolemy followed Hipparchus in extending the eastern coast of Africa to the Ganges, although more correct ideas of its form had been entertained at Alexandria before his time.

The *Egyptians* demand the priority, in treating of the inhabitants of Africa, from their early connexion with ancient history, both sacred and profane. It is observable that the representations of the old Egyptians have countenances more or less approaching to the negro physiognomy, though the dry bones of the skeleton have that character somewhat less decidedly than they must have had when clothed with the thick lips and flattish noses of the generality of the representations; at the same time there are sculptures of great antiquity, which exhibit features not unlike those of correct Grecian or Roman beauty; and others have a considerable resemblance to the

Arabian nation; at present the people of middle Africa, in general, are more or less like negroes, but they are somewhat less dark, and their noses and lips are less peculiar; the women sometimes screamed if Burckhardt made his appearance on a sudden, and called him the Devil, because he was white. The Egyptians are supposed by some writers to have received their civilization from Ethiopia; but there are at present no traces of the remains of high civilization further south than Nubia, except a few scattered monuments about Axum, of no great antiquity. The Egyptians were first called Copts by the Saracens, and their language has been commonly distinguished by the appellation *Coptic*, that is, as written in characters which are principally Greek, and frequently intermixed with a number of pure Greek words; but not a single fragment of Coptic has yet been discovered in this form that is earlier than the establishment of Christianity in Egypt; and it seems probable that the character was introduced by the early Christians at the time of the translation of the Scriptures into Coptic, which is certainly of very high antiquity. The Greek authors frequently mention an Egyptian alphabet of twenty-five letters; but no traces of any such alphabet are found in the multitudinous inscriptions or manuscripts that have been preserved by the exertions of the numerous and adventurous travellers who have lately visited the country. (See the article EGYPT, *supra*, No. III.) The Greek words mixed with the Coptic are not considered by the grammarians as incorporated with the language, nor are they admitted into the dictionaries. The genuine language bears very evident marks of great antiquity; its construction is simple and often awkward; and a great number of its words are monosyllables. We have positive evidence of its having remained unaltered, from the time of Herodotus, Plutarch, and other Greek authors, and it affords us the etymology of the name of Moses, and of some other words mentioned in the Scriptures. It exhibits a few coincidences with other ancient languages, but not enough to enable us to consider it either as the offspring or the parent of any of them, except that it gives us something like an explanation of the meaning of some of the Greek particles. Out of 114 original Egyptian

words, which are enumerated by the Quarterly Reviewer, in his account of Mr. Townsend's work, there are fifty-two that resemble the Greek, twenty-seven the German and English, eighteen the Hebrew, three the Syriac, two the Arabic, two the Sanscrit, one the Sclavonian, and one the Cantabrian. It is, however, probable, that a person more intimately acquainted with the languages of the Arabian family would have been able to find a much greater number of coincidences, since nations, which had so much intercourse as the Jews and the Egyptians, could scarcely fail to have many words in common, even if their languages had been at first completely different; and probably many of the Arabic roots, which are not Hebrew, may be found in the Egyptian. To the Cantabrian word inserted in this enumeration, Dr. Young has added five others, in his late essay, already quoted, the whole six being *Berria*, new; *Ora*, a dog; *Guchi*, little; *Oguia*, bread; "Otsoa," a wolf, whence the Spanish *Onza;* and *Shashpi*, seven; in Coptic, *Beri*, new; *Uhor*, a dog; *Kudshi*, little; *Oik*, bread; *Uonsh* a wolf; and *Shashf*, seven; whence he infers that "if we consider these words as sufficiently identical to admit of our calculating upon them, the chances will be more than a thousand to one that, at some very remote period, an Egyptian colony established itself in Spain; for none of the languages of the neighbouring nations retain any traces of having been the medium through which these words have been conveyed. On the other hand," he continues, "if we adopted the opinions of a late learned antiquary," General Vallancey, "the probability would be still incomparably greater, that Ireland was originally peopled from the same mother country; since he has collected more than one hundred words, which are certainly Egyptian, and which he considers as bearing the same sense in Irish; but the relation, which he has magnified into identity, appears in general to be that of a very faint resemblance; and this is precisely an instance of a case in which it would be deceiving ourselves to attempt to reduce the matter to a calculation." It may, indeed, be imagined that the Egyptian dominions may formerly have extended to the Straits of Gibraltar, and that Spain may have derived a part of its population from this part of Africa,

which approaches so near to it; but it could scarcely have happened that no traces of Egyptian monuments should ever have been found at any distance from the Nile, if that active people had really occupied any considerable portion of the neighbouring continent. The word *Chemistry*, in Greek *Chemia*, is well known to be derived from the Egyptian; it has successively been compared, by the Quarterly Reviewer, to *Chim* or *Chem*, heat; and to *Chem*, secret; the latter is the more probable origin of the two; and a third etymon might be found, if it were required, in the word *Dshem*, or *Ghem*, to *find* or *Invention*. The Coptic language has been nearly extinct for about two centuries; but the service has been read in Coptic much more lately in some of the churches; though it has now been almost entirely superseded by the Arabic. The proper Coptic, or Memphitic, which was the dialect of Lower Egypt, is supposed, from a word quoted by Herodotus, to be the most ancient; the Sahidic or Thebaic of Upper Egypt was probably preserved for a longer time, especially in some of the monasteries; there is a separate version of the principal part of the *Bible* in this dialect, fragments of which have been published by Mingarelli and Woide; a third dialect, much resembling the Thebaic, is commonly called the Bashmuric, and a fourth, the Oasitic, has been partially made known by Mr. Quatremère de Quincy.* The Egyptians have left no traces of their language among the people who at present occupy the countries that they inhabited; the Nubian vocabularies, collected by Burckhardt, contain no Coptic words; the people are of different Arab races, but have acquired peculiar dialects, probably mixed with those of the neighbouring negro nations, of several of which we find specimens in Mr. Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia*. But one of the most learned, as well as the most adventurous and industrious of modern travellers, has remarked some coincidences between the old Egyptian language and that of the Barabras, who are neighbours of the Nubians, and extend to the confluence of the

* This is a mistake. The dialect in question, of which only two fragments are known, was first pointed out by M. Etienne Quatremère (Recherches sur l'Egypte p. 217, sqq.), who conjectured that it might have been spoken in "les deux Oasis, la grande et la petite, qui, situées à peu de distance de l'Égypte, s'étendent du nord au sud depuis le parallèle d'Assouan jusqu'à la frontière du Fayoum."—*Ed.*

Tacazze and the Nile. The Geez and Amharic have already been mentioned as descendants of the Arabian family; they seem to have introduced some traces of this extraction into several of the neighbouring dialects, probably by the translations of the Scriptures, or by the use of the Koran. Professor Vater has taken some pains to prove that the language of Amhara, the Camara of Agatharchides, is wholly independent of the Ethiopic and Arabian; but in this he appears to be mistaken. It exhibits some slight resemblance to the Sanscrit, in a few instances; thus, *Tshègure* is hair, in Sanscrit, *Tshicura.* Macrizi tells us, that there are, in the whole, fifty Abyssinian dialects, but he has probably exaggerated their number. We have obtained more authentic information respecting them from the collections of Bruce, and of his editor, Murray, and still more lately from Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Salt. Of the Mek of Dungola, the representative of a long race of the Christian Kings of Nubia, little is now known, except that he is in a great measure dependant on the King of Sennaar on the one hand, and has been expelled from a part of his territories by the Mamelukes on the other. Of the Agows and the Gafats, neighbours of the Abyssinians, and situated on the Bahr el Azrek, as well as the Jewish Falashas, who are scattered over the country, especially in Dembea, we have read much in the historical romances of Mr. Bruce, which certainly give a faithful picture of the countries to which they relate, notwithstanding some unaccountable inaccuracies with respect to the personal adventures of the author.

The north of Africa is occupied by inhabitants not much differing in appearance from the Arabs; its three principal divisions are the coast, the country of wild beasts, and the desert. The later Arabs have expelled the earlier Africans from the first division, and partly from the second; the *Berbers* occupy the third, inhabiting principally the Oases, or cultivable islands, scattered through the desert, from Mount Atlas to Egypt, and speaking, as Horneman first ascertained, the same language throughout this vast extent. They were first well described by Leo Africanus; they are probably the remains of the Mauritanians, Numidians, Gætulians and Garamatians; there is no foundation whatever for the opinion of some modern

authors of celebrity, that their language is derived from the Punic: we even find, from Sallust, that the Numidian language differed from the Carthaginian, and from Valerius Maximus, that it was written in a peculiar character, perhaps the same with that which is found in the inscriptions from Lebeda, now in the court of the British Museum. The language of the *Canaries* considerably resembles the Berber; thus, Milk is *Acho* in Berber, and *Aho* in the Canaries. These islands were discovered in 1330, and afterwards conquered, with some difficulty, by the Spaniards; the inhabitants were a fine race of men, and lived in comfort and tranquillity; and they still present some traces of their original character and condition.

The country between the desert Zaara and the Niger is inhabited by a race of people who have a great resemblance to negroes, but are somewhat different from them. In the east are those of *Sudan* or *Afnu*, and *Begirma*; in the west the *Fulahs*; the *Phellatas* are a branch of these, extending considerably to the north-east, with a mixture of negroes.

Of the languages of the negroes, strictly so called, many interesting specimens have been collected by the zeal of the evangelical missionaries in the Caribbee Islands, and published by *Oldendorp*, in his Account of the mission; but they do not afford us sufficient materials to enable us to trace any extensive connexions or dependencies among their multifarious dialects.

There are some points of coincidence between the language of *Madagascar* and those of the Malays, the Philippine islanders, the *Beetjuana* Caffres, and the *Corana* Hottentots; there are also a few words, in many of the African dialects, borrowed from the modern Arabic, not, as Court de Gebelin would persuade us, from the Phœnician; nor can any other of the affinities be very distinctly established.

The *Caffres* have little of the negro character, except the black colour, and less of this as they become more remote from the equator; they are supposed to extend across the whole of Africa, immediately north of the Hottentots, as far as Benguela and Quiloa. The *Hottentots*, with their neighbours the *Bosjemen*, speak different dialects of the same singular language, in different parts of their country. Of that of the *Dammaras*,

little or nothing is known. Lichtenstein has classed them as Hottentots; but Barrow, who was better acquainted with them, considers them as Caffres.

(Gesner, *Mithridates, de Differentiis Liguarum*, 8. Zurich, 1555.—Megiser, *Specimen XL. Linguarum*, 1592.—Duret, *Thrésor de l'Histoire des Langues*, 4.—Lüdeken (Müller), *Specimina Linguarum*, Berl. 1680—Chamberlayne, *Oratia Dominica*, Amst. 1715.—Schultz, *Orientalischer und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister*, Leipz. 1748—Hervas, *Saggio*. Hervas, *Idea dell' Universo*, 4. Cesenn. 1778-87, Vol. XVII.-XXI. *Vocabularia Comparativa*, 2 Vols. 4to. Petersburgh, 1787, 4 Vols. 1790. Bergmann, *Specimina*, Ruien, 1789.—Marsden's *Catalogue of Dictionaries and Grammars*, 1796.—Marcel, *Oratio Dominica*, Paris, 1805.—Adelung und Vater, *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachkunde*, 4 Vols. 8vo., Berlin, 1806-17.—Le Pileur, *Tableaux Synoptiques de mots similaires*, 8vo. Paris and Amst. 1812.—Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*, 8vo. Edin. 1814.—Townsend's *Character of Moses*, Vol. II. 4to. Bath, 1815.—Leyden, *Asiatic Researches*, X.—*Brief View of the Baptist Missions and Translations*, 8vo. Lond. 1815.—Vater, *Index Linguarum totius Orbis*, 8vo. Berl. 1815.—Vater, *Proben Deutscher Mundarten*; Seetzens *Nachlass*, 8vo. Leipz. 1816.—Arndt, *Ursprung und Verwandtschaft der Europäischen Sprachen*, 8vo. Frankfort, 1818, compared with the Russian. *Volney sur l'Etude Philosophique des Langues*, 2nd edit. 8vo. Paris, 1820.—Laments that he has not the *happiness* to understand German.—*Quarterly Review*, No. XIX. 8vo. Lond. 1813, XXVII. 1816.)

No. XI.

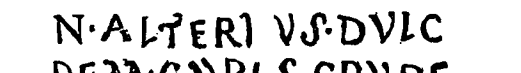
ON THE PAPYRI OF HERCULANEUM.

From the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iv., p. 624.

REFERRING the reader to the *Encyclopædia* for some account of the discovery and antiquities of this city, we propose in the present article to direct his attention to the attempts which have been made to recover the literary treasures, long retained in a state intermediate between existence and annihilation among its ruins. The few successful results of the investigation, which have hitherto been laid before the public, are, indeed, of such a nature as not to have rewarded, by their importance, the great labour which has been bestowed on them. But the zeal of the lovers and patrons of literature has not allowed their ardour to be subdued by the difficulties of the task. His present Majesty, GEORGE the FOURTH, is well known to have distinguished himself, in the early part of his life, by the munificence which he displayed in sending over a native of this country to superintend and remunerate the operations which were slowly and patiently conducted upon the manuscripts at Naples; and, in the course of the last few months, one of the most illustrious ornaments of British science, supported by a similar liberality on the part of our government, has been engaged in far more rapidly bursting the fetters of the imprisoned authors, by the masterly touch of his magic wand.

The progress of the discovery and examination of these singular remains of antiquity has been described, from time to time, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in many other publications. It was in October 1752 that the first of the carbonised rolls of papyrus were found: and Paderni's account of them

is accompanied by an interesting specimen, which exhibits the genuine form of the characters used by the Romans in their manuscripts.



The precise spot where the discovery was made was the Bosco di Sant' Agostino, a shrubbery belonging to the church of St. Austin, close to Portici, towards Torre del Greco: it was covered with ashes, and a hard tufa or lava, to the depth of about 120 English feet. In the course of a year or two about 250 rolls had been found, some Greek and some Latin. The library appeared to be an apartment belonging to a considerable palace, which had not been further examined. The floor was of an elegant mosaic work: the books were in presses, inlaid with different sorts of wood, disposed in rows, and ornamented with cornices. In 1754, Paderni spent twelve days in this room, and found in it 337 volumes, all apparently made brittle by the fire, and all in Greek; besides, eighteen rolls of a larger size, lying in a separate bundle, which were in Latin, and were more injured than the Greek. The former 250 seem to have been in a separate room belonging to the same building. Some few of the rolls had an umbilicus or roller of wood in the centre. The canon Mazzocchi began his labours about this time, and found that the subject of one of the manuscripts was *Music*, and that of another the *Epicurean philosophy*: a small bust of Epicurus having also been found in the same room.

In 1755 a further account of these operations was communicated to the Royal Society by Mr. Locke. "Within two years last past," says his correspondent, "in a chamber of a house, or, more properly speaking, of an ancient villa, for by many marks it is certainly known, that the place, where they are now digging, was never covered with buildings, but was in the middle of a garden; there has been found a large quantity of rolls, about half a palm long, and round, which appeared like roots of wood, all black, and seemed to be only of one piece. One of them falling on the ground it broke in the middle, and

many letters were observed, by which it was first known that the rolls were of papyrus. The number of these rolls, as I am told, was about 150, of different sizes. They were in wooden cases, which are so much burnt, as are all the things made of wood, that they cannot be recovered. The rolls, however, are hard, though each appears like one piece. Our king has caused infinite pains to be taken to unrol them and read them; but all attempts were in vain; only by slitting some of them some words were observed. At length Signor Assemanni, being come a second time to Naples, proposed to the king to send for one Father Antonio [Piaggi], a writer at the Vatican, as the only man in the world who could undertake this difficult affair. It is incredible to imagine what this man contrived and executed. He made a machine with which, by the means of certain threads, which, being gummed, stick to the back part of the papyrus, where there was no writing, he begins by degrees to pull, while, with a sort of engraver's instrument, he loosens one leaf from the other, which is the most difficult part of all; and then makes a sort of lining to the back of the papyrus, with exceeding thin leaves of onion [goldbeaters' skin] if I mistake not; and with some spirituous liquor, with which he wets the papyrus, by little and little he unfolds it. All this labour cannot be well comprehended without seeing. With patience superior to what man can imagine, this good father has unrolled a pretty large piece of papyrus, the worst preserved, by way of trial. It is found to be the work of a Greek writer, and is a small philosophic tract, in Plutarch's manner, on *Music*; blaming it as pernicious to society, and productive of softness and effeminacy. It does not discourse of the art of music. The beginning is wanting. The papyrus is written "across," in so many columns, every one of about twenty lines, and every line is about four inches long. Between column and column is a void space of "more than" an inch. The letters are distinguishable enough. Father Antonio, after he has loosened a piece, takes it off where there are no letters and places it between two [pieces of glass] for the better observation; and then, having an admirable talent in imitating characters, he copies it with all the lacunae, which are very numerous in the

scorched papyri, and gives this copy to the Canon Mazzocchi, who tries to supply the loss and explain it. The letters are capital ones, and almost without any abbreviation. The worst is, the work takes up so much time, that a small quantity of writing requires five or six days to unrol, so that a whole year is already consumed about half this roll. The lacunae, for the most part, are of one or two words, that may be supplied by the context. As soon as this roll is finished, they will begin a Latin one. There are some so voluminous, and the papyrus so fine, that unrolled they would take up 160 palms space [or almost 100 feet]. The curiosity of these papyri is, that there is *no* little shaft of wood on which *they were* rolled."

It may here be remarked, that the practice of rolling books on an umbilicus of wood was by no means universal where papyrus was employed. The Egyptian manuscripts, for instance, so frequently found in the catacombs, are without any umbilicus, the end of the sheet being left blank, for the purpose of being doubled up into a sort of core, which remained unopened, and served instead of a roller. A wooden pen, without a slit, was found in some of the subsequent excavations, together with other materials for writing. In 1755 the name of Philodemus had been discovered at the end of the first manuscript, and another work of the same author, on *Rhetoric*, had been unrolled. Mazzocchi was translating these, and two persons were constantly employed upon other volumes.

Some interesting particulars respecting the history of these operations are also found in Barthélémy's *Voyage en Italie*, published at Paris in 1801. "It was a long time," says the author, "before any mode could be devised of unrolling them, and in this dilemma some of them were cut with a knife longitudinally, as we divide a cylinder in the direction of its axis. This mode of proceeding disclosed the writing to view, *but completely destroyed the work.* The different strata of the paper adhered so closely together, that in attempting to separate them they were reduced to 'ashes' [or rather dust]; and all that could be obtained was a single column or page, of a manuscript, that consisted perhaps of a hundred."

"Under these circumstances, a patient and persevering

monk suggested a mode of completely unrolling the paper. He made some attempts, which occupied a considerable portion of time, but in which by degrees he was successful. He goes on with his tedious labour, and in the same manner gradually and slowly succeeds. His plan is this. Having found the beginning of the manuscript, he fastens to the exterior edge some threads of silk, which he winds round so many pegs, inserted in a small frame. These pegs he turns with the utmost precaution, and the manuscript is imperceptibly unrolled. Little is to be expected from the first few layers of the paper, which in general are either torn or decayed. Before any pages of a work can be obtained, the manuscript must be unrolled to a certain depth, that is, till the part appears which had suffered no other injury than that of being calcined. When a few columns have been thus unrolled, they are cut off, and pasted on linen. For unfolding one of these manuscripts, several months are requisite, and hitherto nothing has been obtained but the last 38 columns of a Greek work against music. Two other columns or pages are also shown, of two Greek manuscripts, that were cut to pieces before the method of unrolling them was discovered. Each appears to have been part of a philosophical dissertation."

In some letters from the Secretary of the French Embassy at Naples, subjoined by M. de St. Croix, and dated 1785, 1786, and 1787, it is asserted that of about 1500 or 1800 manuscripts that had been discovered, 200 or more had been destroyed by a charlatan who undertook to restore them with the assistance of some chemical application: it is also stated as highly probable that many thousands of similar manuscripts may still exist in different parts of the ruins; a conjecture so much the more interesting, as the greater number of the rolls hitherto found "have been so crushed that it will never be possible to open them, and several have been injured by the *barbarous attempt* to separate the leaves with a knife."

The work of Philodemus was published in 1793, as the first volume of the *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt.* f. Naples. The manuscript is faithfully delineated in copperplates, and the restored readings and translation are printed on

the opposite page, followed by an elaborate commentary: the Academicians of Portici are the professed editors. The title at the end stands thus, the work being the fourth book only of the essay.

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ
Δ

A passage in the last column will serve as another specimen.

ΡΑΙΝΟΝΤΑϹ ΤΟϹΑΥΤΑΤΟΙ
ΝΥΝΕΙΡΗΚΩϹΠΡΟϹΑΤΙΝ
ΕΓΚΕΧΕΙΡΗΚΑϹΙΔΙΑΤΕΙΝΑΙ
ΜΗΝΑΝΔΕΟΝΤΩϹΟ ΧΑΡΙΝ
ΜΕΝΠΙΘΑΝΟΤ ΤΟϹΑΥΤΩΝ

The subsequent volumes of the series are little known in this country. But a part of another manuscript was inserted in the *Herculanensia* of Sir W. Drummond and Mr. R. Walpole (4to. Lond. 1810);* together with a very favourable report of the progress of the operations, which had been continued under the patronage of his present Majesty, and at the expense of the British Government.

"Many obstacles," say the authors in their dedication to the Prince of Wales, "opposed themselves to the accomplishment of this noble design, which address and perseverance could alone remove. The difficulty of opening the rolls of papyrus, which had been reduced to a perfect carbo, can scarcely be conceived by those who have not witnessed the process. Much time and many hands were required in carrying it on; and the expense incurred was proportionate to the labour. When the manuscripts were unrolled, it was necessary that persons competent to the task should decipher and transcribe them; distribute the (capital) letters into the words to which they belonged; and supply those deficiencies in the text which but too frequently occurred. At the head of the directors of this difficult undertaking were Rosini, the editor of Philodemus; an English gentleman [the late Mr. Hayter] sent out for the pur-

* A Review of that work by Dr. Young appeared in the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. iii.; see infra, p. 569.—*Ed.*

pose by your Royal Highness; and, we believe, a Neapolitan priest, supposed to be deeply versant in ancient literature. It was not until large sums had been expended by your Royal Highness, and the success of the execution had justified the boldness of the plan, that pecuniary assistance was requested and obtained from Parliament. Attentive as the people of this country are, and ought to be, to the expenditure of the public money, they must glory in having contributed, with the heir-apparent to the British throne, in forwarding a work which does honour to the English name."

Again, in the preface, "The first papyrus which was opened contained a treatise upon *Music*, by Philodemus the Epicurean. It was in vain that Mazzocchi and Rosini wrote their learned comments on this dull performance: the sedative was too strong; and the curiosity, which had been so hastily awakened, was as quickly lulled to repose. A few men of letters, indeed, lamented that no further search was made for some happier subject on which learned industry might be employed; but the time, the difficulty, and the expense, which such an enterprise required, and the uncertainty of producing any thing valuable, had apparently discouraged and disgusted the academicians of Portici.

"Things were in this state, when his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales proposed to the Neapolitan government to defray the expenses of unrolling, deciphering, and publishing the manuscripts. This offer was accepted by the court of Naples; and it was consequently judged necessary by his Royal Highness to select a proper person to superintend the undertaking. The reputation of Mr. Hayter, as a classical scholar, justified his appointment to the place, which the munificence of the Prince, and his taste for literature, had created. This gentleman arrived at Naples in the beginning of the year 1802, and was nominated one of the directors for the development of the manuscripts.

"During a period of several years, the workmen continued to open a great number of the papyri. Many, indeed, of these frail substances were destroyed, and had crumbled into dust, under the slightest touch of the operator.

"When the French invaded the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1806, Mr. Hayter was compelled to retire to Sicily. It is certainly to be deeply regretted, that all the papyri were left behind. The writer of this preface only knows, with certainty, that when he arrived at Palermo in 1806, on his second mission to his Sicilian Majesty, he found that all the papyri had been left at Naples, and that the copies of those which had been unrolled were in the possession of the Sicilian government. How this happened, it would be now fruitless to inquire. The English minister made several applications to the court of Palermo to have the copies restored, but without success, until the month of August, 1807. It was pretended that, according to the original agreement, the manuscripts should be published in the place where his Sicilian Majesty resided; that several Neapolitans had assisted in correcting, supplying, and translating them; that his Sicilian Majesty had never resigned his right to the possession, either of the originals or of the copies; and that, as a proof of this right being fully recognised, the copies had been deposited by Mr. Hayter himself in the Royal Museum at Palermo. It was, however, finally agreed, that the manuscripts should be given up, *pro tempore*, to Mr. Drummond, who immediately replaced them in the hands of Mr. Hayter. In the space of about a year, during which period they remained in the possession of the later, a fac simile of part of one of the copies was engraved, and some different forms of Greek characters, as found in these fragments, were printed under his direction.

"From some circumstances which took place in the summer of 1808, and to which we have no pleasure in alluding, a new arrangement became indispensable. Mr. Drummond proposed to the Sicilian government, that the copies should be sent to London, where they might be published with advantages which could not be obtained at Palermo. His proposal was acceded to, and they have been accordingly transmitted to England. The manner in which their publication will be conducted will, of course, depend upon the determination of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in whose hands they have been deposited; but it may be presumed, that the Repub-

lic of Letters will not have to lament, that these interesting fragments are to be brought to light under the auspices of a Prince, who has always shown himself to be the protector of learning and the arts. We venture not to assert, but we believe, that the manuscripts will be submitted to the inspection of a select number of learned men, and will be edited under their care, and with their annotations and translations."

Mr. Walpole informs us in a subsequent article dated at Palermo, 1807, that the whole of the manuscripts that were then in Sir W. Drummond's house, amounting to more than EIGHTY, were Greek, with the exception of one fragment of a Latin poem, which is said to have been a description of the *Battle of Actium* and its consequences, and which has been conjectured by some critics to be the work of the Varius, well known by name as the friend of Horace. One of the *eighty* has appeared in the Herculanensia; but where are the *seventy-nine?* The whole of the manuscripts were reported to have been presented to the University of Oxford; has a new volcano, throwing out darkness and ashes, overwhelmed them on the banks of the Isis? Or were they, notwithstanding all the labour and expense of obtaining them, found too imperfect to deserve publication? It seems, indeed, not improbable, that the persons employed to unrol them in the first instance, who were paid in proportion to the number of pages they obtained, were too strongly tempted to sacrifice such parts of the manuscript as would have required the most labour, for the more profitable object of proceeding with a portion which would allow them to earn the most pay with the least loss of time, and that some irreparable injuries have been done to the manuscripts from these interested motives. Some pages, however, of the copies were certainly very little impaired, and these must at least deserve to be preserved from further accidents, by printing and publishing them in the simplest possible form.

It is well known, that at the time of the first arrangement between the two courts, respecting these operations, the King of Naples sent six of the rolls unopened, as a present to the Prince of Wales; nor were the antiquaries and philosophers of Great Britain inattentive to this latent treasure. Several expe-

riments were made at Carlton House, in imitation of the processes which were said to have been successful in Italy; and at last, two of the manuscripts were entrusted to the care of an individual, who is supposed to have given an account of his own further attempts, in the fifth number of the *Quarterly Review.**

"At first," he informs us, "as it often happens in such cases, he appeared to be very confident of ultimate success; but difficulties afterwards occurred, and he did not continue his experiments long enough to overcome them, or even very materially to lessen them; his professional engagements interfered, much of his time had already been sacrificed, and the intelligence, that Sir W. Drummond had succeeded in obtaining possession of the whole collection of the works which had been unrolled, made his own attempts appear comparatively too insignificant to deserve immediate prosecution."

"One mode of treating the papyri occurred, however, to this gentleman, which appeared to him to promise a decided advantage to such as might hereafter proceed in the operation. This was the employment of the anatomical blowpipe, an instrument which he had many years before been in the habit of using for delicate purposes, in the place of a dissecting knife.. The blowpipe served him . . for a knife and a forceps; for the gum, the goldbeater's skin, and the threads of the Italians. No instrument can be so soft in its pressure as the air, for holding a thin fragment by suction, without danger of injuring it; no edge nor point can be so sharp as to be capable of insinuating itself into all the crevices which the air freely enters. But the humidity of the breath he found to add much to the utility of the instrument. The slight degree of moisture, communicated to the under or inner surface of a fold, made it curl up and separate from the parts beneath, where the adhesion was not too strong; while dry air from a bladder was perfectly incapable of detaching it. But the process of separating every leaf in this manner was always tedious and laborious, where there was much adhesion, and sometimes altogether impracticable. Chemical agents of all kinds he tried without the least advantage; and even maceration, for six months, in water, was

* See supra, p. 565, note.

unable to weaken the adhesion. It is remarkable that the characters were not effaced by this operation; so that the gum, which had fixed them on the paper, must have wholly lost its solubility, and the rest of its original properties.

"It has indeed been supposed by some travellers, that the manuscripts were, in reality, never charred, the ashes, thrown out by the volcano, having been probably incapable of communicating to them a sufficient degree of heat for producing this effect. In fact it is said that some of the spices, found in an embalmed body, retained a considerable portion of their aromatic smell. But there is no doubt whatever that the papyri are now complete charcoal, such as is formed by heat only. A small fragment of their substance burns readily, like common charcoal, with a creeping combustion, *without flame*, and with a slight vegetable smell; fresh papyrus burns with a bright flame; and almost all mineral coal, which may possibly have been formed from vegetable substances, without the operation of heat, flames abundantly. *Bovey coal*, for example, which retains much of the appearance of wood, exhibits a *considerable flame*. It is highly probable that many of the adhesions have been formed by the oily and smoky vapours distilled off from the hottest parts, and irregularly condensed in the colder; and, so far as this conjecture may be true, it would perhaps be advisable to try the effects of a *longer maceration* in alcohol and in *ether*, than has hitherto been employed. The 'spear of Achilles' might also be applied with very reasonable hopes of success. A repetition of the exposure to heat, kept up more equably and more powerfully, might very probably expel the adhesive substances, without injuring the texture of the charcoal; proper care being taken to preclude completely the access both of air and of water, which might be done first by means of the air pump, and then by the insertion of a little potassium, together with the roll, in a vessel hermetically sealed. But the adhesions appear sometimes to be of a mere mechanical nature, being derived from the irregular folds, into which the manuscripts have been pressed, or from some roughness of the contiguous surfaces." P. 18, 20.

Mr. Hayter thought it necessary to reply to some of the

criticisms contained in this article, and published a pamphlet entitled *Observations upon a Review of the Herculanensia* (4to. London, 1810), strenuously maintaining that the quotation from the *comedy* of Timocles, already extant in Athenæus, ought to be a hexameter, and not an iambic; and seeming almost to believe that *Pluto,* and not *Plato,* is the author of the fanciful etymology of the name of Juno, though the passage quoted happens to be found in Plato's *Cratylus.* It is difficult to understand by what test the merits of such a scholar were appreciated, when he was appointed to superintend the operations at Portici.

The next era of our national exertions exhibits, however, a still more striking example of good nature and facility. Dr. Sickler, of Hildburghausen, who had been in Italy as a private tutor, succeeded in convincing a Committee of the Royal Society of Göttingen, that he had unrolled a fragment of papyrus, of which he exhibited a specimen. There was no evidence that the particular manuscript, on which the experiment was said to have been performed, had presented any considerable difficulty; and it was well known that some of the pages had been read before with comparative ease. It happened, however, that the page in question bore the intrinsic marks of a gross fraud. At first sight, it read like perfectly good Greek, and it had all the genuine rust of antiquity about it; but, upon examination, it was found to contain a blunder which no Greek writer, nor any Greek librarian, could ever have committed; for the name of a serpent is made feminine, while in all ancient authors it is uniformly masculine; and the general air of authenticity was easily understood, when it was found that it was copied, with little variation, from detached passages of Diodorus Siculus, and principally from the fabulous account of the voyage of Jambulus to Ceylon and beyond it. In the mean time a negotiation with Dr. Sickler had been commenced; an account of it was published, with the specimen in question, under the title of *Herculaneum Rolls. Correspondence relative to a Proposition made by Dr. Sickler,* 4to. London, 1817; the parties thought themselves too far engaged to retract; nor had they the patience to wait for the result of a preliminary experi-

ment upon a portion of a roll, which had been weighed in London, and sent, carefully packed, to Hildburghausen, in order that the surface developed might be accurately compared with the weight: and Dr. Sickler was brought to London, with his family, for the more effectual prosecution of his operations, which were so successful in a few months, as to ruin twelve chosen specimens, which had been sent over as a second present to the Prince of Wales; with the exception, however, of a few fragments, which were left sufficiently entire to be made the subject of some subsequent experiments of a chemical nature.

This mischievous farce was at last terminated by a *Report of the Committee appointed to superintend the Experiments of Dr. Sickler*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, in March, 1818; the Committee stating, in conclusion, that Dr. Sickler had totally failed in his endeavours to satisfy them that his method was practicable; and annexing an account of the expenditure, of something more than 1100*l.* in the purchase of this total failure.

But one advantage, and that not an unimportant one, was derived from this investigation. Sir Humphry Davy had been appointed one of the superintending committee; and his studies having recently been directed to the different states of carbonic substances, in the course of his patriotic and benevolent researches into the means of preventing explosions in coal mines, he was the more naturally led to consider by what agents these apparently carbonised substances might be capable of modification. The whole detail of the process which he invented has never been made public, in order that it might not be abused by any unprincipled projector: but there is reason to think that it bears considerable analogy to the *maceration in ether*, which had been tried unsuccessfully, but still recommended as deserving further examination, by a less fortunate operator. A very interesting report of Sir H. Davy on the state of the manuscripts was published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution* for April, 1819.

"My experiments soon convinced me," says Sir Humphry, "that the nature of these manuscripts had been generally misunderstood; that they had not, as is usually supposed, been

carbonised by the operation of fire, and that they were in a state analogous to peat or *Dovey coal*, the leaves being generally cemented into one mass by a peculiar substance, which had formed during the fermentation and chemical change of the vegetable matter comprising them, in a long course of ages. The nature of this substance being known, the destruction of it became a subject of obvious chemical investigation; and I was fortunate enough to find means of accomplishing this without injuring the characters, or destroying the texture of the manuscripts.

"After the chemical operation, the leaves of most of the fragments perfectly separated from each other, and the Greek characters were in a high degree distinct; but two fragments were found in peculiar states; the leaves of one easily separated, but the characters were found wholly defaced on the exterior folds, and partially defaced on the interior. In the other, the characters were legible on such leaves as separated, but an earthy matter, or a species of tufa, prevented the separation in some of the parts; and both these circumstances were clearly the results of agencies to which the manuscripts had been exposed, during or after the volcanic eruption by which they had been covered.

"It appeared probable from these facts, that different manuscripts might be in other states, and that one process might not apply to all of them; but even a partial success was a step gained; and my results made me anxious to examine in detail the numerous specimens preserved in the museum at Naples. Having had the honour of showing some of my results to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness was graciously pleased to express his desire that I should proceed in my undertaking; and I found, on my arrival at Naples, that a letter from his Royal Highness to the King, and a communication made from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Neapolitan Government, had prepared the way for my inquiries, and procured for me the necessary result of such patronage, every possible facility in the pursuit of my objects.

"An examination of the excavations that still remain open at

Herculaneum immediately confirmed the opinion which I entertained, that the manuscripts had not been acted on by fire. These excavations are in a loose tufa, composed of volcanic ashes, sand, and fragments of lava, imperfectly cemented by ferruginous and calcareous matter. The theatre, and the buildings in the neighbourhood, are encased in this tufa, and, from the manner in which it is deposited in the galleries of the houses, there can be little doubt that it was the result of torrents laden with sand and volcanic matter, and descending at the same time with showers of ashes and stones, still more copious than those that covered Pompeii. The excavation in the house in which the manuscripts were found, as I was informed by Monsign. Rosini, has been filled up; but a building, which is said by the guides to be this house, and which, as is evident from the engraved plan, must have been close to it, and part of the same chain of buildings, offered me the most decided proofs that the parts nearest the surface, and *à fortiori* those more remote, had never been exposed to any considerable degree of heat. I found a small fragment of the ceiling of one of the rooms, containing lines of gold leaf and vermilion in an unaltered state; which could not have happened, if they had been acted upon by any temperature sufficient to convert vegetable matter into charcoal.

"The state of the manuscripts exactly coincides with this view; they were probably on shelves of wood, which were broken down when the roofs of the houses yielded to the weight of the superincumbent mass; hence many of them were crushed and folded in a moist state, and the leaves of some pressed together in a perpendicular direction, and all of them mixed in two confused heaps; in these heaps the exterior manuscripts, and the exterior part of the manuscripts, must have been acted on by water; and as the ancient ink was composed of finely divided charcoal suspended in a solution of glue or gum, wherever the water percolated continuously, the characters were more or less erased.

"Moisture, by its action upon vegetable matter, produces decomposition, which may be seen in peat bogs in all its different stages; when air and water act conjointly on leaves or

small vegetable fibres, they soon become brown, then black, and by long continued operation of air, even at common temperatures, the charcoal itself is destroyed, and nothing remains but the earths which entered into the construction of the vegetable substance. When vegetable matter is not exposed to moisture or air, its decay is much slower; but in the course of ages, its elements gradually react on each other, the volatile principles separate, and the carbonaceous matter remains.

"Of the manuscripts, the greater number (those which probably were least exposed to moisture or air, for till the tufa consolidated, air must have penetrated through it) are brown, and still contain some of their volatile substance, or extractive matter, which occasions the coherence of the leaves; others are almost entirely converted into charcoal, and in these, when their form is adapted to the purpose, the layers may be readily separated from each other by mechanical means. Of a few, particularly the superficial parts, and which probably were most exposed to air and water, little remains except the earthy basis; the charcoal of the characters and some of that of the vegetable matter being destroyed, and they are in a condition approaching to that of the manuscripts found at Pompeii, where the air, constantly penetrating through the loose ashes, there being no barrier against it as in the consolidated tufa of Herculaneum, has entirely destroyed all the carbonaceous parts of the papyrus, and left nothing but earthy matter. Four or five specimens that I examined were heavy and dense, like the fragment to which I referred in the introduction to this report, a considerable quantity of foreign earthy matter being found between the leaves, and amongst the pores of the carbonaceous substance of the manuscripts, evidently deposited during the operation of the cause which consolidated the tufa.

"The number of manuscripts, and of fragments originally brought to the museum, as I was informed by M. Ant. Scotti, amounted to 1696; of these, 88 have been unrolled, and found in a legible state; 319 more have been operated upon, and, more or less, unrolled, and found not to be legible; 24 have been presented to foreign potentates. Among the 1265 that

remain, and which I have examined with attention, by far the greater number consists of small fragments, or of mutilated or crushed manuscripts, in which the folds are so irregular as to offer little hopes of separating them so as to form connected leaves; from 80 to 120 are in a state which presents a great probability of success, and of these the greater number are of the kind in which some volatile vegetable matter remains, and to which the chemical process, referred to in the beginning of this report, may be applied with the greatest hopes of useful results.

"The persons, charged with the business of unrolling the manuscripts in the museum, informed me that many chemical experiments had been performed upon the manuscripts at different times, which assisted the separation of the leaves, but always destroyed the characters. To prove that this was not the case with my method, I made two experiments before them; one on a brown fragment of a Greek manuscript, and the other on a similar fragment of a Latin manuscript, in which the leaves were closely adherent; in both instances the separation of the layers was complete, and the characters appeared to the persons who examined them more perfect than before.

"It cannot be doubted, that the 407 papyri, which have been more or less unrolled, were selected as the best fitted for attempts, and were, probably, the most perfect; so that, amongst the 100 or 120, which remain in a fit state for trials, even allowing a superiority of method, it is not reasonable to expect that a much larger proportion will be legible. Of the 88 manuscripts containing characters, with the exception of a few fragments, in which some lines of Latin poetry have been found, the great body consists of works of Greek Philosophers or Sophists; nine are of Epicurus; thirty-two bear the name of Philodemus; three of Demetrius, and one of each of these authors, Colotes, Polystratus, Carneades, and Chrysippus; and the subjects of these works, and the works of which the names of the authors are unknown, are either *natural* or *moral philosophy*, *medicine*, *criticism*, and general observations on the *arts*, *life*, and *manners*."

The opinion of Sir Humphry Davy, and that of the anony-

mous operator, with respect to the state of the manuscripts, are so inconsistent with each other, that the decision between them seems almost reduced to the comparison of the credibility of opposite testimonies. According to the article in the *Quarterly Review*, "there is no doubt whatever that the papyri are now complete charcoal, such as is formed by heat only: a small fragment of their substance burns readily, like common charcoal, with a creeping combustion, without flame, and with a *slight vegetable* smell; . . Bovey coal exhibits a considerable flame." On the other hand, Sir Humphry's experiments have "convinced" him, that the manuscripts are "in a state analogous to peat, or Bovey coal:" and he infers, from his examination of the surrounding objects, that they could not have been acted upon "by any temperature sufficient to convert vegetable matter into charcoal." Now it seems natural to prefer, on such an occasion, the authority which stands the highest with respect to the department of science in question, especially when one of the parties is unknown: but, in the present instance, some additional evidence may not be thought superfluous; and, in fact, a portion of one of the rolls, which had been examined both by Sir Humphry and by the earlier experimenter, has been very lately submitted to a new analysis, by a chemist well known for the minute accuracy of his investigations, and the solidity of his conclusions. He has exposed the carbonaceous matter to the process of destructive distillation, and he could obtain nothing whatever from it like asphaltum or any other product of mineral coal. It had scarcely enough of volatile matter to give any perceptible tinge of brown to the humidity absorbed by the substance, but enough to afford an animal smell, extremely like that of burnt bone, which he could only attribute to the glue or size of the ink, not completely decomposed by the same heat which had expelled all the volatile parts of vegetable origin: and upon exposing some glue, spread on paper, to the heat of boiling quicksilver, he obtained a partial carbonisation, which he conceived to be perfectly analogous to that of the manuscripts; the substance thus formed affording, when exposed to a stronger heat, very copious vapours of an empyreumatic oil, though the products of the vegetable matter were probably ex-

pelled by the heat first applied: and, on the other hand, the heat of boiling quicksilver did not produce the animal smell from the papyrus. Hence he judged that the precise temperature of the overwhelming mass might be ascertained with tolerable accuracy; and he was persuaded that nothing but a heat approaching to 600° of Fahrenheit could have reduced the roll which he examined to the state in which he found it. At any rate, when we consider that a heat a little above 220° is capable of blackening, when applied for a long continuance, the wood that surrounds the boiler of a steam engine, it seems very difficult to agree with Sir Humphry Davy in thinking that the manuscript could not have been subjected to "any heat capable of converting vegetable matter into charcoal:" unless by charcoal he understands pure carbon; and in this sense his observation will readily be admitted by all parties. It seems, indeed, to have been precisely with this conception of the state of the manuscripts, that it was suggested by the *Quarterly Reviewer* that some benefit might be expected from submitting the rolls to a heat more intense than that which they appeared to have undergone. The experiment, however, has been subsequently performed with considerable care; but it failed completely of success. A fragment of a roll, consisting of several thicknesses, adhering together, was enclosed in a crucible, surrounded by charcoal powder, and kept for some time in a red heat: but no perceptible alteration took place in the state of the fragment, the adhesions were in no degree detached, nor was the legibility of the characters on the surface impaired.

After the failure of this experiment, in order to leave no mechanical means untried, a cutting machine was contrived, consisting of a very thin circular plate made into a fine saw, and put in rapid motion by wheel work; this apparatus was found perfectly capable of dividing the substance of the roll, without splintering it, as knives have been found to do; and it was hoped that, by cutting it across wherever there was a considerable fold, it would be possible to extricate many parts from each other, which were only retained in contact by this accidental complication of form; and that having the advantage of beginning from within, it would be easier to work down upon

the successive surfaces bearing the letters, the writing being always found on the inside only; and no material difficulty was apprehended in reuniting the several parts, when they should once have been rendered legible. It was also recollected that the interior parts of the manuscript had in general been the least crushed and the least adherent; and it was hoped that a part at least of each manuscript might thus be rendered legible with ease, and at the same time without destroying the parts remaining unopened. But the interior parts of the roll, which had been thus divided, were found as adherent as the exterior, and the adhesions still remained every where invincible; so that all hopes of succeeding by mechanical means only were finally abandoned. The machine was afterwards sent to Naples, as it was thought likely to be of use in some of the operations that Sir Humphry Davy's process would require; but it is said not to have been found necessary for this purpose.

With regard to Sir Humphry's observation, that vegetable matter not exposed to moisture or air undergoes a much slower decay, but that in the course of ages "its elements gradually react on each other, the volatile principles separate, and the carbonaceous matter remains," it may be remarked, that the rolls of papyrus do not seem to undergo any change of this nature, in the course of twenty or thirty centuries; for the Egyptian volumes, which are often found enclosed within the bandages of mummies, are generally so free from decay, that the paper has retained its primitive whiteness, without much alteration, except sometimes a slight tinge of brown; and its texture is so little impaired, that it still bears ink well without running. When, however, a roll has been in any degree pervaded by moisture, the water is found to have dissolved the gum which unites the elementary leaves of the plant, and to have caused partial adhesions of the contiguous surfaces of the sheets to each other.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be respecting the reasoning on which Sir Humphry Davy appears to have grounded his processes, there can be little doubt that they have been actually employed with considerable advantage. Mr. Burton was encouraged by the British government to undertake

the manipulation of the chemical operations that were required; and Mr. Elmsley was requested to prolong his stay in *Italy*, and to become the superintendent of the literary department. It is said, that, according to the latest accounts, Sir Humphry is well satisfied with his success, and that a great variety of manuscripts have been rendered more or less legible; but that their contents have proved of little more importance than might have been expected from the nature of the specimens before examined.

There can be no doubt that if Mr. Elmsley attempts the restoration of any of the mutilated manuscripts, his labours will be free from such errors as have disgraced some of the former restorers of the Greek text; for, in fact, even the work of Philodemus on *Music*, which is commonly supposed to have been so well edited, exhibits some singular instances of a want of familiarity with the idiom of the language, and of a critical knowledge of its rules. In the 38th and last column, which was cursorily examined, for the purpose of selecting a specimen of the characters only, a passage occurs which is thus read and translated by the "Academicians of Portici." Τοσαυτα τοινυν ειρηκως, προς ἁ τινες εγκεχειρηκασι, δια τ' ειναι μην αν δεοντως, ὁτι χαριν μεν πιθανοτητος αυτων ουδε πολλοστημοριον ωφειλον εκτεινειν. *Tot igitur tantaque disserui adversus ea quæ aliqui tractarunt*, propterea quia oppositum fortasse erat. *Namque profecto propter ipsorum suadelam ne minima quidem parte debebam me extendere.* It is scarcely necessary to point out to any Greek scholar, that the true reading must be διατεινaίμην ἂν δεόντως. "Having said thus much, *I may probably have been sufficiently diffuse* in replying to the arguments of some persons; but 'that,' in proportion to the plausibility of these arguments, I ought not to have extended my discussion beyond a very small part of its actual magnitude. . ."

Such mistakes, however, can do but little injury to the mutilated authors, provided that the original be preserved at the same time in its unaltered state. But that original, in its authentic though imperfect form, is the only object of comparative value; and to delay its publication, for the sake of restorations of any kind, seems to be but a refined species of

selfishness. "When we reflect," says the *Quarterly Reviewer*, "on the shortness of human life, and on our own grey hairs, we tremble to think how little chance there is of our being benefited by any great proportion of the EIGHTY manuscripts still unpublished." Ten years, alas, have now elapsed since these reflections were printed, and not a line of the manuscripts in question has yet made its way to that public, which had so equitable a claim to a full communication of their contents.

It must not, however, be denied, that to the great majority of readers it would be far more agreeable and convenient to have the works not only restored but translated, if it could be done with tolerable accuracy, and without any very great loss of time. And even where a *probable* restoration is beyond our reach, it might be of some advantage to substitute a *possible* one. Thus, the specimen which has been copied from the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1752, might suggest the three hexameters,

ALTER.IN.ALTERIUS.DULCI.AMPLEXU.
MORITURUS.
NON.EQUIDEM.CURIS.CRUDELIA.FATA.MOVERI.
POSSE.REOR.NEC.ME.VITAE.SPES.VANA.FEFELLIT.

Lines which are not indeed very harmonious or poetical, but which *might* have stood in the same work with

CONSILIIS.NOX.APTA.DUCUM.LUX.APTIOR.ARMIS,

and with Cleopatra's

TRAHITURQUE.LIBIDINE.MORTIS,

which are almost the only specimens that we possess of the poem attributed to Varius. If several independent attempts of this kind were made by different critics, the presumption in favour of those restorations, which were found to be common to all, would be raised from a mere possibility to a strong probability; but whether the same expense of labour and talents, directed into some other channel, might not create original works of still greater value, is a question not easy to be decided.

It is, however, of the less consequence to decide it, as the

British operations on the manuscripts have been somewhat abruptly terminated: and the whole of this article must be considered as historical only. The failure of the experiments is attributed to the mutilated state of the rolls which were subjected to them, the best having been already opened; so that little has been obtained from the attempt, except a knowledge of the subjects of some of the manuscripts examined, which were almost all in Greek, and all in prose. The whole investigation has been conducted with all possible caution and economy; and if nothing has been added to our literary treasures, at least nothing has been taken away from our scientific reputation.

LIVES OF EMINENT SCHOLARS.

No. XII.

LIFE OF JOHN HORNE TOOKE.*

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, an ingenious grammarian and an active politician, born in Westminster, June 1736, was the son of Mr. John Horne, a tradesman living in Newport Market.

He was the third of seven children; but his father having acquired considerable affluence, sent him first for a short time to Westminster School, and then to Eton, where he remained five or six years without particularly distinguishing himself, and was removed sooner than had been intended on account of the accidental loss of an eye. He went, in 1755, to St. John's College, Cambridge, and took a degree of Bachelor of Arts there. He then became an usher in a school at Blackheath, kept by Mr. Jennings; but he was soon after induced by his father to take deacon's orders, and obtained a curacy in Kent. His own preference, however, was so much in favour of the law, that in 1756 he entered as a student of the Middle Temple; but in 1760 he was persuaded to return to the church, and to receive ordination as a priest; and he officiated for three years in the chapelry of New Brentford, which his father had purchased for him; performing his duties with decency, and taking some pains to study the elements of medicine for the sake of the poorer members of his congregation. He then went as tutor to France with the son of Mr. Elwes, a gentleman of Berkshire, well known for his riches and his economy.

In 1765, he commenced his political career by writing an

* Among Dr. Young's numerous contributions to the *Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica* were forty-six biographical sketches, for the most part of eminent scientific men, a selection from which has been reprinted in vol. ii. of this work. The lives of Tooke, Wakefield, Bryant and Porson, are inserted in this volume as their appropriate place.—*Ed.*

anonymous pamphlet in defence of Wilkes and his party. He returned to the continent, and made the tour of Italy in company with a Mr. Taylor; and at Paris he formed an intimacy with Wilkes himself, who then found it convenient to reside there. He had altogether laid aside his clerical character in these excursions, but he resumed it for a short time after his return: soon, however, he relapsed into his political amusements; exerting himself, with some success, in various elections, as a partisan of his friend Wilkes, and taking up the cause of a Mrs. Bigby, in the pursuit of an "appeal of blood," against the murderers of her husband, who were supposed to have obtained a pardon through corrupt interest with the court; though the widow at last disappointed him by accepting a pecuniary compensation for her right of appeal. He was, however, successful, on his own behalf, in repelling a prosecution for a libel on Mr. Onslow; and he gained some credit with a party in the city by suggesting to Beckford, then Lord Mayor of London, the reply which he made to the King's answer to their remonstrance, and which may still be seen, engraved on the pedestal of Beckford's statue in Guildhall. He was soon after very active in establishing the Society for supporting the Bill of Rights, and in obtaining the liberation of Bingley, the printer, who had been somewhat hastily committed to prison by Lord Mansfield.

He had reason to be dissatisfied, in the year 1770, with the conduct of Wilkes, in some pecuniary transactions relating to the Society for the Bill of Rights: both parties appeared to the public in a light somewhat ridiculous on the occasion, and neither of them gained in respectability, though the Society did not appear to value Wilkes the less for the exposures that took place; it was, however, shortly after dissolved, and most of its members, except the particular friends of Wilkes, were incorporated into the Constitutional Society. The next year, Mr. Tooke completed his academical course at Cambridge, by taking the degree of Master of Arts, though not without some opposition. He exerted himself greatly about this time in procuring the publication of the debates of the House of Commons in the daily papers, notwithstanding the well-known Standing Orders of the House; and so far as he was instrumental in carrying this point, he appears to have rendered at least one very essen-

tial service to his country; but Wilkes, and especially Almon, the bookseller, are said to have a still stronger claim to the merit of this transaction, whatever may have been its character.

He had also a sharp contest with the anonymous "Junius," against whose hasty attack he defended himself with great spirit and energy, and with unexampled success. In 1773, he made a formal resignation of his living, and meant at the same time completely to lay aside his clerical character, though no person seems to have felt himself authorised to accept this part of his resignation; and he began to study the law very diligently, intending to make it the occupation of his life. He adopted soon after a singular method of forcing himself upon the notice of the public, and of the House of Commons in particular: an inclosure bill being about to be hurried, as was reported, a little too rapidly through the House, he wrote some paragraphs in a newspaper, which reflected very severely on the conduct of the Speaker, on purpose that he might be summoned to appear before the House; and being placed at the bar, he gave such reasons for his conduct as produced some animated discussions, and in the end was supposed, though probably without foundation, to have caused the bill to be modified in some oppressive clauses. By these means he obtained the favour of Mr. Tooke of Purley, who thought himself aggrieved by the bill in its original state, and received from him such assurances of testamentary favours as induced his nephew, Colonel Harwood, to agree upon a partition of their joint interest in the reversion of his estate; though Mr. Horne never received, first and last, more than 8000*l.* from the property, notwithstanding the subsequent change of his name about the year 1782, in acknowledgment of his patron's kindness, and his long continued intimacy and frequent residence at Purley; the principal legatee, after all, being a Mr. Beaseley.

Mr. Horne Tooke was, of course, a strenuous opposer of the American war; and in 1777, he published a very offensive advertisement, in which the sufferers in the battle of Lexington were described as having been murdered by the king's troops. For this attack on the Government, he was tried at Guildhall,

in July, 1777; he conducted his own defence, but he was found guilty of the libel, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the King's Bench, and a fine of 200*l*. It was on this occasion that he first appeared before the public as a grammarian, in the criticisms which constitute his celebrated *Letter to Mr. Dunning*. The next year he suffered a still severer punishment, in the refusal of the Society of the Inner Temple to admit him to the bar, on account of his having taken orders; so that his prospects of professional advancement were utterly annihilated. This occurrence made him still more bitter against the existing Government, and in 1780 he printed some severe remarks upon the measures of Lord North. He attempted to establish himself as a practical farmer in Huntingdonshire; but he caught an ague, and soon became disgusted with an agricultural life; he returned to London, and occupied for some years a house near Soho-square. His ideas of Parliamentary reform, contained in a second letter addressed to Mr. Dunning, were by no means extravagant, and he continued to adhere, in this respect, rather to the party of Mr. Pitt than to that of Mr. Fox.

The publication of his grammatical dissertations, under the title of the *Diversions of Purley*, afforded but a slight and imperfect intermission of his political pursuits, for his etymological works are as replete with the politics of the day as his speeches and his pamphlets; another of which appeared in 1788, under the title of *Two Pair of Portraits*, being intended to serve the cause of Pitt's party in their elections. But in 1790 he became himself a candidate for the representation of Westminster, in opposition to Mr. Fox and to Lord Hood; and he distinguished himself sufficiently as a popular orator, though he was not successful in the contest.

He was tried, in 1794, for High Treason, together with several other members of the Corresponding Societies, who had been active in attempting to introduce some imitations of the French Revolution in the plans of reform which they brought forward. He exhibited on the trial somewhat more of firmness than of good taste: one of his associates had before been acquitted, and the jury speedily returned a similar verdict with respect to himself. He afterwards dedicated the second volume

of his *Diversions of Purley* to his counsel, Gibbs and Erskine, and to the jury who tried him.

In 1796, he again became a candidate for the representation of Westminster; but again without success: and, notwithstanding his strong opinions respecting a reform in Parliament, he afterwards condescended to accept from Lord Camelford, in 1801, a seat for the nominal burgh of Old Sarum. It was then to be determined if a clergyman could sit in the House of Commons; but the ministry, instead of contesting the point with respect to his particular case, brought in a bill to decide the question in the negative for the future, and he remained in the House till the dissolution of the Parliament in the next year, but without particularly distinguishing himself in its proceedings.

His last public effort, as a party man, was made in espousing for a short time the cause of Mr. Paull, as candidate for Westminster; but he abandoned this gentleman in a subsequent contest. The later years of his life were chiefly passed in the society of a select circle of friends, who frequently partook of his hospitality at Wimbledon. He died in March, 1822, leaving his property to some natural daughters; for he had never been married. He was buried in Ealing church, and not in his garden, as he had directed; his executors thinking themselves the less bound by these instructions, as a literal compliance with them might have been unfavourable to the "sale" of the property.

1. His earliest publication was a pamphlet entitled *The Petition of an Englishman*, 1765. It consisted principally of apologies for the private conduct and immoral writings of Wilkes.

2. He also published *A Sermon* while he continued in the church, that is, before the year 1773: but it attracted little notice.

3. *A Letter to Mr. Dunning*, 1778. The rudiments of his grammatical system, arising out of remarks on the particles employed by the Attorney-General in his indictment, and by the judges in his sentence: it was afterwards incorporated into the *Diversions of Purley*.

4. *Facts*, 1780: consisting of remarks on the administration

of Lord North; with some additions relating to finance, by Dr. Price.

5. *A Letter on Parliamentary Reform*, 1782: addressed to Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

6. Επεα Πτεροεντα, or *Diversions of Purley*, 8 1786. Ed. 2. 4. Part I. 1798. Part II. 1802. His great and celebrated work: rich indeed in etymology and in wit, but meagre in definition and in metaphysics.

7. *A Letter to the Prince of Wales*, 1787: relating to the supposed marriage with a Catholic.

8. *Two Pair of Portraits*, 8. 1788. The two Pitts contrasted, in opposite columns, with the two Foxes, in colours by no means favourable to the latter.

9 Many of his *Letters* have been printed in Stephens's *Life of Tooke*, 2 v. 8. Lond. 1813.

It is from the last-mentioned publication that this historical sketch of Mr. Tooke's life has principally been extracted: it now becomes necessary to add some remarks on his literary and moral qualifications; and in both these points of view, the subject has been treated in so masterly a manner by the author of an article in the *Quarterly Review*, who is supposed to be a near relation of Tooke's most intimate friend, the late Colonel Bosville, that it would be presumption in any man to go over the same ground, without adopting very nearly the eloquent and energetic expressions, which that noble and learned person has employed.

"Mr. Tooke," says the accomplished reviewer of the *Memoirs of his Life* (*Q. R.* Vol. VII. No. xiv. p. 325), "was possessed of considerable learning, as indeed his writings sufficiently show. To other more casual acquirements, he united a very extensive acquaintance with the Gothic dialects, of which he has so copiously and so judiciously availed himself in his etymological researches." But it must be remarked, that a person more intimately acquainted with the "Gothic dialects" as living languages will easily discover, that his knowledge of them was in truth but superficial, or that he was indebted for it more to grammars and dictionaries, than to any extensive study of the authors who had written in those languages, or to any habit of

speaking them; and such a person will easily find a variety of instances, in which a very different etymon to that which he has assigned, will naturally suggest itself as the true origin of the word in question.

(P. 320.) "Though Mr. Tooke's philosophical works are the results of no common talent and industry, yet they are neither written in a truly philosophical spirit, nor do they display traces of a mind which, even if it had been wholly dedicated to the study of metaphysics, would have much enlarged the bounds of our knowledge in that nice and intricate branch of science. His object seems to have been rather to retard than to advance the progress of philosophy, by recalling us from those sound conclusions as to the nature and operations of the human mind, which are built upon observation and experience, to vague speculations, drawn from the imperfect analogy existing between the moral and the physical world. There can be no doubt that the proposition which he has succeeded in establishing, is highly interesting and important; and that, in the illustration of it, he has shown great learning, ingenuity, and research. But then, on the other hand, he has so monstrously exaggerated its importance, and so widely mistaken its tendency, and has attempted to raise so vast a superstructure upon such a narrow, slippery, and inadequate foundation, that we are quite lost in amazement when we recollect how completely the sagacity, which guided him so well in the investigation of his principal fact, appears to desert him, when he comes to apply that fact to the purposes of a theory. The distance between what he has proved, and what he wishes us to believe that he has proved, is enormous. What he has proved is, that all words, even those that are expressive of the nicest operations of our minds, were originally borrowed from the objects of external perception; a circumstance highly curious in the history of language, consequently in the history of the human mind itself, and the complete demonstration of which, of course, reflects great credit upon its author. What he thinks he has proved is, that this etymological history of words is our true guide, both as to the *present* import of the words themselves, and as to the nature of those things which they are intended to signify: a proposition so monstrous,

that he has no where ventured to enunciate it in its general form, but has rather left it to be collected from the tenor of his remarks upon particular instances. In truth, the inferences at which Mr. Tooke arrived, far from being warranted by his facts, are directly the contrary of those to which he ought naturally to have been led by the result of his own studies, when they were most successful. In tracing upwards, through all the mazes of etymology, the origin of words, he ought to have seen more clearly, if possible, than anybody else, that their *real present* sense is not to be sought for in their primitive signification, or in the elements of which they were originally composed, but that, on the contrary, their *actual import*, with which alone in reasoning we have to do, hardly ever corresponds with their etymological meaning, although the one always bears to the other a certain resemblance, more or less accurate, according to the greater or less effect of time and accident. One could without difficulty understand, how a person, unaccustomed to such considerations, and misled by a few instances partially chosen, should adopt a theory like that which Mr. Tooke was desirous to establish; but how a philosopher, minutely acquainted with the whole subject, and proceeding upon a most copious induction of particulars, should not have perceived that, in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred, such a doctrine would lead to absolute absurdity, is, to us at least, inconceivable."

The Reviewer then follows Mr. Dugald Stewart in some very just criticisms, which this acute metaphysician had already made on several of Mr. Tooke's examples, fully proving the complete fallacy of the system which so completely confounds the definition of a term with its etymology. Mr. Tooke has, indeed, the merit of having demonstrated pretty clearly that all the parts of speech, including those which grammarians had often considered as expletives and unmeaning particles, may be resolved more or less completely into nouns and verbs: but on the one hand it has been observed, that the very same doctrine may be clearly traced back to the works of Aristotle; and on the other, it may be asserted with equal truth, if we wish to carry the theory to its utmost extent, that language consists only of nouns and *one verb*: since all verbs may in fact be

resolved into participles, or adjectives, compounded with auxiliary verbs, as well as those which exhibit this complication in their exterior form.

"In the ordinary intercourse of life," Mr. Tooke "was kind, friendly, and hospitable."—(P. 325.) "We doubt whether his temper was naturally good; but if it was not, he had a merit the more; for he had so completely subdued it by care and self-control, as never to betray, under any provocation, the slightest mark of that irritability which often accompanies talent, and which gains so rapidly upon those who know not how to guard against its approaches. Indeed, the aspect under which he appeared in private was by no means such as the stern cynicism and ferocious turbulence of his public conduct would have led one to expect; and those, whose opinion of him has been formed exclusively upon his political character and his writings, will have some difficulty in believing that the curate of Brentford was one of the best bred gentlemen of the age. In this respect he was a sort of phenomenon. He was born in a low station: at no period did he appear to have possessed any remarkable advantages for the study of good breeding; on the contrary, the greater part of his life was spent in constant intercourse with coarse, vulgar, and uneducated men; yet his natural taste was so good, and he had profited so judiciously by whatever opportunities he enjoyed, that courts and high stations have seldom produced a better example of polite and elegant behaviour, than was exhibited by the associate of Messrs. Hardy and Thelwall. Indeed, his manner had almost every excellence that manner can display: grace, vivacity, frankness, dignity. Perhaps, indeed, in its outward forms, and in that which is purely conventional, his courtesy wore the air of the 'vieille cour,' and was rather more elaborate than is consistent with the practice of this lounging, unceremonious age; but it was never forced or constrained, and it sat not ungracefully upon an old man." It may, however, deserve to be remarked, in contemplating this paradox, though rather as a collateral coincidence than as a satisfactory explanation, that even from his infancy Tooke had actually seen something of the

very highest society, having been admitted once or twice a week at Leicester House as a playfellow to the late king; and though he may have learned but little from imitation of the manners of the young prince, yet the early habit of self-restraint, imposed by such a presence, may easily have imprinted some courtly traces on his character, which were not easily effaced, and which an association with the heirs of the first families of the kingdom, throughout his boyhood, at Westminster and at Eton, must naturally have made still more distinct and permanent.

"He never appeared to greater advantage than in conversation." "He possessed an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, which he introduced with great skill, and related with neatness, grace, rapidity, and pleasantry: he had a quick sense of the ridiculous, and was a great master of the whole art of raillery, a dangerous talent, though the exercise of it in his hands was always tempered by politeness and good humour."

"In spite of labour and dissipation (p. 328), his life was protracted to a period which indicated an originally sound and vigorous frame. For the last twenty years, however, he was subject to several severe, distressing, and incurable infirmities. These he bore with a patience and firmness which it was impossible not to admire: to the very last he never suffered himself to be beaten down by them, nor ever for one moment indulged in complaint, or gave way to despondency. In the intervals of pain, nay, even when actually suffering under it, he preserved a self-command, which enabled him to converse, not only with spirit and vigour, but with all his accustomed cheerfulness and pleasantry, never making any demand upon the sympathy of his friends, or mentioning his own situation at all, except when occasionally, and by a very pardonable exercise of his sophistry, he amused himself in exalting its comforts, and explaining away its disadvantages; displaying, in this respect, a manly spirit and a practical philosophy, which, if they had been brought to bear upon his moral, as well as upon his physical condition, if they had been employed with as much effect in reconciling him to his political exclusion as to his bodily sufferings, might have produced, not the very imperfect character we have been attempting

to delineate, in which the unfavourable traits bear so large a proportion to those of a nobler and more benign cast, but the venerable portrait of a truly wise and virtuous man."

Reid's *Memoirs*, 8. Lond. 1812; *Quarterly Review*, June, 1812; A. Stephens's *Life of Tooke*, 2 v. 8. Lond. 1813; *British Critic*, N.S. Vol. I. p. 79, 193; Aikin's *General Biography*, IX. 4. Lond. 1814; Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, XXIX. 8. Lond. 1816.

No. XIII.

LIFE OF WAKEFIELD.

GILBERT WAKEFIELD, a commentator and critic of some celebrity, born at Nottingham, 22nd February, 1756, was the son of the Reverend George Wakefield, Rector of the parish of St. Nicolas.

He was observed in his earliest infancy to be of a serious turn of mind, and he made a rapid progress in the first elements of literature. At the age of seven, he was sent to a free school at Nottingham, and remained there two years, chiefly under the tuition of Mr. Beardmore, afterwards master of the Charterhouse: he was then sent to a school kept by the Reverend S. Pickthall, at Wilford, an institution which seems to have been only distinguished by the regular imprisonment of the boys for no less than eleven hours a day. After this, when his father obtained the vicarage of Kingston in Surrey, with the chapelry of Richmond, he was placed under the care of his curate, who kept a school at Richmond; he was, however, removed in 1769 to a better conducted establishment in the same neighbourhood, kept by the Reverend R. Wooddeson, of whom he speaks in his Memoirs with high approbation.

At sixteen he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, where his classical studies still continued to be the principal object of his attention, although he was so fortunate as to obtain the rank of second wrangler at the termination of his academical studies in 1776. He has, indeed, the candour to observe, that the year was below mediocrity, with regard to the performances of the candidates in general; and that, when he obtained the second classical medal, on the Duke of Newcastle's foundation, he had only one competitor; still, it must not be denied, that to be both second wrangler and second medallist, in any year, implies no ordinary portion of application, as well as some con-

siderable talent. Mr. Wakefield was however distinguished throughout his life, by a singular mixture of opposite habits; and, in the midst of his studies, he confesses, that "he sometimes felt himself almost incapable of reading a single page for months together," and in summer especially, he could only wander about the fields in a state of perfect inactivity. On the other hand, he says, that "for five years, he rose, almost without exception, by five o'clock, winter and summer, but never breakfasted, drank tea, or *supt* (supped)," or of course dined, "alone, half a dozen times during all that space, enjoying society, from the first, beyond measure."

He became a Fellow of Jesus College in 1776, and he gained, in two successive years, the second Bachelor's prizes given by the Chancellor: in 1778 he was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough, though he did not subscribe the Articles without great reluctance. He obtained a curacy first at Stockport in Cheshire, and then at Liverpool. The year after he married Miss Watson, a niece of the Rector of Stockport, and thus vacated his fellowship; his domestic life appears to have been happy and harmonious, though the only merit of his wife, that he has left upon record, is the singular hereditary qualification, that her great grandfather and great grandmother had lived together as man and wife for seventy-five years.

Soon after his marriage, he became classical tutor in the dissenting Academy at Warrington, though he did not professedly unite with any specific community of dissenters as adopting all their opinions; but he soon began openly to attack those of the established church in a multitude of controversial writings, and especially in the notes accompanying his new translations of some parts of the Scriptures; a work for which he had diligently laboured to prepare himself by the study of various dialects of the Oriental languages.

After the dissolution of the Academy of Warrington, he lived at Bramcote in Nottinghamshire, at Richmond, and at Nottingham; partly occupied in the instruction of a few pupils, and partly in pursuing his own studies and illustrations of antiquity. In 1786, and for two or three years after, he

suffered greatly from an acute pain in his shoulder, which interfered materially with the prosecution of his theological investigations.

In the year 1790, he accepted the classical professorship at Hackney; here his lectures and instructions were generally approved and admired, but he carried his dissent from the articles of faith of any established society of Christians so much further than any of his colleagues, that he was thought too independent to continue in his situation, and he consequently left the institution in 1791; and for a similar reason he failed of obtaining the charge of two private pupils whom he expected to have been placed with him.

He continued to reside at Hackney, employing himself partly as an author and editor, and partly in the education of his own children. Among his original productions were several polemical and political pamphlets, relating to the war with France, and to the various controversies of the day; of these, the most remarkable for its consequences to himself was his *Reply* to the Bishop of Llandaff's *Address*, which occasioned a prosecution to be brought by the Attorney General against his publisher first, and then against himself; and he was sentenced to be confined for two years in Dorchester jail; a punishment which was probably intended to be somewhat severe, but which was most fortunate in its operation on his subsequent comfort, since it was the cause of his obtaining, by the exertions of his friends and his partisans at large, a subscription of about 5,000*l.*; a sum which not only alleviated the rigour of his imprisonment, but also enabled him to leave his family in a state of comparative affluence.

He was principally occupied during his confinement in continuing his literary labours for the press, and in preparing a series of classical lectures, beginning with the illustration of the second book of Virgil's *Eneid*, the first course of which he delivered in London immediately after his liberation in May, 1801. The effect of unusual exertions of body and mind, after so long a cessation of exercise, and in hot summer weather, appears to have predisposed his constitution to a typhous fever, of which he died, after a fortnight's illness, the 9th of Septem-

ber, 1801, leaving a widow and six children, four sons and two daughters. His brother, the Rev. Thomas Wakefield of Richmond, also survived him, and died in 1806. The catalogue of his literary offspring is so multitudinous, that it partly tells its own story by its length, and admits of very few particular remarks.

1. *Poemata: quibus accedunt quædam in Horatium Observationes.* 4. Cambr. 1776.

2. *A Plain and Short Account of the Nature of Baptism.* 12. Warr. 1781.

3. *An Essay on Inspiration.* 8. Warr. 1781.

4. *A new Translation of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.* 8. Warr. 1781.

5. *A new Translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew.* 4. Warr. 1782.

6. *Directions for the Student in Theology.* 12. Lond. 1784.

7. *A Sermon preached at Richmond on the Peace.* 8. Lond. 1784.

8. *An Inquiry concerning the Person of Jesus Christ.* 8. Lond. 1784.

9. *On the Origin of Alphabetical Characters.* Manch. *Mem.* I. 1785. *Life,* II. Attempting to cut the knot of their invention by referring it to inspiration.

10. Several *Letters* signed Nepiodidascalos, in the *Theological Repository.* Lond. 1785.

11. *The Poems of Mr. Gray,* with *Notes.* 8. Lond. 1786.

12. *Virgilii Georgica.* 8. Cambr. 1788.

13. *Remarks on Dr. Horsley's Ordination Sermon.* 12. Lond. 1788.

14. *Four Marks of Antichrist.* 8. Lond. 1788.

15. *A new Translation of Parts of the New Testament wrongly translated.* 8. Lond. 1789.

16. *An Address to the Inhabitants of Nottingham.* 8. Lond. 1789.

17. *Remarks on the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion.* 8. Lond. 1789.

18. *Silva Critica.* I. 8. Cambr. 1789. II. 1790. III.

1792. IV. Lond. 1793. V. 1795. Intended for the Illustration of the Scriptures from the Greek and Roman writers. The last two parts were printed at the expense of the Rev. R. Tyrrwhitt.

19. *An Address to the Bishop of St. David's.* 8. Birm. 1790. On the Liturgy.

20. *Cursory Reflections.* 8. Birm. 1790. On the Corporation and Test Acts.

21. *An Inquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship.* 8. Lond. 1791. Ed. 3. 1792.

22. *Memoirs of his Life.* 8. Lond. 1792. 2. Ed. 2 v. 8. 1804. Continued by Mr. Rutt and Mr. Wainewright.

23. *A Translation of the New Testament.* 3 v. 8. Lond. 1792. 2d ed. 2 v. 8. 1795.

24. *Strictures on Dr. Priestley's Letter concerning Public Worship.* 8. Lond. 1792.

25. *Reply to the Arguments against the Inquiry.* 8. Lond. 1792.

26. *Evidences of Christianity.* 8. Lond. 1793.

27. *The Spirit of Christianity compared with the Spirit of the Times.* 8. Lond. 1794. 2 editions.

28. *An Examination of the Age of Reason.* 8. Lond. 1794. 2 editions.

29. *Remarks on the General Orders of the Duke of York.* 8. Lond. 1794.

30. *Horatii quæ supersunt.* 12. Lond. 1794.

31. *Tragœdiarum Græcarum delectus.* 2 v. 8. Lond. 1794. The *Eumenides*, *Trachiniæ*, *Philoctetes*, *Hercules*, *Alcestes*, and *Ion.*

32. Pope's *Works, with Remarks and Illustrations.* Vol. I. 8. Warr. 1794.

33. *A Reply to Paine's Second Part of the Age of Reason.* 8. Lond. 1795.

34. *Poetical Translations.* 12. Lond. 1795. Especially from Horace and Juvenal.

35. *Bionis et Moschi quæ supersunt.* 12. Lond. 1795.

36. *Virgilii Opera.* 12. Lond. 1796.

37. *Observations on Pope.* 8. Lond. 1796.

38. *A Reply to the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq.* 8. Lond. 1796. Twice reprinted.

39. Homer's *Iliad* by Pope, with *Notes.* 11 v. 8. Lond. 1796.

40. *Lucretius de Rerum Natura.* 3 v. 4. and 8. Lond. 1796, 1797. A splendid book, with some collations of manuscripts, and some notes of Bentley. But the collations are said to be inaccurate, and the commentary more prolix than judicious See Porson in *Br. Critic*, 1801, XVII. p. 452, and Elmsley in the *Classical Journal.* He received, however, many grateful and panegyrical acknowledgments from his German correspondents. The edition is dedicated to Mr. Fox, with whom he commenced an acquaintance on the occasion.

41. *In Euripidis Hecubam Diatribe.* Lond. 1794. On Porson's *Hecuba.*

42. *A Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq., on the War of Troy.* 4. Lond. 1797.

43. *A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq.* 8. Lond. 1797. Reprinted.

44. *A Reply to some parts of the Bishop of Llandaff's Address to the People of Great Britain.* 8. Lond. 1798. Twice reprinted.

45. *A Letter to Sir John Scott, his Majesty's Attorney General, on the subject of a late Trial.* 8. Lond. 1798.

46. *Defence delivered in the Court of King's Bench.* 47. *Address to the Judges in April.* 48. *Address to the Judges in May.* Printed but not published.

49. *The First Satire of Juvenal Imitated.* 12. 1800. *Life*, Vol. II.

50. *Correspondence with the late Right Hon. C. J. Fox.* 8. Lond. 1813. Chiefly on subjects of Classical Literature.

But few of the characters that have ever employed the pen of a biographer, have exhibited more remarkable contrasts, either in a moral or in a literary point of view, than that of Gilbert Wakefield: and he has accordingly been depicted, by critics and historians of various sentiments, in colours the most opposite and the most discordant. "Of his particular modes of thinking on religious and political subjects," says Mr. Lind-

say, "different men will form different opinions: concerning the integrity of his heart, and the consistency of his character, there can be but one opinion amongst those who enjoyed the happiness of his acquaintance." It would, indeed, be difficult to find out a more splendid example of high honour and self denial, and of magnificent liberality, even under actual pecuniary embarrassment, than Mr. Wakefield displayed, at a time when he had to support himself, with a wife and six or seven children, on about 150*l.* a year, in voluntarily paying the expenses of Mr. Cuthell on his prosecution for publishing the *Reply* to the Bishop of Llandaff's *Address*, which exceeded the whole yearly amount of his income. "His devotedness to study," says his friend Dr. Aikin, "was by no means attended with a reserved or unsocial disposition; for no one could delight more in free conversation, or bear his part in it with a more truly social spirit: and if, in controversial and critical writings, he was apt to indulge in the contemptuous and severe expressions which he found too much sanctioned by polemical use, in disputation by word of mouth he was singularly calm and gentle, patient in hearing, and placid in replying. To conclude the topic of (his) moral character, it was marked by an openness, a simplicity, a good faith, an affectionate ardour, a noble elevation of soul, which made way to the hearts of all who nearly approached him, and rendered him the object of their warmest attachment." But "he wanted time or patience," says Dr. Parr very justly, "for that discrimination which would have made his conjectures fewer indeed, but more probable, and his principles more exact: (yet) I shall ever think of him as one of the best scholars produced by my own country in my own age." The compliments of Heyne, and of his pupil Jacobs, are still more elaborate: but it is well known that when Porson was one day asked for a toast, with a sentiment from Shakespeare, he gave "Gilbert Wakefield, *What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?*" and there was quite as much of truth as there was of neatness in the application. A reviewer of his *Life* in the *British Critic*, by no means favourably disposed towards him, readily admits, that "he was strictly and enthusiastically honest, and seems to have acquired even a passion for priva-

tions: these feelings, added to his pride of independent thinking, led him, we doubt not," he says, "to abstain from wine; to have relinquished in part, and to be tending entirely to give up, the use of animal food, with various other instances of peculiarity. Knowing his own assiduity, and giving himself ample credit for sagacity, he thought that he was equal to the decision of every possible question: and thus he became bigoted to almost every paradox which had once possessed his very eccentric understanding. He was as violent against Greek accents as he was against the Trinity, and anathematized the final N as strongly as Episcopacy. Whatever coincided not with his ideas of rectitude, justice, elegance, or whatever else it might be, was to give way at once, and to be rescinded at his pleasure, on pain of the most violent reprehension to all opponents; whether it were an article of faith, a principle of policy, a doctrine of morality, or a reading in an ancient author, away it must go, κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, to the dogs and the vultures. These exterminating sentences were also given with such precipitancy, as not to allow even a minute for consideration. To the paper, to the press, to the (public), all was given at once, frequently to the incurring of the most palpable absurdity. Thus the simple elegance of *O beatĕ Sexti*, in Horace, was proposed, *in an edition of that author*, to be changed to *O bea Tē Sexti*, though the alteration, besides being most bald and tasteless, produced a blunder in quantity so gross, that no boy, even in the middle part of a public school, would have been thought pardonable in committing it. By faults (either) original or habitual, his sincerity became offensive, his honesty haughty and uncharitable, his intrepidity factious, his acuteness delusive, and his memory, assisted by much diligence, a vast weapon which his judgment was totally unable to wield."

It is not impossible that Mr. Wakefield might have been more successful in his studies, if he could have found sufficient motives for directing them rather to scientific than to philological pursuits: for he seems to have been fully impressed with the superior dignity of science to that of any department of philology. "Compared with the noble theories of *mathematical* philosophy," he says, "our *classical* lucubrations are as

the glimmering of a taper to the meridian splendour of an equatorial sun." He would, however, scarcely have had perseverance enough to distinguish himself in that solitary labour which is required for the minute investigation of natural phenomena: and it is seldom that any collateral encouragement is held out, in this country, for the continued cultivation of abstract science; while the classical scholar, though he is supposed to be principally occupied with nouns, and verbs, and particles, is in fact unconsciously, and, therefore, most effectually, learning the arts of poetry, and rhetoric, and logic, which have furnished, in all ages, the spur and the reins for urging on and directing the mighty bulk of the body politic, in church and in state, at the will of its leaders. The young-man, on the other hand, who commences the pursuit of science with ardour, obtains, if he is most successful, and untormented by unnecessary scruples, a quiet fellowship, a comfortable apartment, and an excellent plain dinner for the remainder of his life: and if he fails of these, he may chance to be made an exciseman; or, in the improved arrangements of the present auspicious days, a computer or an assistant astronomer: but with respect to any influence that his pursuits might be supposed to have on the elevation of his rank in life, or in the independent provision for a family, he must lay no such flattering unctions to his soul, but must at all times place his pride and his happiness in the reflection that AT MIHI PLAUDO IPSE DOMI, which is, in truth, the best sublunary support of the wise and the good in every circumstance of human life.

No. XIV.

LIFE OF BRYANT.

JACOB BRYANT, a profound scholar, mythologist, and sacred historian, born at Plymouth in 1715. His father had a place in the Customs, and was afterwards stationed in Kent, where his son was first sent to a provincial school, from which he was removed to Eton. Here he appears to have remained till 1736, the date of his election to King's College, Cambridge, and he took his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts in 1740 and 1744. He returned to Eton in the capacity of private tutor to the late Duke of Marlborough, then Marquis of Blandford; and the good taste which his pupil showed through life, in the protection of the fine arts, and in the pursuit of science, sufficiently demonstrated the beneficial influence of his instructor's example. In 1756, he went to the Continent as Private Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, then Master-General of the Ordnance, and Commander in Chief of the forces in Germany; and he was rewarded, after his return, for his various services to the family, by a lucrative appointment in the Ordnance, which allowed him ample leisure to indulge his literary taste in a variety of refined investigations, and to exercise his zeal for the cause of religion in a multitude of works, calculated for the illustration of the Scriptures, and the demonstration of their authenticity and divine authority.

1. His first publication was entitled *Observations and Inquiries* relating to various parts of Ancient History, containing Dissertations on the wind Euroclydon, and on the Island Melite, together with an Account of Egypt in its most early state, and of the Shepherd Kings, 1767. In this work he attempts to prove that the Melite, on which St. Paul was wrecked, was not Malta, but one of the Illyrian islands in the Adriatic, now

called Melede; and he endeavours to illustrate several points in the early history of the oriental, and especially of the Aramitic nations.

2. But his most elaborate performance was his *New System or Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, wherein an attempt is made to divest tradition of fable, and to reduce truth to its original purity, 3 vols. 4to., 1774, 1776. In this attempt the author has equally displayed his deep and extensive learning, and his inventive fancy; but it must be confessed that, on a minute examination, the work exhibits much more of a poetical imagination than of a sound judgment, and that, in endeavouring to substitute etymological for historical evidence, he has been completely unsuccessful. Nothing can afford a more satisfactory kind of proof than etymology taken on a large scale, and considered as a mode of tracing the relations of nations to each other, by the affinities of their languages; since the accumulation of a multitude of probabilities, each weak when taken separately, becomes at last equivalent to a certainty. But nothing, on the other hand, can be more fallacious, or more liable to controversy, than single etymological inferences, in particular cases, when one of these slight resemblances is magnified into a striking likeness, and even an identity, which is then made the foundation of a magnificent superstructure in mythology or in history. Mr. Richardson has shown, in the Preface to his *Dictionary*, how much Mr. Bryant was mistaken in some of his reasoning respecting the signification and derivation of particular words; and even if he had been more correct in these instances, the conclusions, which he has deduced from his etymologies, would by no means have been perfectly legitimate. Jablonsky seems to have exhibited one of the strongest examples of this dangerous abuse of learning; in which he has been followed not only by Mr. Bryant, but by several other modern writers equally visionary, who have commonly been very imperfectly acquainted with the languages on which their conjectures have depended, and have been still more deficient in that sort of common sense, and correct feeling, confirmed by experience, which constitutes the most essential part of the qualifications of a critic, and the want of which can never be

compensated by the most unwearied labour of a mere mechanical commentator.

3. Some remarks, which had been made on particular passages of Mr. Bryant's work, led him to publish *A Vindication of the Apamean Medal;* of the inscription NΩE; and of another coin, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. IV. Art. 21, 22, 23. 4. He deviated somewhat more widely from the usual objects of his researches, and apparently without any very decided advantage over his adversary, in *An Address to Dr. Priestley*, on the doctrine of philosophical necessity, 8vo., 1780. 5. He also published in the same year *Vindiciæ Flavianæ*, or a vindication of the testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour, 8vo.

6. Unfortunately for the credit of his critical discrimination in matters of old English literature, Mr. Bryant was the author of *Observations on the Poems of Thomas Rowley*, in which the authenticity of these poems is ascertained, 2 vols. 12mo. 1781. If there could be any excuse for the commission of forgeries like that of Chatterton, it would be found in their serving as a valuable test of the degree of confidence, which it is justifiable to place, in the decrees of the most powerful critics, respecting other questions of a more ambiguous nature.

7. Mr. Bryant contributed to the publication of the *Duke of Marlborough's Collection of Gems*, the Latin explanations contained in the first volume, fol. 1783. 8. He inserted in the *Archaeologia*, VII. 387, some *Collections on the Zingara or Gipsey Language;* which has been since sufficiently proved to be one of the many derivatives of the old Sanscrit. 9. Some time afterwards, he published an anonymous *Treatise on the Authenticity of the Scriptures*, and the truth of the Christian religion, 1792. 10. This was succeeded by his *Observations upon the Plagues* inflicted upon the Egyptians, 8vo., 1794.

11. His opinions respecting the existence of the city of Troy, and the veracity of Homer as a historian, raised up against him a host of powerful adversaries; and in a question of this nature, upon which the decisions of mankind are so manifestly influenced by their sensibility to poetical beauty, and their early habits and attachments, a much more cautious attempt to inno-

vate might easily have been unsuccessful. Whatever learning and talents may have been exhibited in this controversy, it will hardly be believed by an impartial judge, reasoning on the general probabilities of the case, that Homer intended the actions of his heroes, any more than their genealogies, to be historically correct; but, at the same time, it will readily be admitted, that he was much more likely to take, for the scene of his poem, a town that had really existed, and, for its subject, a traditional report of a war which had actually been carried on, than to have invented a fabulous city and an imaginary warfare, without any historical foundation whatever. Mr. Bryant published on this subject *Observations on a Treatise*, entitled, *Description of the Plain of Troy*, by Mr. de Chevalier, 4to. 1795. 12. *A Dissertation concerning the War of Troy*, and the expedition of the Greeks, as described by Homer; showing that no such expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such city in Phrygia existed, 4to., 1796. 13. *Observations on the Vindication of Homer*, written by J. B. S. Morritt, Esq., 4to. 1799.

14. He had, in the mean time, not discontinued his theological studies, and had published an Essay on *The Sentiments of Philo Judaeus* concerning the word of God, 8vo., 1797. His last work was a volume of *Dissertations on Various Subjects in the Old Testament*, which had been nearly completed thirty years before. The subjects which had particularly attracted his attention, were the histories of Balaam, Samson, and Jonah; and besides Philo Judaeus and Josephus, he had endeavoured to illustrate some controverted passages of Justin Martyr, as well as many other departments of religious and historical discussion.

The habits of Mr. Bryant's maturer life were in general completely sedentary; although, in his youth, he had taken his full share in the cultivation of the manly exercises common to Etonians, and had once the good fortune to save, by his proficiency in swimming, the life of Dr. Barnard, afterwards Provost of Eton. His conversation was elegant and animated; his manners mild but firm; he exerted himself to please others, and was himself easily pleased. He was much courted in

society, and his residence, at Cypenham, near Windsor, was not unfrequently visited by persons of the highest possible rank. He never married. He died in his 89th year, the 14th of November, 1804, from the immediate consequence of an accidental blow. He left his library to King's College, having, however, previously made some valuable presents out of it to the King, and to the present Duke of Marlborough. He also bequeathed 2,000*l.* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and 1,000*l.* for the use of the superannuated collegers of Eton School.

No. XV.

LIFE OF PORSON.

Richard Porson, the greatest of the verbal critics and classical scholars of modern times, born 25th December, 1759, was the son of Mr. Huggin Porson, parish clerk of East Ruston, near North Walsham, in Norfolk.

His father taught him, in his childhood, to practise all the common rules of arithmetic by memory only; and, before he was nine years old, he had learned to extract the cube root in this manner. He employed, at the same time, for teaching him to read and write, the method which has since been generally introduced in the schools of mutual instruction, making him draw the letters with chalk or on sand: and the neatness and accuracy of his hand-writing, for which he was distinguished through life, may be considered as bearing ample testimony to his father's ingenuity and success.

At the age of nine he was sent to a village school, kept by a Mr. Summers; but his father still made him repeat by heart in the evening the whole of the lessons of the day, and there seems to be sufficient evidence for considering this practice of exercising the memory continually, in very early life, as the best, if not the only method of cultivating, if not of producing great talent: for though a strong memory by no means constitutes talent, yet its possession is almost a necessary condition for the successful exertion of talent in general, and, indeed, it is very possible that the other faculties of the mind may be strengthened by the early cultivation of this one. It is remarkable that Wallis, who was as deservedly celebrated in his day as Porson, for his unerring sagacity, had also a singular facility of retaining numbers and calculations in his memory, but without having taken any particular pains to acquire the

habit. Mr. Hewitt, the vicar of the parish of East Ruston, hearing of young Porson's uncommon capacity, undertook to instruct both him and his brother Thomas in classical literature; and when he was about fifteen, Mr. Norris, a wealthy and respectable gentleman of the neighbourhood, having ascertained the truth of the reports that he heard of him, resolved to be at the expense of sending him to Eton. Without this assistance, it would have been impossible for Porson to have acquired great excellence in any intellectual pursuit; for his father's situation in life was not such as to exempt his son even from the subordinate occupations of the country. He went out gleaning, in the autumn, with a Horace in his pocket; and he had learned by experience to appreciate the mechanical labours of Penelope, before he was much acquainted with the wisdom and wanderings of Ulysses.

At Eton his talents procured him the friendship and admiration of the seniors among his schoolfellows, and, upon the unfortunate death of his first patron, Mr. Norris, he found a number of liberal contributors, who stepped forward to supply the deficiency; but by far the most active of them was Sir George Baker, then President of the Royal College of Physicians; a man as much distinguished by his own classical taste and acquirements, as by his laudable disposition to cherish learning in others. He received the boy into his house for a vacation, and undertook, at the request of a relation of Mr. Norris, the disagreeable task of receiving, in small sums, as much as was sufficient to purchase an income of 80*l.* a year, for a few years, in the short annuities, which served, with great economy, to enable him to remain at Eton. This favour appears to have been too great to be properly acknowledged, or perhaps even duly appreciated, by its object, who only after many years paid Sir George the tardy compliment of a dedication, not, however, of an edition, but of a handsome copy of a single play of Euripides. In his own opinion, Porson learned little at Eton besides the quantity of syllables, being able to repeat by heart before he went there the principal part of the authors that he had to read; that is, almost the whole of Horace and Virgil, and the *Iliad*, and many parts of Cicero,

Livy, and the *Odyssey*. A story is accordingly told of his book having been changed by one of his schoolfellows in joke, when he was going up to a lesson in Horace, and of his having read and translated what was required of him, without at all betraying the change to the master. At the same time, the emulation of a public school must have been a great advantage to him, as affording him a motive for exertion in his exercises, whether they were to be called his own, or to be written for other boys. It was a copy of Toup's Longinus, presented to him as a reward for a good exercise, that first gave him a decided inclination for the pursuit of critical researches; but he always considered Bentley and Dawes as his great masters in criticism.

In 1777 he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and at first he began to apply more particularly to the mathematics, which had been the favourite study of his boyhood, and in which, as he himself remarked, his proficiency first brought him into a certain degree of public notice. He was, however, soon diverted from the pursuit, although he attained a place among the *senior optimes* of his year. But he was in fact more calculated for classical than for mathematical excellence; his memory would have been in a great measure thrown away, if he had been employed in abstract calculations; and his inventive powers do not appear to have been at all of the same class with his retentive faculties; although certainly in the mechanical pursuit of the fashionable methods of modern analysis, which are intended, like steam engines, to overcome all difficulties by the inanimate forces of mere patience and perseverance, he was capable of filling as distinguished a place as any living algebraist. The classical prize medal, and the university scholarship, he obtained without difficulty as matters of course. The exercise which he exhibited upon the examination for the scholarship, is the well known translation of an epitaph into Greek iambics; which, although not free from some inaccuracies in the use of the tenses, is still a very remarkable production, when it is considered as having been completed in less than an hour, with the help of Morell's *Thesaurus* only, and never afterwards corrected.

He obtained a fellowship of Trinity College in 1781, and took his degree of Master of Arts in 1785; but not thinking it right to subscribe the Articles of the Church of England, he could not enter into orders, and he was therefore unavoidably deprived of his fellowship in 1791, having no dependence left for his subsistence through life but his abilities and acquirements. His friends, however, did not abandon him on this urgent occasion, and in order to keep him out of actual want, a private subscription was set on foot, to which Mr. Cracherode was one of the principal contributors, and by which enough was raised to purchase him an annuity of about 100*l.* a year for life. A small addition was made to his income, about two years after, by his election to the Greek Professorship at Cambridge, with a salary of only 40*l.* a year. The situation, however, gave him the option of at least doubling his whole receipts, by the delivery of an annual course of lectures in the university; and it was supposed that he would have made this exertion, if he had not been discouraged by the difficulty of obtaining rooms in his college, where it would have been his wish to reside.

He married in 1795, Mrs. Lunan, a sister of the late Mr. Perry, well known as the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, but he had the misfortune to lose his wife two years afterwards. Mr. Perry continued to be his greatest friend through life, and was so far his best benefactor, as he knew how to oblige him essentially, without the appearance of doing him a favour. Porson had sometimes chambers in the Temple, and sometimes he lodged at the *Morning Chronicle* office: frequently also he was a visitor at Mr. Perry's house at Merton, where he had the misfortune to leave several of his books, at the time of a fire, which destroyed them all, and among them some letters of Rhunkenius, with whom he had begun a correspondence in 1783, and who had communicated to him some valuable fragments of Æschylus, besides his manuscript copy of the lexicon of Photius, which had cost him ten months' labour. He used indeed to say that this fire had destroyed the fruits of twenty years of his life; but he had the resolution to complete a second copy of the Photius, which is now in the library of Trinity College. His fondness for the mechanical employment

of his pen has been regretted by some of his biographers, as having tempted him to waste much of his most valuable time on a trifling amusement: but in fact, his mode of writing Greek was fully as much calculated for expedition as for beauty; and those who have not been in the habit of correcting mutilated passages of manuscripts, can form no estimate of the immense advantage that is obtained by the complete sifting of every letter which the mind involuntarily performs, while the hand is occupied in tracing it: so that, if the correction of Photius was really worth the labour of two years of Porson's life, it would have been scarcely possible to employ the greater part of those years more advantageously, than by copying him twice over. Mr. Weston, in speaking of "his matchless penmanship," has observed, not very intelligibly, that "here, indeed, he thought himself surpassed by" another person* "not in the stroke, but the sweep, of his letters:" what Porson really said on this subject was, that, with respect to "command of hand," that person had the advantage, but he preferred the *model* on which his own hand was formed. His writing was, in fact, more like that of a scholar, while the method explained in Mr. Hodgkin's *Calligraphia* exhibits more the appearance of the work of a writing master; holding, however, a middle place between the neatness of Porson, and the wonderful accuracy of the country schoolmaster who made the fac simile of the Oxford Pindar in the British Museum.

Upon the establishment of the London Institution, his friends obtained for him the very desirable appointment of principal librarian, with a salary of 200*l.* a year, and apartments in the house of the Institution, which was then in the Old Jewry; but although the arrangement was highly honourable to all parties, the librarianship was little more than a sinecure. Porson was, however, in the habit of attending in his place when the reading room was open, and of communicating, very readily, all the literary information that was required by those who consulted him respecting the object of their researches. Had the in-

* The person mentioned by Weston (p. 7) is Dr. Young himself, who contributed several specimens of his Greek penmanship to Hodgkin's *Calligraphia Græca*, published in 1794, among which was a translation of Lear's curses into Greek Iambics. —*Ed.*

habitants of Finsbury Square and its neighbourhood been more disposed to classical studies, and had the librarian of the Institution survived to witness its completion and prosperity, his sphere of utility would, without doubt, have been greatly extended.

But it must ever be lamented that Porson's habits of life had unfortunately been such as to lay a foundation for a multitude of diseases; he suffered much from asthma throughout the year 1808; his memory began to fail him a little; and in the autumn he had some symptoms of intermittent fever. On Monday the 19th of September he had an apoplectic attack in the street, and he was carried to a neighbouring poor house in a state of insensibility: the next day an advertisement appeared in one of the papers, relating the accident, and describing some manuscripts which were found in his pocket, consisting of Greek fragments and algebraical characters: his friends at the London Institution immediately went in quest of him: he was afterwards well enough to appear in the library, and to receive a visit there from Dr. Adam Clarke: but his speech was impaired, and his faculties evidently imperfect; he survived only through the week, and died in his 49th year, on Sunday the 25th of September, 1808, at midnight.

He was buried at Cambridge, in Trinity College Chapel, near the grave of Bentley and the monument of Newton. He founded by will an annual prize, to be given to the best Greek translation from an English dramatic author:* and several specimens of the successful pieces have been published from time to time in the *Classical Journal*. His books were sold by auction, and many of them found purchasers at high prices, especially such as were enriched with any of his manuscript notes in their margins; but more than two hundred of these, which appeared to be the most valuable, were withheld from the sale, and were afterwards purchased, together with the whole of his manuscript papers, by the Society of Trinity College, for the sum of a thousand guineas. He left a sister,

* This statement is inaccurate: it was founded by the trustees of the fund raised by Porson's friends for his support, and which was not exhausted at the time of his death.—*Ed.*

married to Siday Hawes, Esq., of Coltishall, Norfolk. His brother Thomas kept a boarding-school at Fakenham, and died without issue in 1792; his second brother Henry was a farmer in Essex, and died young, leaving three children. His father had lived to 74, his mother to 57.

The principal works of Porson are his *Letters to Travis*, his four plays of Euripides with their prefaces, and the manuscript copy of Photius: the rest, though somewhat voluminous, are chiefly miscellaneous annotations on detached passages of a multitude of ancient authors. We find nothing in the nature of theory, or of the discovery of general laws, except some canons, which he has laid down, chiefly as having been used by the Greek tragedians in the construction of their verses. These are chiefly contained in the preface to the *Hecuba*, together with its supplement. 1. The first is, that when a tragic iambic ends with a trisyllable, or a cretic, this word must be preceded either by a short syllable, or by a monosyllable. For example, an ancient tragedian would not have written the line Ἔχοι δὲ μήποτ' ἐξ ἀπευκτοῦ σώματος; though it might have been unexceptionable in a comedy. It seems to have been about the year 1790 that Porson first made this observation; he certainly did not attend to it in his own serious translation of the *Epitaph on Alexis*: but it was mentioned, in 1791, by one of Porson's intimate friends, in a moment of conviviality, while he was somewhat characteristically attempting to fill his glass out of an empty bottle; and the author of this article observed in answer, that it would certainly sound better, on such an occasion as then occurred, to say, Πᾶν ἐκπέπωκας· οὐδ' ἔνεσΤΙ κότταϐος, than οὐ λέλειπΤΑΙ κότταϐος. 2. The second canon is, that an anapaest is only admissible in a tragic iambic, as constituting the first foot, except in some cases of proper names: this indeed had been cursorily hinted by Dawes. 3. The same critic had also remarked that the Attic poets never lengthen a short vowel before a mute or aspirate, followed by a liquid, or a middle consonant followed by ρ; and Porson more amply confirmed the observation as very generally, though not universally correct. On the other hand, Dawes had cursorily observed that Homer, and the other ancient epic poets, generally lengthened the vowel in such

cases, and Porson's great rival, Hermann, has more fully established this distinction, as affording a good criterion of antiquity. 4. There are also some original remarks of Porson on the caesura, in iambics, and trochaics, and anapaests: he showed that the scenic poets do not elide the final iota, and that the tragedians do not employ the preposition περὶ before a vowel; and some other general laws, of greater importance than these, may probably be found in some of his publications, which it will now be necessary to enumerate in the order of time.

1. His first attempts as an author consisted of some anonymous articles in Dr. Maty's *Review*, beginning with a part of Schutz's *Æschylus*, June 1783, *Tracts* ii. Brunck's *Aristophanes*, July 1783, *Tracts* iii.; *Mus. Crit.* II. 113; written in a day. In Latin, by Schäfer, *Class. Journ.* V. 136. Weston's *Hermesianax*, April 1784, *Tracts* iv. Huntingford's *Apology for his Menostrophics*, August 1784, *Tracts* v. *Account of the Learned Pig*, April 1785, *Tracts* vi. *Note*, with letters of Le Clerc and Bentley, April 1786, *Tracts* vii.

2. He added some *Notes* to an edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, published by Nicholson, at Cambridge. 4to. and 8vo. 1786. They are addressed *Lectori si quis erit.*

3. *Three Panegyrical Epistles to Sir John Hawkins, Gent. Mag.*, Aug. Sept. Oct. 1787. *Tracts* ix.

4. *Notes on Toupii Emendationes in Suidam.* 8vo. Oxf. 1790. Written in 1787.

5. *Letters on the Three Witnesses, Gent. Mag.* Oct. Dec. 1788. Feb., April, May, June, Aug., 1789. Feb., 1790. The last reprinted, *Tracts* xix.; most of the others in the collection of *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis*, in answer to his defence of the *Three Heavenly Witnesses*, 8vo. Lond. 1790. These letters are generally considered, by critics of all parties, as finally decisive of a question, which had often been agitated before, but never so learnedly argued, nor so satisfactorily discussed in all its bearings.

6. In the *Monthly Review*, Robertson's *Essay on the Parian Chronicle*, Jan. 1789, *Tracts* xiii.; satisfactorily answering the principal part of the objections alleged against the authenticity

of that monument. Edwards's edition of the work attributed to Plutarch, *on Education,* July 1793, *Tracts* xxi. Payne Knight's *Greek Alphabet,* Jan. 1794, *Tracts* xxiii. Pybus's *Sovereign,* Dec. 1800; an article affording a good specimen of his talent for humour.

7. He is supposed to have written some *Remarks* on an *Essay upon the Transfiguration,* but never expressly acknowledged them. *Tracts* xv.

8. He added a few short *Notes* to the London edition of Heyne's Virgil, 8vo. 1793; for which he made an agreement with the bookseller to correct the press: but he complained that his corrections were disregarded; and in fact several hundred errors, of no great importance, were suffered to disfigure it.

9. He corrected the Greek text of Æschylus for the Glasgow editions, the folio of 1795 and the two volumes octavo, printed in 1794, but only published London, 1806. The folio is said to have appeared surreptitiously. There are more than two hundred original corrections, and a further number of passages pointed out as corrupt.

10. In the *Morning Chronicle* he published, at different times, a variety of spirited articles of a temporary nature. One of the most amusing was the *Nursery Song* in Greek iambics, 13th April, 1796; called *A Fragment of Sophocles,* and signed "S. England," in ridicule of Ireland's pretended discoveries.

11. *Imitations of Horace. Spirit of the Public Journals,* 1797. *Class. Jour.* IV. 97.

12. The first four plays of Euripides appeared separately at different periods. The *Hecuba,* 8vo., London, 1797, Cambridge, 1802, with a Supplement and additional notes; which were also published separately, London, 1808. *Orestes,* London, 1798, 1811. *Phoenissæ,* London, 1799, 1811. *Medea,* Cambridge, 1801; London, 1812. *The four* together, London, 1822.

13. *Collation* of the Harleian manuscript of the *Odyssey* for the *Grenville Homer,* 4to., Oxford, 1800; with some short notes. Reprinted, *Class. Jour.* IX.

14. Of the *Review of Wakefield's Lucretius*, in the *British Critic* for May 1801, the principal part appears to be Porson's.

15. *A Letter signed J. N. Dawes, Monthly Mag.*, Dec. 1802; on some Greek constructions; admitting also an inaccuracy of his own with respect to a hiatus, pointed out by Mr. C. Falconer.

16. *A Letter to Professor Dalzel*, dated Sept. 1803; *Mus. Crit.* I. p. 326; in answer to some remarks published in the Professor's *Collectanea Majora;* with an Epigram respecting Hermann in Greek and in English.

17. *Herodotus*, Edinburgh, 1806. Porson corrected the press for the first volume.

18. *Supplement to some Indices, Tracts* xxxvi.

19. It is well known that Porson bestowed considerable pains on the restoration of the text of the *Rosetta Stone:* his *Supplements* were added to the plates engraved by the Society of Antiquaries: they also appear among his *Tracts*, xxxvii. In Dr. Clarke's *Greek Marbles*, 8vo., Cambridge, 1809, we find a translation of this inscription, communicated to the editor by Porson, and printed from "a *corrected copy* in his own beautiful hand writing:" but we may here venture to apply Porson's favourite remark on the facility of transposition, and to read, "a *copy corrected* in his own writing." that is, on the margin of Mr. Gough's translation, as published in *Duane's Coins:* for the whole is very negligently performed; and it is not a little remarkable that this translation, which was at least approved by Porson, is decidedly less accurate than the Latin translation of Heyne, as appears from the investigation of the enchorial inscription, published in the sixth number of the *Museum Criticum.*

20. A variety of Porson's fugitive and miscellaneous pieces have reappeared at different times in the *Classical Journal. Authors cited by the Scholiast on Plato*, II. 619, *Tracts* xxxviii. *The Epitaph*, III. 233; more correctly than in the *Tracts*, but still with a gross error in the punctuation of the last line, which stands in a manuscript copy of his own, Τέθνηχ', ὃ δὴ τάχιστα πάσχους' οἱ 'γαθοί; this reading, though not very elegant, is at least more defensible, than to make πάσχειν alone

signify to die, and a phrase to end with ὁ δεῖνα! A *Charade* in Latin, VII., 248. Some *Notes on Æschylus*, VII. 456, VIII. 15, 181, X. 114. *A property of the lines* employed in the 47th proposition of the first book of *Euclid*, p. 401. *Notes on Apollonius Rhodius*, XVIII. 370.

21. *Adversaria*, 8vo., Cambridge, 1812. Consisting of *Notes* on the Greek Poets, selected from his manuscripts, and arranged by Professor Monk and C. J. Bloomfield, M.A. The first article is an interesting *Lecture on Euripides*, delivered upon his appointment to the Greek Professorship: it is followed by a few miscellaneous observations, and by a large collection of *Notes* on Athenaeus, on Euripides, on the *Fragments of the Tragic and Comic Poets*, on Stobaeus, and on a variety of poets of miscellaneous descriptions. The volume was reprinted at Amsterdam without any alteration, but the sale of the foreign edition has never been permitted in Great Britain.

22. *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms*, collected and arranged by the Rev. T. Kidd, M.A., 8vo., London, 1815. Besides the articles already noticed as reprinted in this volume, there are a few *Notes on Dawes's Miscellanea Critica*, not before published, No. xli. Some supplementary pages of *Simplicius and Cebes*, reprinted by Porson for the use of his friends, as restored by Schweighäuser: the want of this leaf of the manuscript of *Simplicius* had given rise to the mistaken assertion that Xenophon was proclaimed a public benefactor at the Olympic Games, on occasion of the return of the Ten Thousand. There are also some miscellaneous *Notes* on Athenaeus, Menander, and Philemon, Aristides, Pausanias, and the lexicographers, and some *Indices* of authors quoted by Scholiasts.

23. *Notae in Aristophanem*, quibus Plutum comoediam adjecit P. P. Dobree, 8vo., Cambridge, 1820.

24. Gaisford Lectiones Platonicae. Accedunt R. Porsoni *Notae ad Pausaniam*, 8vo., Oxford, 1820.

25. *Photii Lexicon*, 8vo., Cambridge, 1822.

To attempt to form a just estimate of the merit of such a man as Porson, without servilely following the dictates of

common fame, or blindly adopting the opinions of others, is a task of no small difficulty, even to one who had the advantage of his personal acquaintance for the last twenty years of his life. But it may safely be conceded to common fame and to partial friendship, that he was one of the greatest men, and the very greatest critic, of his own or of any other age. "Nothing came amiss," says Mr. Weston, "to his memory. He would set a child right in his twopenny fable book, repeat the whole of the moral tale of the *Dean of Badajoz*, a page of Athenaeus on Cups, or of Eustathius on Homer, even though he did every thing to impair his mental faculties." It cannot, however, be denied, that the talents and even the industry that he possessed might have made him a much greater man, had they been employed in some other department of human intellect. He might *probably* have been as great a statesman or as great a general as he was a scholar, and in these capacities his acquirements would have affected the interests of a much greater multitude of his fellow creatures, than can ever be benefited by the fruits of his erudition; and he might *possibly* have gained more popularity as an orator or a poet, than his refined investigations of grammar and prosody could ever procure him, although it is not by any means certain that his fancy and invention could have been rendered by any cultivation at all comparable to his memory and acuteness. But as far as regards the possession of a combination of the faculties which he did cultivate, he appears to have been decidedly the most successful of any man on record in the same department. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the subjects of his pursuits were in their nature incapable of raising a man to the first rank among the permanent benefactors of the human race; and, if we calmly consider the ultimate objects of prosody and metre, it will appear almost unfair to allow the discoverer of the prosodiacal rules, adopted by the ancient poets in their melodrames and choruses, to rank so very high among the luminaries of an age, and yet to look down with so much contempt as we are accustomed to do, on the character of a modern *Dieu de la danse*, notwithstanding that he thought himself the third great man of his day, with Voltaire and the King of Prussia, for having given soul

and sentiment to the measures and movements of the choric representations of the present times. Among the talents of Porson, however, which were so far superior to the importance of the objects on which they were employed, we ought not, perhaps, to consider his remarkable strength of memory as the most to be envied, since many persons who have been possessed of singular and almost miraculous, not to say morbid, memories, have been but little distinguished by any other faculty; and it appears to be possible that a memory may in itself be even too retentive for real practical utility, as if of too microscopic a nature; and it seems to be by a wise and benevolent, though by no means an obvious arrangement of a Creative Providence, that a certain degree of oblivion becomes a most useful instrument in the advancement of human knowledge, enabling us readily to look back on the prominent features only of various objects and occurrences, and to class them and reason upon them, by the help of this involuntary kind of abstraction and generalisation, with incomparably greater facility than we could do, if we retained the whole detail of what had been once but slightly impressed on our minds. It is thus, for example, in physic, that the experienced practitioner learns at length to despise the relation of individual symptoms and particular cases, on which alone the empiric insists, and to feel the value of the Hippocratic system of "attending more to the prognostic than the diagnostic features of disease;" which, to a younger student, appears to be perfect imbecility. And it is perhaps for some similar reason that many persons, besides Barnes, "of happy memory," have had to wait long in darkness for "the day of judgment." But it must be repeated, that Porson's judgment and acuteness were really almost paramount to his memory, and with the addition of these faculties, his memory naturally rendered him capable of much that would have been impossible without it.

The respect that is justly due to classical learning has frequently been exaggerated in this country, partly, perhaps, on account of the awe which is naturally entertained by an ingenuous mind for its instructors in the earliest studies, by which it is advanced towards maturity: and classical learning

having most wisely been placed by our ancestors the foremost in the order of a liberal education, which is most commonly adopted in Great Britain, a personal as well as a general respect has been involuntarily paid to the characters of the individuals concerned, and to the dignity of all those who are engaged in similar occupations; besides that, the means being, by a most frequent inattention of the human mind, confounded with the end for which they are sought, the words and syllables, and the phrases and measures of the Greek and Latin authors have been often the almost frivolous occupation of a valuable life, instead of that of a few of the years of boyhood, which it was intended to devote to them, and which could not have been so well engaged in any other way. It is, however, wholly unjust to stigmatize the study of the classics, and of languages in general, as being confined to words instead of things; for it is utterly impossible that words can be learned without the acquisition of a considerable degree of knowledge of the things to which they relate, and of the historical facts which they have been employed to express, and without an involuntary modelling of the mind to the elegance and elevation of sentiment, which pervade the works of those authors who are habitually put into the hands of boys in the course of their elementary studies; an acquirement which is of still greater value to the orator and the statesman, than the command of language, and facility of expression, and beauty of imagery, and power of reasoning, which he derives from a perfect familiarity with the great masters of antiquity. But granting all the respect that can possibly be claimed for ancient literature, we cannot but lament that such a man as Porson should have lived and laboured for nearly half a century, and yet have left little or nothing to the world that was truly and originally his own.

After the full admission of the very high rank which is due to the comparative merits of Porson's talents and acquirements, it may be thought almost idle, if not invidious, to dwell on any trifling exceptions to their magnitude. But it is, in fact, of high importance to the progress of human knowledge to be aware of the degree in which the first of mankind are liable to error. The admission of the few errors of Newton himself is

at least of as much importance to his followers in science, as the history of the progress of his real discoveries; and it is with reason that the detection of an error in such a man is considered as almost paramount to the establishment of a new fact. The English critics have been reproached, and not without some foundation, as paying too servile a deference to Porson's opinions, and it seems to have been very generally believed among them, that it was scarcely possible for him to commit an error or an oversight.

Although Porson was in many respects irregular and often idle, or even intemperate, yet what he did perform as a critic may be allowed to leave a large balance at the end of his life, in favour of his general industry, when compared with that of most of his countrymen. It has indeed been asserted, and perhaps with truth (*Classical Journal*, XXI.), that "with things Porson appears to have possessed but a very inconsiderable acquaintance, and not a trace is to be found amidst his writings of that combination of universal encyclopaediacal knowledge with language learning, which is so abundantly found in the *Dissertation on Phalaris*, and the countless pages of Scaliger, Salmasius, and Casaubon." Certainly, however, neither Salmasius nor Casaubon with all their learning, much less Scaliger, with all his industry and parade, nor even Bentley himself with all his talent and acuteness, was at all comparable to Porson in his own department, that is, as a sound and accurate and refined Greek critic.

But it must be confessed, that at Cambridge, even although Porson had resolved to make the classics his principal study, and although there had not yet been many instances of senior wranglers, who were also senior medallists, it was scarcely reputable for a man with his undeniable abilities to be only the twenty-first of his year in mathematics. Among the literary objects also which afterwards engaged his attention, he might easily have found time for the study of some of the modern languages, and he might have derived essential benefit from it on many occasions of critical research. He had, indeed, read a good deal of French, but very little Italian; he had studied the Anglo-Saxon, but he knew nothing of the kindred

dialects of the North of Europe, in which it is preserved almost entire; and he was wholly unacquainted with Oriental literature. He might have profited materially by some of these studies, in deriving from them a clearer conception of the distinctions of the tenses than he seems to have possessed, and he might have enlightened us in no small degree, with respect to the history of languages and of nations by such etymological investigations, as his comprehensive mind thus employed would have rendered him peculiarly capable of pursuing with success.

It has been candidly and very truly admitted by a rival critic in Germany, that Porson committed fewer errors than almost any other person; but it is right to be aware that he has now and then committed some errors, even where he would have been expected to be the most correct. There is, for example, a very strange oversight in one of the criticisms contained in his early review of Weston's *Hermesianax*, which implies a palpable blunder with respect to the gender of a participle, Ζωρὸν μετροῦσα θυώδὲν πορφυρέης Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλου, "the cup of purple glass which *measured* the fragrant wine;" and even in a subsequent correction of the same passage, published in his *Adversaria*, he has changed the gender of an adjective in a way that is at least very unusual, if not wholly without example, μετροῦν θυόεντα. A mere omission, in a criticism on another author, would scarcely be called an error in an ordinary person; but in such a critic as Porson, it is very remarkable that he should have neglected to notice in his catalogue of the *Errors of Le Clerc*, omitted by Bentley (*Adv.* p. 291), the grossest of all Le Clerc's blunders, which is the quotation of the word *Hypophauli* as *semibarbarous*, from Pollux, with the translation *Sartagines* or *frying pans:* while the real text of Pollux simply and plainly states that the *Teganismi*, or *fricassations*, in the *Hippocomus of Menander*, is *a semibarbarous* word. These instances, which have occurred in a very cursory perusal of some of Porson's works, would certainly not deserve to be noticed, in a general sketch of his character, any otherwise than as exceptions to his perfect infallibility.

It can scarcely be considered as an imperfection in the con-

stitution of Porson's mind, that he wanted that amiable vanity, which is gratified by the approbation even of the most inconsiderable, and which delights to choose for its objects the most innocent and the most helpless of those who are casually present in society. It has been observed that he would neither give nor take praise; and when he was told that somebody had called him a giant in literature, he remarked, that a man had no right to tell the height of that which he could not measure. In fact, having learned "to know how little can be known," it is not surprising that he found himself "without a second and without a judge," and that he was unwilling to affect a community of sentiment and an interchange of approbation with those whose acquirements and opinions he felt that he had a right to despise. It might have been wiser in some instances to conceal this feeling; but, on the other hand, he had perhaps occasion for something of the habit of retreating into his conscious dignity, from his deficiency in those general powers of ephemeral conversation, which are so valuable in mixed societies: for, with all his learning and all his memory, he was by no means prominent as a talker. He had neither the inclination nor the qualifications to be a fascinating story teller, or to become habitually a parasite at the tables of the affluent; but he was the delight of a limited circle of chosen friends, possessing talent enough to appreciate his merits, and to profit by the information that he afforded them.

There has not yet been a life of Porson that has collected all the particulars that would deserve to be recorded by a biographer who undertook the task on an extensive scale; but of detached documents there is no deficiency. Mr. Kidd has pointed out almost every work in which his name has been mentioned: the most material articles relating to him will be enumerated here.

Morning Chronicle, 6th October, 1808. *A short Account of the late Mr. Richard Porson, with some particulars relative to his extraordinary talents:* By an admirer of great genius (the Rev. S. Weston), Μηκέτι πάππαινε πόρσιον, Look for nothing beyond him. 8. Lond. 1808. Republished with some additions under the title of *Porsoniana, or Scraps from Porson's*

Rich Feast, 8. Lond. 1814. Bloomfield's *Sapphic Ode*, *Class. Journ.* I. 1. *Some anonymous Iambics*, p. 81. *Sale of his Library*, p. 385. *Athenaeum*, IV. 426, 521, v. 55. *Class. Journ.* IX. 386. Savage's *Librarian*, I. 274. *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXVIII. *Monthly Magazine*. *Dr. Adam Clarke's Narrative*. *Class. Journ.*, II. 720. *Correspondence of Wakefield and Fox*, 8. Lond. 1813. *Greek Epitaph*, *Class. Journ.*, XXIII. 179; making Porsōnum equal to Newtŏnus. Aikin's *General Biography*, X. 4. Lond. 1815. Kidd's *Imperfect Outline*. *Tracts*, 1815. Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, XXV., Lond. 1816.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET.

00052136

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 23 March, 2016